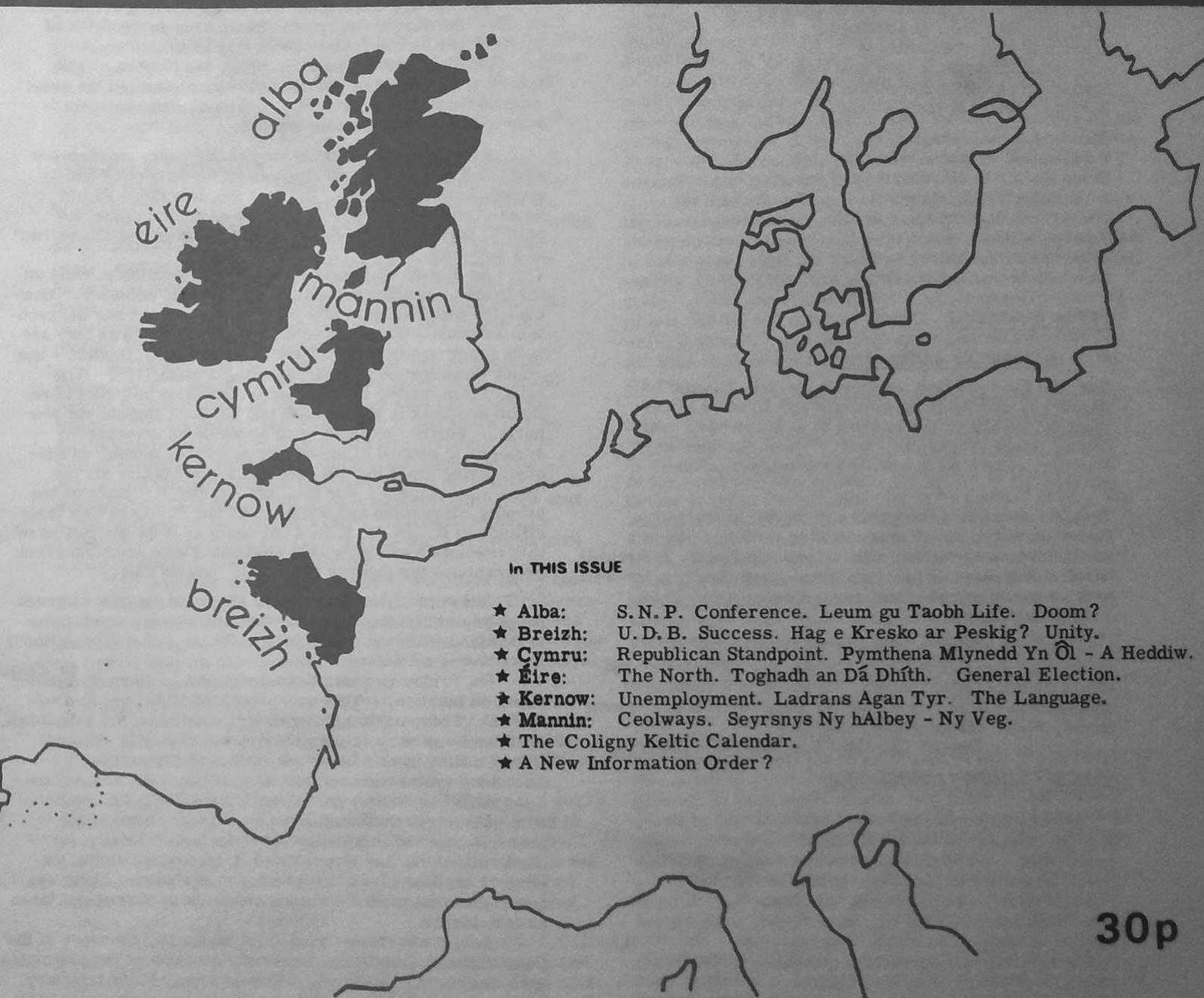


caxn

SUMMER
1977

No. 18

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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30p

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

ALBA

O ALBAINN

Leum Gu Taobh Life

Cionnas nach abair mi Och
no Ochain no Och, Ochain?
Tha'n samhradh 'a' b'laigeach asteach
air beinn agus Machair 'nar ùr;
tha sin air rion an tsamhradh
is taod umainn teann air a sholmh.
Am fuaigill sinn an tsaoidh le suairceas,
no uabhar a'chip an spon?

Spùill iad leth an tsaighail
is chog sinn ri'n taobh air a shon.
B'e'n trana' e, is dhubh sinn an Albainn
air a dearmad plan, ged a chog.
Sraigh le copaidhean thairis
s le glanntaichean falamh 'nan toad;
sraigh le agra-dhàn nan eirithir,
le eirithreachd, Anadha is trod.

Thid mi 'nam leum gu Life,
a dh'fhadhadh cridhe mo chleibh;
Bein Ìsleair is sìlthian Lajpbean
s am Balla Thuth fo'n ghrèin.
B'e'n t-ùrachadh nìsich is tole
raunt a thoir an cèin
do'n eilean mhaiseach, uaine,
far an do bhuadhaich na Gacil.

FROM SCOTLAND

A Leap To Liffey Side

How will I not say Och, or Ochain or Och, Ochain?
Summer is blazing in on mountain and Lowland in our
country; we are on the meadow of summer and a taut,
twisted tether around us. Will we undo the knot with
urbanity, or will we wrench out the haughty pride of
the stake?

They plundered half the world and we fought on their
side on behalf of it. It was a trance, and we woke in a
Scotland clean neglected, although we had fought. A farewell
to wars overseas and to empty glens lying silent; a farewell
to the scrutinising of coastlines, to emigration, Union
and fighting.

I will go with a leap to Liffey to kindle the heart in
my breast; the Hill of Howth and the hills of Leinster and
the North Wall under the sun. It would be a renewal of
courage and will to take a rant far away to the bonny, green
island, where the Gael was victorious.
Deorsa Caimbeul Hay (Mac Iain Dheòrsa)

GAELIC BOOKS ASSOCIATION

Another major breakthrough in the revival of the
Scottish language is the foundation of the Gaelic Books
Association. Its aim is to provide a regular output of
Gaelic books and to contribute to the Gaelic cause.
Founded by Dr. Douglas MacEwan, graduate of Edin-
burgh University, physicist, linguist, and publisher, a
number of books are already in preparation. However,
to ensure maximum success, a number of members,
subscribers and patrons are required. All those inter-
ested in aiding the work of the Association should write
to: Volturna Press, Maina of Kilmundry, Longside,
Peterhead, Scotland.

THE S.N.P. CONFERENCE - Dundee 26-28 MAY 1977.

Delegates to this year's annual conference of the SNP
entered the Caird Hall, Dundee, to see the banner high a-
bove the platform "Independence - Scotland's future" and
underneath "Alba Leatha Fhein - o'seo a mach". Not a
tear was shed for devolution - the opening speeches of
Margo MacDonald and Gordon Wilson leaving no one in any
doubt that the present government might have anything left
to offer in exchange for keeping them in office. Only the
Liberals who struck the fatal blow are now peddling elixirs
of revival. With three important policy debates on educa-
tion, taxation and the principles of a proposed Scottish
Constitution, the SNP showed that they are evolving as the
only alternative for the people of Scotland to continuing and
deepening stagnation. Clever high-lighting of the word
"dependence" made it appear a very unacceptable state for
any nation.

The opening resolution was on the storing of nuclear
waste. Borings are proposed for an area in the S.W. of
Scotland and no one believes that this is an academic
exercise. George Thompson, M.P. for Galloway, had
handed in a petition of protest at Westminster and the great
support from the branches for this resolution was a mea-
sure of the very great concern felt.

Also on the first day a long policy paper on education
was presented and in effect accepted for only one of many
amendments was allowed and that was that there should
be an investigation into the position of Scottish educated
staff in universities in Scotland who so often find themselves
in a minority.

An amendment that segregation in Scottish schools on
the basis of religion should not operate was defeated. How-
ever the proposal got quite respectable support and the prob-
lem remains - the arguments for keeping things as they are
were emotive and political and in some cases illogical - how
could "desegregation" be "persecuting a minority"? The
crux of this matter is that what is education and what is re-
ligion and what is segregation has not been thought out prop-
erly. Further motions were accepted on demands for
democratic control of university governing bodies, an ade-
quate living grant for students and a party policy for the
"Scottish language". For this last - giving it a place on the
schools curriculum and urging BBC and ITV to review their
attitude to it. [N.B. It does not seem as if the proposers of
this resolution are very well acquainted with some excellent
programmes for schools from BBC "anent" this.]

In the course of this debate the government's disgraceful
policy of running down the whole machinery of education
in Scotland (with the connivance of the so called "opposition")
was bitterly criticised.

On Friday morning the subject was an important policy
paper on taxation. This was presented by Robert Shirley
P.P.C. (Prospective parliamentary candidate) for Edinburgh
South and was very comprehensive and radically different
from existing ones. A simplification of the present tax-
allowance system and a closer link between it and a rationa-
lised social security system replacing most tax allowances
by a guaranteed minimum income. There is not space to
give a fraction of this policy but it dealt with local govern-
ment, oil, etc., and was carried by an overwhelming ma-
jority. An amendment of interest to egalitarian Celts was
accepted - that married women should be assessed and taxed
as individuals.

Friday afternoon Dr. Robert McIntyre, convener of the
Constitutional Committee, moved the adoption of the principles
for a Scottish Constitution. This is a very brief summary.
Citizenship shall be open to anyone who is permanently resi-
dent in Scotland on independence day, anyone born in Scot-
land or who has a parent born in Scotland - and to such other

persons as a Scottish parliament may prescribe.

The Scottish Parliament shall be of one chamber and
elected by P.R. (Proportional Representation). It shall
elect its own presiding officer, shall sit for a fixed term of
4 years and anyone over the age of 18 who is a citizen may
vote. Most of it was very straight forward - the interesting
part was the debate on an amendment that the Monarch should
only be accepted as Head of State after independence if by a
referendum the people showed that this was what they wanted.
The amendment was defeated but - not overwhelmingly, from
the gallery it was easy to see that it would be in a ratio of
about 5 to 4. Now this after the highly organised media
campaign to make the monarchy acceptable in Scotland after
the disastrous remarks of Her Majesty in Westminster Hall
was very significant. Another little matter to be resolved
in the future. For those in the other countries who missed
it - the Queen said a few weeks ago as part of the Jubilee
Junketing that she "could not forget that she had been crowned
- Queen of the United Kingdom". What most people did was
look back to see how she had addressed the American Con-
gress on 4 July 1976. This showed that freedom unlike cha-
rity does not begin at home. However what makes all these
words unimportant is that through supporting the SNP and
its policies the Scottish people will not be waiting to be
"given" anything. M.D.

Final Day of Conference

In a fighting speech on the
last afternoon, Mrs. Margo MacDonald condemned the
Scottish Trades Union Congress for having abandoned the
unemployed. She had earlier been overwhelmingly returned
as the Party's Senior Vice Chairman over 3 strong oppo-
nents, 2 of them M.P.'s. That the party was able to be
so critical marks the length of the road to national self
determination which was reflected in the growing maturity
of debate at earlier sessions. The final day is one for
popular issues and fighting speeches.

In the morning the traditional address by Gwynlor
Evans, M.P., leader of Plaid Cymru, concluded a grand
tour of the decline of the British state with the following
words, "It is a matter for great regret that there are no
English statesmen big enough to see how civilised is our
aim of creating a partnership of free and equal nations".
Mr. Evans censured Scots Cymric relations each year re-
minding us of the host of struggling nations fighting for that
same freedom in W. Europe today - "that nations have a
right to be responsible for their way of life and indeed have
a duty to acquire this responsibility".

The morning session promised a new attention by the
SNP to the most basic resource of all, our land. Criticism
of a mere commitment to agricultural reform by delegates
revealed, despite a large vote for the motion, that campaigns
on fishing may be easily understood but those on agricultural
themes are equally necessary and urgent.
The potentially divisive suggestion from West Aber-
deenshire that all agricultural holdings, should be limited to
family farm size and should be individually owned, was re-
mitted overwhelmingly when the chairman of the Land Policy
Committee explained that within a few weeks the Land, Po-
licy, Agriculture & Forestry policies would come before the policy
making National Council. However subsequent motions to
see the reconstitution of a land register to account for the
present ownership of every acre; and identification of areas
where military land holding could be significantly reduced
received overwhelming support. The party is set to plug
a large gap in rural policy papers.

As mentioned previously the criticism of the S.T.U.C. and
pledges to fight for our steel industry, full employment and
diversified job prospects in oil affected areas provided lead-
ing party members with great scope in the final session. To
begin with, however, Donald Stewart, Parliamentary leader

of the SNP, threw a challenge to Scots outside the party,
and indeed in other parties - "Come into the national fight.
The victory of our cause is inevitable". Such was the
mood of a conference with 1000 delegates and another 1000
observers from a grass root organisation which dismisses
the old Unionist parties who are set in power; as Donald
Stewart ended with a quote from Hugh MacDiarmid: "For
we have faith in Scotland's hidden powers. The present's
theirs - but all the past and future's ours". R. Gibson.

ALAN STIVELL IN DÙN EIDRAN

Just when the 'Gathering of the Clans' - a more or
less middle-class reunion of descendants of Albasich
from overseas - for the benefit of an enterprising tartan-
industry and the magnates of the hotel and tourist business
had ended - unfortunately involving with this fake gathering
such excellent Celtic artists as Alison Kinnaird (Clarsach)
and Finlay MacNeill (Pob Mòr) and some more - Alan
Stivell returned after 1 thick four years from Breizh in
South Celtia, to get across his message, which lies not just
in his astonishing artistry with which he interprets Celtic
music and song from all parts of Celtia in a pure traditional
style and in a modern development as well, but also in his
verbal expression of the political-economic and social implica-
tions which the building of a new society in Celtia and the
revival of our culture will involve.

He started playing in a very unpretentious way, stay-
ing in communication with the audience through the whole
performance and gradually developing from the pure sound
of his clarsach and his voice (which both, nobody can deny,
exert a spell on the listener) to a more rock orientated
style, which however never got really separated from its
proper traditional sources (Stivell - brezhoneg - source,
well, fountain). His backing-up musicians included Dan
Ar Bras (acoustic guitar) who seems to fit exactly to the
master.

Of course, some features of the concert, like these
over-emphasizing floodlights, the bad organization (delay-
ing starting, instruments were being placed on the stage
in the last minute, hammering 'commercial' rock music
in the much too long breaks), the prices of the tickets,
tended to bring up the question: Is he another phoney who
makes the big money in a reciprocal way to the "Garry
Glitter" Types of showmen in a minor key (behaviour
even more cunningly)? After all, following his commit-
ment and statements, I think this must be firmly denied;
some bad aspects might be hard to avoid (however unac-
cusable they are), while living in a capitalist society in
which music halls and managers are part of the 'market',
Finally, his Breton dances roused his listeners from
the seats, to dance in the hall; and when he walked through
the audience, out of the house, playing the pob mhor, the
big crowd reacted to the stir of the pipes in a very vital
and affirmative way on Leith Walk.

Unfortunately there were almost only young people in
the audience. Let us hope that his words: "The main
problem in Scotland is maybe, that many people mainly
speaking English and not the Scottish language are not re-
cognising the problems of the Gàidhlig language. Without
Gàidhlig Scotland would only be an English province"
might bring more awareness to the "people" (to be under-
stood in the term of workers and peasants) of Alba who
whom he has aided.

Alan Stivell - Independent Scottish Left-wing
nationalist monthly. £3.50 for 12 issues. Norman
Easton, 60 East Stirling St., Alva, Clackm. FK13 5HA,
Scotland.

GOOD READ!! BOOK REVIEW!!

The Making of the Crofting Community - by James Hunter, published by John Donald, Edinburgh 1976, price £10.

This is a fine example of the wide range of new research into our history. For far too long the "received knowledge" about the Highlands came from apologists for the landlords. This book reveals the saga of the lot which befell the 'commons of the clans' from the clearances to the present day. It calls on estates papers and police records and the bibliography itself is of book length; it gives the lie to established historians' attempts to cloud over the viciousness and incompetence of many factors, lairds and government officials over the years.

The breathtaking lack of concern which landlords new and old had for the remnants of the clans reveals the stark fate meted out to successive generations of Highlanders. Up to the victory at Waterloo the landlords with legal powers shifted their tenants into small lots on the coasts to force them into help production as the little strips could not support the families of each area without help work for the lairds. Emigration was banned but with a disastrous fall in kelp prices as the Napoleonic Wars came to an end the laws were changed to encourage emigration.

The reliance on the potato led to famine in the blighted years of the mid 1840s as severe as in Ireland. Government relief was slow and niggardly. But the evangelical fervour of the Disruption produced the seeds of a new resistance as improving economic conditions in the 80s and 70s gave males summer work at the East Coast fishings.

The important part played by the 'Men' - a group of evangelical firebrands whose fundamentalism attracted the crofters in their great depression of the post famine years, is explained by James Hunter. His book is most enlightening about the link between earlier attitudes of subservience to the point of fatalism and an awakening understanding that there could be biblical justification for criticising the landlords' position and misdeeds. The combination of such widespread understanding of this religious fundamentalism, the close community interest as people from all over the Highlands met at the E. Coast fishing ports and the world-wide interest in the land question which was thrown into sharp perspective after the founding of the Irish land league in the 1870s added the final ingredient to the conditions which led to a determined organised resistance to the landlords in the 1880s. Exiles from the Highlands, in the cities like Glasgow and London brought the final touches to what followed in the 1880s.

The land wars of Ireland spurred these Highland exiles to help their relations back home to set up a great resistance in the 1880s which started with the Glendale men refusing to accept a tyrannical landlord's rules and the folk at Braes entering a running battle with the police as they refused to receive warrants for illegally grazing cattle on Ben Lee. Gunboats and marines came to the West Coast to restore order over the next decade but a Royal Commission led in 1886 to the Crofters (Scotland) Act which gave security of tenure to many. James Hunter analyses the part played by the Land League and the continuing fight for cottars' rights thereafter with sympathy and good judgement. It is a book not to be missed by anyone who wants to get at the facts underpinning much of Highland life today. Since the battle is not yet won the knowledge of the past is not just one of academic interest.

Rob Gibson

YE BANKS AND BRAES O' BONNIE DOOM?

The inhabitants of the small town of Dalmeilington (south Strathclyde) have understandably reacted quickly to the news that the U. K. government proposes to explore the possibility of storing nuclear waste in the hills around Loch Doon, a local beauty spot and source of the River Doon much praised by Robert Burns.

Putting aside any panic objections to nuclear power the inhabitants have every reason to be anxious. The plan envisages a mine being driven into the supposedly stable granite rock and a heavy duty road being built to serve the site. The area is one of great natural beauty and has been a local holiday centre for many years, and with unemployment in Dalmeilington likely to reach twenty per cent in the very near future Loch Doon is more likely to be the only chance of a holiday for many.

As the local M.P., Jim Sillars (Scottish Labour Party), pointed out it is hard for the population of Dalmeilington to understand the government's sudden interest in the town. Hasn't the number of pits been reduced to one, (and that one plagued by thin seams), the railway closed and the main road to Ayr been decorated with signs proclaiming "Road liable to subsidence", all without the government raising a hand. It is true there is a lingerie factory and the born-goods factory which both give welcome jobs, but very few are to the taste of examiners.

The siting of a nuclear waste dump will do nothing positive for Dalmeilington. It can only give it and the district an image designed to frighten away both prospective employers and passing tourists. Further more in a Scottish context the areas from which the waste is likely to come will almost certainly be south of the Border as the Hydro Board and the South of Scotland Electricity Board are in a position to meet Scotland's increasing needs without great use of nuclear power. (The Hunters nuclear power station nearby being part of a grandiose plan to industrialise the Firth of Clyde rather than a desperately needed source of electricity.)

THE DISTRICT ELECTIONS - MAY 1977.

There had been predictions that this would be a run-away victory for the SNP but whether the pollsters' predictions were set high so as to minimise the effects of the actual results is a question to ponder. The SNP gained 99 seats (net) gaining 110 and losing 11. In percentages the results were as follows: SNP 38.4%; Lab. 33.8%; Con. 25.1%; Lib. 1.7%. The SNP now has outright control of: Cumberland (already held), East Kilbride, Clackmannan, Falkirk and West Lothian and is the largest single party in Clydebank, Cunningham (Ayrshire) and Strathkelvin.

The high Labour losses in Glasgow was one of the main results of the voting. No party has overall control and the SNP may hold the balance. In Dundee where the SNP did not contest (had they done so the predicted landslide might well have occurred) the Tories just could not benefit from the massive swing away from Labour, they made one gain and failed to take overall control. Toryism in Scotland is all but finished except in the select suburbs of Glasgow and Edinburgh and some of the richer agricultural districts.

The results in seats is as follows:- SNP 170 (gaining 99); Lab. 299 (net loss of 116); Tory 276 (net gain of 31); Lib. 31 (net gain of 13); SLP 3 (net gain of 1); Con. 2 (net gain of 1). Seen against the massive swing to the Conservatives not to mention the sizeable vote for the National Front in England - there is nothing very "united" about voting patterns in the "Kingdom".

BREIZH

HAG E KRESKO AR PESKIG?

Bloaz 'zo e lakae Islandiz pobloù ar broioù all de estlaminn ouzh e c'hadarred o tenn ar binvidigezh-natur a rankont m'irout evit chom bev. Setu m'o deus ranket pesketerien-o-listri-bras mont da glask pesked e lec'h all. Hag ur bern morbreiterien ha disken war-douchoù Iwerzhon. Rak arze e chom c'haozh padra da leunian rouedou. N'eo ket hepen pesketerien Breizh hag Euzkadi, boas da zont dre aman alaoe pell amzer, hag a zo deus stankoc'h eget biskoazh ha gant listri bras-oc'h ha samman pesked a-vil-vern e bloioù, hag alletiek e-barzh ar ribennad vroadel a 12 milior, met kevenerien o deus gant an Alamanned, Hollandiz, Poloniz, Rusianed, Roumaniz hag a listri - labou-radeg. Diouennet o deus ar pesked mat er mor tost d'o broioù, dizamant-kaer evel ma tere d'ar c'henerzhadoù sokialour kouls ha kevalour e-nebuez, neketai. Neuze, kent ha ma'z eus pesked c'hoazh en un tu bennak, bec'h dezho, munus hag all! Ret eo d'an armerzh krenkin, pe neuze petra 'vo graet gant al listri, an en-staladurioù-pouh hag ar besketerien o-unan? Ur wall guden eo, n'eus ket nam da lavarout.

Iwerzhonia zo deus diwezhañ a-walc'h da deurel evezh ouz ar binvidigezh a oa en dour en-dro d'oez. En abeg d'an trevadennadur lieskantvedel, n'o doa ket mui a "hengoun tud a vor" d'ar mare ma voe savet ar Stad dieub, ha difraeusoc'h o doa d'ober, a glave dezho, gant o zammig kevala eget diorren ar pesketerezh-mor. Pemzek vloaz 'zo ne veze ket douget o fesketerien da vont pelloc'h eget un nebeut milorioù er-maez ha diaes oa kavout padred yaouank prest da zeskin ar vicher. Breman avat er eus muioch a dud o klask fred war ar bigi eget n'eus a blasoù rak. Ha da heul brezel ar mor en Island, ha listri toiget stankoc'h - stank tro-war-dro ez eus savet keflusk e-touez ar besketerien iwerzhonat ivez. Setu m'o deus pouezet war c'hourarnamant Dulenn da zifenn o "gwirioù" gant muioch a c'hred eget na oa bet diskouezet betek-hen rak sellet e veze mui ar pesketerezh-mor evel un dra a eil renk en ur vroad debrerien pig-bevin. Ya met, allas, Iwerzhon zo dalc'hel ivez gant reolennoù ar C'Henvarc'had. Hag hor ministred zo sur a-walc'h a-zevri o kas ober eus ar Gommuniez Armerzhel Europat ur gennetad o vont mat en-dro - a ging concern - ken e c'hellfed kredin a-vechou ez ket Europad da gentan. Diourh na tu all, eveljust, e ranker diwall, ma venner bout addilennet. Trouz a-walc'h zo bet aman en abeg d'an doare ma'z eo bet gwerzhet, ken marc'hadmat, mengleuzioù kaill-metal eus ar re founnan da gompagnunehioù estren, bep derc'hel warzo da ziorren ijinerzh-treuzfurm ar c'hailh. Bec'h 'ta war ar vintred eus an daou du. Diskleriet oa bet ar ribennad 200 milior en-dro da vroioù ar G.A.E. evit gallout pellat pesketerien ar bloch aviedat pe ober treuzvarc'hadioù gant broioù all ivez. Broioù ar G.A.E. war an douar-bras a c'houlenn avat evit o fesketerien an hevelep frankiz hag o deus Iwerzhoniz, mar karont, e kement lec'h e-diabarzh ar ribennad 200 milior. Arabat ober gwallziforc'h, ret eo lezel lezennoù an embregerezh dieub da c'hoari. Nam, a lavar re Iwerzhon, ma kenderc'hed da lakaat frowardioù Iwerzhon en argrag ne chomo pelloc'h peak ebet, na a rank diwall na ve diviet ar glad-se, ret gons deomp komp 50 milior deomp hon-unan. Ministr an Afelioù diazev o tiskenet komp mat ha bout a-du ganto. Anvet da Vintistr an Pesketerezh an den an doa diskleriet ne oa ket arc'hant a-walc'h e ket ar Stad da brenan al listri rekse evit eveshaat 50 milior. Iwerzhon o tiskenier na vefe aotreet lestr ebet brasoc'h eget 100 troatad bennak da zont e-barzh hevelep ribennad.

Padal, kent d'an diviz bezan lakaet da dalvoud, e voe kavet da di bouez war c'hourarnamant Dulenn evit ma c'houraeze an ober e-pad 15teiz.

Gourdrouzet e oa bet gant ar C'Hallaoned e vije bolketet marc'hadourezh Iwerzhon ma ne blegie ket. Int a or plegan... ha terrin reolennoù ar G.A.E. pa hij dezho, kement-se zo aotreet d'ar re tras. 'M eus zoon ne chom ket kalz gwad viking e kalon stadrennerien Iwerzhon, n'int ket prest da stourm evel Islandiz. Ne vefen ket sousehet ma vez kavet digarez e laz ar varc'hadouren-chatal evit gwerzhañ ar besketerien. Evel-just ne vefe ket petz kennebeut lenn diazev o bevans digant pesketerien Breizh, hag a zo bet "o labourat er park" pell a-raok ma teus c'hoant da Iwerzhonia d'hen ober ivez. Met m'he deus ur vro bennak ar gwir da astenn he bell war an fachennoù-mor (pech na gredas ket), neuze e tle Iwerzhon kaout he 50 milior. dezho da ober gant broioù all mengleuzioù o terc'hel kont eus o fleustr itolter. Spi am eus e teur a-benn da lakaat da dalvoud ur c'hontrolerezh eus ar seurt pesked hag eus ar c'hemen-tadoù anezho a c'hellor pakan hiviziken en ur ribennad.

A.H. WAPPE. [This article describes briefly the Irish case for an exclusive 50-mile fishing limit, the threat posed to reserves around Ireland by the big foreign fishing fleets, the reason for Ireland's late entry into this field; the claims of the Irish fishermen and the tricky situation created by the Irish membership of the Common Market.]

U. D. B. SUCCESS IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The territory of the French State is divided into about 38,000 communes, some of them urban agglomerations of more than 100,000 inhabitants while others in rural areas may have less than 700. Each commune has a municipal council headed by a mayor to advise its administration.

The municipal elections held on March 13th and 20th were given an unusual political colour by a decision of the French Leftist parties. The results broadly fulfilled their expectations by showing a general shift in their favour. That was particularly marked in Brittany where for instance all but two of the 13 cities or towns of more than 30,000 inhabitants gave majority votes to the lists of the Leftist Union (French Socialist Party, French Communist Party, Parti Socialiste Unifié, Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche, and, in many places, the Breton Democratic Union).

Analysing the results, Le Peuple Breton (May 1977) records that in our country there was a shift from the centre-right to "a balanced left with a Breton component". The rejection of the long-standing policy of neglect of the Breton interests was given concrete expression by the presence of the U.D.B. on many of the successful lists of the Leftist Union. The latter gained an average 4% in towns representing 51% of the population. The stress they put on the problems of development and employment as well as the concern they expressed at the lack of collective equipment worked in their favour.

In rural communes however, people continued to vote according to traditional patterns: personalities decided more than ideologies. Conservative councils were thus returned in tourist-dominated coastal strips or in areas such as S.E. Brittany where the Left had few active members, and that notwithstanding all the economic difficulties.

The type of poll, voting by list, ensured the homogeneity of the councils but the increase in the number of municipalities won by the Left does not reliably reflect

the magnitude of the shift in that direction. It must also be remembered that municipal councils are closely controlled by the government nominees in the departments (prefets) both as regards their budgets and the matters with which they are entitled to deal. They have hardly any authority - the same applies to the department councils.

The U.D.B. Share

From a Breton point of view, the results were quite encouraging. 37 of the candidates presented by the U.D.B. on the Leftist Union lists were elected - 11 of them in 7 of the communes of 30,000 + plus. Previously the U.D.B. had only one municipal councillor. It is thus possible to speak of a major jump forward. For the first time a party known for its commitment to Breton self-government will represent a significant section of the Breton people on its elected councils. In Brest 3 of the 43 new councillors are U.D.B., in Rennes 2 out of 43, in Lorient 2 out of 37. The party is also represented on the Nantes, St.-Nazaire, St.-Malo, and St.-Herblain councils, to mention but the biggest.

It is difficult to assess the exact support given to the U.D.B. on the basis of the pool figures. How many voted for them simply because they were on the same list as their favourite candidates? The U.D.B. reckons that they got 34.5% of the vote in the communes of less than 30,000 in which they were contesting. In Uzelgoad, it was 80% for 2 of their candidates, in Lannou 66.5%. In some communes the figures showed that they enjoyed more support than their Franco-Breton partners had been prepared to admit. In others as in Lann-er-Ster, where communist opposition had forced them to go alone, the vote they received would have been sufficient, had they been on the Union list, to secure them two seats. In conservative Nain, N. of Vannes, where they faced only a list of the Right, they got 37.5% of the vote.

It is clear that the U.D.B. can no longer be considered by the French Leftist parties in Brittany as a minor partner just good enough to channel some marginal votes for their benefit. They have proved to be a more important factor than the P.S.U., the Gaullists, Centrists and Giscardians. They should henceforth be in a position to drive harder bargains with the Left Union. Obviously for both sides it is a tactical alliance. On its own the U.D.B. may not yet be strong enough to carry the majority of voters in any commune. On the other hand its supporters are numerous enough to make the difference in many places between a win and a loss for the Left: they hold the balance.

The U.D.B., believing its policy to be the only realistic one, hold the change from the present regime in France to a government of the Left as the necessary prerequisite to an improvement of conditions in Brittany. They are aware of the equivocal, opportunistic attitude of the French Leftist leaders towards even the most moderate Breton demands and that under a Left government in Paris they will still have to struggle to achieve their objectives. It will be wise for them to familiarize themselves with the history of similar alliances between parties so widely different in size and aims. They will have to share in the fortunes of the coalition, not only at a Breton level but also at a French level. In the councils they may be pressed, in the name of solidarity, to accept other interpretations than their own of what constitutes the best interests of the workers. They will be able to test whether their willingness to cooperate is reciprocated. It is anyway important for a party to gain experience of administration. Within the councils, they will have

better opportunities to enlighten their colleagues of the specific Breton problem and to canvass support for measures to solve them, in so far as it can be attempted at such a level.

A number of councils (not only in Lower Brittany) are providing material help, even financially from tight State-controlled budgets, for the running of Breton classes. The U.D.B. councillors should press for an extension of such facilities, for the setting up of road signs in Breton, for the use of the language in meetings and in public notices. Some candidates did this during their election campaign. It brought an enthusiastic response, for instance, at a mass meeting in Rennes, Place des Lices. Breton was spoken by members of different parties at the councils' inaugural sessions in Brest and Rennes. In Plourin-Montrieux where meetings are bilingual, a councillor proposed that only Breton should be spoken. French versions could be provided in writing if required.

In by far the most cases however, French is in exclusive use: good will is no substitute for the general lack of literacy in Breton.

The matter of cooperation with French parties will come up again early next year when elections to the French national Assembly take place. Judging by past performance the U.D.B. will present its own candidates in the first round and, wherever they fail, will probably ask their supporters to vote in the second round for the Leftists with the best chances. In my view, the only advantage of participating in this type of election is that it provides a forum for popularising the Breton demands. But unless the Breton parties can, where they hold the balance - obtain a public commitment to work for measures to satisfy these demands, in return for their recommendation to transfer votes, they should urge abstention or spoiling votes in the second round.

The U.D.B. will probably retort that a boycott of the French elections would throw doubt on their commitment to socialism and that it would not be followed to a significant extent, since the people believe that even the Presidential regime leaves their "deputés" some say in decisions affecting their everyday lives. But short of the condition I have suggested, how are they to convince those concerned with the specifically Breton aims that these are not in fact secondary issues, always to be put aside for the sake of victory in the perennial struggle of the Left against the Right? A. Heussaff

A Note On The Breton Local Elections

To those of us living outside Brittany it must seem strange that the UDB seems to have gained seats in the local council elections, but usually only one seat per council.

We cannot compare the election results in Brittany with the success or failure of our own parties in the British Isles, for the system in Brittany is quite different based as it is on the 1958 constitution presented to the electors by de Gaulle. The important point is that in communes (towns or villages) of over 30,000 people, each political party must present a list of candidates equal to the number of seats allowed by the constitution. Although the elector votes in his neighbourhood it is not for a particular candidate. The voter shows his or her preference for one of the lists offered by the parties. To do this he or she simply puts one of the pre-printed lists into the ballot-box. The list cannot be amended in any way either by adding or excluding names.

The list which obtains 50% plus one of the vote is elected. However should no list reach this target there

is a second election the following Sunday. No alterations may be made to the lists, although those showing the least support are excluded from this second round. The system becomes more relaxed as the size of the commune reduces until in the smallest commune single candidates can stand, mixed councils are possible and alterations can be made between the two rounds. However, the government subsidy for the election costs of the parties also decreases with the size of the commune.

Considering the abundance of political parties in the French system it is clear that only coalitions can expect to be elected with any degree of certainty. Hence the usual situation of two groupings, the left and the right, with as the two socialist parties and the Communist Party can not always agree to co-operate at the local level.

What all this means is that outside the very small communes, where the UDB's radicalism is not always acceptable to a conservative electorate, the UDB must in varying degrees ally itself with some left wing grouping. So in essence, if the UDB is to stand any chance of being elected in the large communes it must persuade the other parties to give it a place on their list and this is not always willingly done especially by the communists who tend to suffer as a result. If the list is elected we have a council rather like my own with 30 socialists, 3 communists and one UDB. This in no way indicates the proportions of the support for the various parties, but rather the bargaining power of each party. An interesting sidelight to this bargaining is the election of Jacques David on a left wing list at Athia-Mans, which is near Orly Airport, Paris!

All this is not to say that the UDB does not put up its own list where possible, nor that the electoral process does not show some startling results, for example the candidate who received 91.66% of the vote, but what it does mean is that the UDB has an uphill task. I.H.

BRETON THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF ENGLISH

You can now learn Breton at home without having to know French thanks to the English translation which Dr. Remont Delaporte has made, with a few adaptations, of Per Denez's method "Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes". The book has been published by the Cork University Press, price £3.30 (£2.20 wholesale). Records and cassettes are available from the publishers of the original version (OMNIVOX, 4 rue de Berri, 75008 Paris). We in the Celtic League wish to express our gratitude to the Cork University Press for its initiative in thus making the learning of Breton much more accessible than hitherto to people living outside Francophonie, particularly in the "insular" Celtic countries. We look forward to the day when Breton textbooks (using other Celtic languages as intermediaries), will be available, since similarities with our language will make so many explanations simpler or superfluous. But the present publication answers a need which has repeatedly been expressed to us.

R. Delaporte has also prepared a short Breton-English dictionary (4000 words) which he hopes to see published before the end of 1977. And he has a big Breton-English/English-Breton dictionary half finished. Congratulations to him for his hard work and best wishes for its early completion.

We strongly urge that all those who want meaningful interceltic relations should learn at least one Celtic language in addition to their own national one, so that we can give the lie to the sceptical or disparaging comments frequently voiced by press commentators on the occasion of interceltic gatherings, when hardly anything but English or French is used in communication.

FOR ADMINISTRATIVE UNITY

About 3500 people came together from all parts of Brittany on April 24th, in St.-Nazaire, to protest against the separation for administrative purposes of Loire-Atlantique from the rest of the country. It may be argued that while we remain under French control, such a partition matters little. However it has repercussions on the economic development of Brittany. Also the persistent references in the press and the media to the 4-department "Region" tends to further attenuate the sense of community which unites the majority of the population of historic Brittany.

This demonstration was supported by several elected representatives. The municipal council of St.-Nazaire had unanimously voted in February for reunification. Since then, the Council had gone "Left" but only its Communist members had dissociated themselves from that move.

On such occasions, Breton music and speeches share the time-table. A wide range of organisations, political, cultural, ecological, got an opportunity to air their views. Among the most pertinent contributions, there was the reminder by a St.-Nazaire deputy-mayor that the Breton community for which they sought recognition was not only a social and cultural but also an economic reality. 70% of its commercial exchanges passed through Nantes and St.-de-Gauchec noting the absence of the Communists said that the pressure of public opinion would be more decisive for the success of the campaign that the half-hearted backing of politicians.

The demonstration ended with a march through the streets, to the local government office where a letter was delivered asking that a conference on the reunification of Brittany be convened between representatives of the five department councils and of the council of the main Breton communes, and followed by the publication of a White Paper. If this failed, new forms of action directed against institutions (and persons?) would be resorted to. What these would be was not specified.

FRANCE-REGIONS PLATFORM NOT FOR ALL DEMOCRATS

There is a myth that France is the land of freedom, e.g., the freedom of expression. Look at the Third Television channel, France-Regions-3. It is of course State-controlled but it has a programme, Tribune Libre, which offers all sorts of groups and individuals a means to expound their views to a wide public. Royalists, environmentalists, women's Lib., religious preachers, etc. have been welcome to use it. So the U.D.B., acutely aware that television adds immeasurably to the freedom of expression, applied for a share of the facility in October 1976. This request was "looked favourably at", but was the U.D.B. representative? Surely, figures from general and cantonal elections were proof of that. Yes but that was not good enough for France-Regions: the U.D.B. was a ... regional organisation. If they had applied a year earlier, they could have got 20 minutes. Now the rule was only such movements which addressed themselves to THE WHOLE OF THE NATION were entitled to the Free Platform. That is what France-Regions is for: France first. What do you expect? That the system would lend itself to those who otherwise reject it?

The U.D.B. however is right to take the view that television should be at the service of the people and not of an autocratic system. After the March elections they can claim even greater representativeness than ever. They have launched a petition which by early May had gathered

5,400 signatures in support of their application. Many people abroad have also signed it, several papers and well-known figures such as the secretary of the French Socialist Party and the (French) national secretary of the C.G.T. have taken a stand in its favour. Just as noteworthy is the refusal of the great *Le Monde* and of the colonialist *Telegramme de Brest* to join in the protest. J.J. Servan-Schreiber and A. Peyrefitte, whom you could mistake for decentralisers, have avoided using their freedom of expression in this matter. More revealing is the silence with which Socialist Party Chairman Mitterrand and Communist Party Secretary Marchais have met the U.D.B. invitation to show solidarity. The U.D.B. recognises that these two abstentions are serious and significant: "If the Left comes to power in Paris, will things really change, seeing how difficult it is for them to take a stand on such a clear issue?"

Readers of CARN would be welcomed by the U.D.B. (B.P. 304, 22273 Brest-Cedex) to sign their petition. Here is the text: "I, the undersigned, join with the signatories of the protest against the refusal to allow the U.D.B. access to the FR 3 Tribune Libre and I support their application" (Name, qualifications, town, signature.) In my opinion, it would be equally effective to write to F.R. 3, via the U.D.B., saying that you have noted that the freedom of expression, with which France is credited abroad, is not available on F.R. 3 (Tribune Libre) to a representative Breton organisation which is pursuing Brittany's interests by quite peaceful means and that you consider this as a breach of international conventions of which France is a signatory. Considering the part French television plays in the francisation of Brittany, this is an opportunity to show that intercolic solidarity is not a vain word. The more friends you can get to sign also the better. A.H.

ANNE DE BRETAGNE by Herve Le Rotierff. Editions France-Empire. 36F.

(The fifth centenary of the birth of the Duchess Anne, the last ruler of independent Brittany, is being celebrated this year. She inherited the Duchy shortly after the crushing defeat at St-Aubin-du-Cormier in 1488.)

We have here a work of erudition by a true historian, extremely well-documented, well structured, full of charm, reading like a novel. Although moderate in tone, it constitutes firm and solid answer to the lies of the official French history, "revised and corrected" for the schools.

It brings out the true picture of Anne, Duchess of Brittany, Queen of the Romans, a woman as attractive as she was endowed with a remarkable political skill, an indomitable heart and burning patriotism.

Prevailed from reaching Maximilian, the emperor of Austria, whom she had married by proxy, compelled by force to marry the king of France, Charles VIII, a crackpot, dissolute, degenerate, uncultured, she sacrificed herself in order to save her people from extermination. When Charles died, she had no other option again but to marry his successor, Louis XII, but she took advantage of his feelings towards her to regain almost everything that Brittany had lost under the French dictat of 1491. Juridically at least our country was again independent, the French troops had to leave.

By betrothing her daughter Claude to the grandson of her first spouse, the future emperor Charles V, Anne tried again to renew the Britto-Germanic union which would have guaranteed (in time to come) the independence of the Breton State. There is no doubt that if she had lived - and in particular if she had survived Louis XII, who was a good deal older than her - she would have brought her designs

to fruition and somehow preserved the freedom of her country, but she died first, still quite young, leaving Brittany at the mercy of its worst enemies. Herve Lanndiern.

KAN AR BOBL - a popular festival - was held for the 5th year in succession in Lorient on April 9-10. 240 singers took part, in individual or group competitions prior to which a selection had been operated at petitions from different parts of the country: Lesneven, local level in different parts of the country: Lesneven, Speser, Bostrenen, Bro-Wened, Gallo region. Young and old singers came, the participation of the latter (aged more than 55 or 60) being particularly important as their store of songs is thus being saved from oblivion. It is remarkable that the middle age groups were not represented; two generations remain affected by the stigma which was attached in their young days to the Breton language and traditions (they too were "liberated").

KAN AR BOBL, marked by enthusiasm and a wealth of expression, is now a national festival. It is hoped it will lead to renewal although there is the lingering fear that, unless conditions change radically in our country, it could be like the sudden flaring of a rocket before falling in the dark. One defect was that the technical side of the instrumental music was not sufficiently developed. It exemplifies the need for a Breton National Academy of Music.

BOOK REVIEW

Anyone interested in comparing the economic situations of the various Celtic countries will find the latest Skol Vreiz publication "Geographie de la Bretagne" a most useful book. Intended for use by school students of fourteen years and upwards, the 240 page manual is equally useful to students in third level education. Well illustrated with photographs and charts, and well served by a glossary of terms and Breton place names, it explains the implications of the Breton situation by prefacing each section with a two page 'dossier' concerning one of the pre-economic problems of the day.

The book has been produced jointly by lecturers at the Universities of Rennes and Nantes with the help of students at the two Universities and practising teachers. Their work cannot be said to be without a message (what work isn't?). The authors are anxious to prove the viability of Brittany and to warn about the trends in the economy. To this end a host of statistics is brought forward, presented in an easily digestible form.

At 40FFr (35FFr) this is well worth the price not only for the information it provides but equally for the thought provoking ideas it puts across. The book should find its place on the shelves of every internationally minded Celt, but the edition is very limited so place your orders soon. "Geographie de la Bretagne": Skol Vreiz: Run-Avel, Le Pilon, 29210 Plourin-Morlaix (C.C.P. 2-248-25 X Rennes).

The above mentioned book is in fact Numbers 46-49 of the 'cahiers pedagogiques' of Skol Vreiz. There are six editions each year for a subscription of 30FFr. Previous publications in the series include two volumes on the History of Brittany and, briefly, the Celtic countries up to 1532. The third volume is in the process of publication. The existing volumes are available price 20FFr (15FFr).

● July 31: Breton Wrestling Championship. Scrignac (B. of Morlaix).

CYMRU

PYMTHENA MLYNEDD YN ÔL - A HEDDIO

Mae'r ffaith y mod i wedi bod o Gymru, ac yn byw yn Iwerddon yn ystod y rhan fwyaf o'r bymtheng mlynedd diwethaf, wedi nhawo, a ffinau'n mynd ati i sgrifennu ychydig o eiriau ar gyfer colfau "Carn" unwaith eto. Bellach does neb, bron, yn fy nghysirod i'n fawr o Gymraes yma. Hymy yw, anaml iawn y byddant yn dod i ymgynghori a fi, fel gyt, fel peth iawn i'n rhyw fath o awdurdod ar faterion Cymreig, peth hollol ddealladwy erbyn hyn. Yn wir y mae orail yn Iwerddon sydd yn addasach o lawer. Y mae cenedlaeth newydd wedi tyfu i fyny ers gan ymadawia i Gymru, cenedlaeth sydd mewn crysiliad a chefnedlaeth newydd o Wyddyl yma. Yn ystod y blynyddoedd diwethaf, mae perthnasau rhwng Cymry i'w cyffwrdd Cymraeg a Gwyddyl i'w cyffwrdd wedi newid datblygu. Mae'r modurau iaith yn y ddeud wlad hefyd wedi newid.

Cymrw yn gynaf berthnasau rhwng Cymry a Gwyddyl i'w cyffwrdd. Er mwyn astudio leithoedd Celtaidd yn y Brifysgol y des i i Ddwy yn gynaf. Mae hi wedi bod yn draddodiad academaidd ymhlith myfyrwyr yng Nghymru ers blynyddoedd i Gyfwrdd i Ddwy yn ôl graddio. Beth bynnag, disdorddeb hollol academaidd oedd gan y rhan fwyaf ohonynt. Ni fyddent yn ymwneud a gwybodaeth o'r gwbl. Treulient eu blynyddyn neu ddwy gyda'r llyfrau a'r hen lawysgrifau, ac yna, i ffordd a hwy, 'holl i Gymry, rhai ohonynt heb fedd'r un gair o Wyddeleg diweddar. I'w cyffwrdd. Mae'r sefyllfa'n hollol wahanol y dyddiau yma. Gwelaf fyfyrwyr yn dod o Gymru yma a myfyrwyr o Wyddyl yn mynd draw i Gymry, a kwythau i gyd yn cyd-gymdeithasu yng nghyffwrdd iaith ei gilydd, yn cyfweirid, yn cyffwrdd. Daethant i'r gyngres leithoedd Celtaidd yn Rath Chairn ym mlaest diwethaf. Bymtheng mlynedd yn ôl, ni fuasent bosibl i drefnu cyngres o'r fath.

Mudiadau hollol wahanol hefyd oedd y mudiadau iaith yn y ddeud wlad. Nid oedd Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg wedi'i geni bymtheng mlynedd yn ôl, er y gellir dweud ei bod hi wedi'i chenedlu mewn arall gan Saunders Lewis ar y B.B.C. Yn Iwerddon eryddid ar Conrath na Gwillel fel cwb cillic (sych) i wasanawthyr siŋl. Ni fyddai neb o'r Gaeleach na neb o ddoctarh gweithion Dwy yn cyffwrdd i hi.

Yn ystod y ddeud mlynedd diwethaf, mae'r Conrath wedi newid cymaint fel y byddai'n anodi i neb ei mhobol o'r hen dyddiau. Mae'r sefyllfa sydd ynddi heddiw yn sylweddol mair bryder gymdeithasol, bryder economaidd, a bryder wleidyddol yw'r frewyr dros yr iaith. Mae'r pollai newydd yma a mewn gwirionedd, nid pollai newydd mo hono cwaith. Mae'n nes at ymudiadau sylfawr Conrath na Gwillel wedi deus pobl newydd a gwahanol i mewn i'r Conrath. Mae pobl y Gaeleach yn dechrau ymaolodi yn lle ffoi oddi wrthi. Mae canghennau bellach yn adranu dosbarth gweithio Dwy. Mae ysgol Wyddeleg mewn un ohonynt a hysgarth siarad Wyddeleg mewn fatri biall. Ar y cyfan mae anasawd seilodau'r mudiadau iaith yn iachach o lawer na bymtheng mlynedd yn ôl. Gobeithian nad yw hi'n rhy hwyr.

Ar yr ochr nergyddol mae llywodraeth Dwy yn troi ei chefn yn fwyaf ar yr iaith a phopeth a'na ymwneud a chefnedlaeth Iwerddon. Y mae ei hagwedd hi'n wasth hyd yn oed nag agwedd Ffensa Ffili gyt. Nid oes eiriau'r Wyddeleg er mwyn graddio o'r ysgol na mynd am weydd yn y wasanaeth siŋl ddim nwy. Maest hefyd yn trio lleihau hyd yn oed ar yr ychydig bach o oriau sydd o Wyddeleg sydd ar y radio

a'r teledu. Yn ei methiant i gadw'r iaith mae gwladwriaeth 26 sir de Iwerddon wedi newid, nid yn unig ei phobl ei hys ond hefyd y Cymry a phobl ei Gwlad Celtaidd arall.

Janice Williams.

[The above is a reflection on the changes in the language movement of Cymru and Eire and their relationships with each other seen through the eyes of the writer who is a native of Cymru but has been living in Dublin for most of the past fifteen years.]

LOCAL ELECTIONS

On Thursday May 10th Welsh voters went to the polls to elect the members of Wales's eight County councils, which form the top tier of local government and control the vital fields of education, roads and social services as well as having important powers in the fields of planning, transportation and industrial development. The out-going members had been elected in 1973 at the time that local government was reorganised and it was widely expected that there would be dramatic changes in the pattern of party strength similar to those experienced in last year's elections for the District authorities.

In the event some dramatic changes did occur, with the Labour Party, for half a century unquestioned bosses of local government at least in the populous parts of the country suffering further heavy losses, to the Conservatives in the Anglicised areas of the extreme South-East and North-East of Wales, and to Plaid Cymru in the rest of Wales. In the North and West of the country the incursion of party political allegiances into previously "non-political" authorities also continued, with Independents either choosing to make known their party affiliations or being ousted by party candidates, although the Independent tradition is still very strong and Independents continue to be the largest group on the Gwynedd, Dyfed and Powys County Councils.

As in the 1976 District elections two distinct trends are discernible, reflecting the difference between the pattern of politics in the Anglicised areas to that in the rest of Wales. In the former, politics is very much a reflection of what goes on in England, and the past ten years has seen a wild see-sawing between the Labour and Conservative parties, influenced far more by the confrontation between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition at Westminster than by any real judgement on the success of the local councillors in dealing with local affairs.

In other areas, for example in the valleys of Gwent and Mid-Glamorgan, in the industrial areas of West Glamorgan and Dyfed, and in the rural areas of Dyfed and Gwynedd, a steady growth in support for Plaid Cymru has been taking place over a very long period indeed. Plaid Cymru now has 37 members on County Councils as opposed to 21 before the election. What is probably even more important is the large number of wards where Plaid Cymru candidates came a good second and are poised to take the seat at the next opportunity. Since the growth in Plaid Cymru representation is steady and therefore undramatic commentators illustrate the effectiveness with which the party is able to consolidate and build on the support which comes to it initially for a variety of reasons.

Looking at the counties in detail we see that in Mid-Glamorgan, Plaid Cymru increased its strength from 12 to 17. Labour, with 48 retained control of the 65-member authority, but it is likely that they will lose their overall majority before the next election due to losses in by-elections. In Gwent, Labour lost overall control but are still the largest group. Conservatives made big gains in the Newport area, whilst in the North of the county, Plaid Cymru

won two seats, its first ever on the authority. In West Glamorgan Labour retained power despite gains by Rate-payers. Plaid Cymru increased its seats from one to three. Dyfed is still controlled by Independents. The second largest group, Labour, lost 5 seats, whilst Plaid Cymru increased its strength from 2 to 6. A similar pattern could be seen in Gwynedd, but here Plaid Cymru is the largest party group, with 9 members (previously 6) and most of the ruling Independent group have in the past demonstrated their willingness to adopt nationalist policies on education, the language, and industrial development.

As yet Plaid Cymru have no members on the remaining three councils, South Glamorgan, which saw the virtual annihilation of the previous ruling Labour group by the Conservatives, Clwyd where Independents lost control to Conservatives, and Pwys, where Independents are still so firmly in the saddle that they were assured of a majority even before the election took place due to the number of councillors returned unopposed.

Plaid Cymru's belief in the importance of winning power at a local level as well as fighting Parliamentary elections goes back to the party's inception, and the dividends which are now being reaped are due to the efforts not only of present councillors and candidates but also to many dedicated nationalists who gained a foothold on local authorities in past years, perhaps more due to personal qualities than to any support for Plaid Cymru policies amongst the electorate. The far-reaching effect that success at the local level can have was illustrated at the Labour Party's Welsh conference at Llandudno at the end of May when there were renewed calls for the government to keep its manifesto promise on devolution. At the grass roots of the Labour Party there is obviously no illusion as to the magnitude of the threat posed by Plaid Cymru as evidenced by the County election results. Keith Bush.

JAC L. WILLIAMS

We were deeply shocked to learn at the beginning of June of the sudden death of Professor Jac L. Williams, of the Department of Education, University College Aberystwyth. We had just received a request from him to advertise a Welsh Crafts exhibition together with a donation to CARN. We were honoured to have him among our most faithful members, he understood the importance of inter-celtic cooperation. A man of strong convictions, e.g. in his advocacy of bilingualism and his opposition to the all-Welsh TV channel campaigners, he was big enough to be always willing to meet those who differed from him. Unlike so many remote academics he did not consider it beneath his dignity to appear at public discussions with lesser mortals. We remember how some ten years ago he accepted without condition our invitation to speak in Dublin on bilingualism - before Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, who were better equipped for the task, requested us to let them organise the meeting and got a thousand people to hear him in Droichead na Dothra. We were also impressed by his plea at Rath Chairn last August that we give our urgent attention to practical solutions of our language problems.

His death is a great loss not only to Welsh education and to Cymru in general but also to the other Celtic countries of which he was a devoted friend. We hope that the five-day seminar on language restoration methods in the organisation of which he was taking a leading part, can still be held. Jac L. strove to the utmost to win over those of his countrymen who were indifferent or lukewarm towards the Welsh language. He held that, with proper use of television, Welsh (and Irish) could be made as familiar as English to the majority of the people by the

end of the century. He seems to have thought this state of equality could last. Whatever about that, it would be the basis from which the partisans of a more thorough re-celtisation could build. Jac L. Williams had a plan for the coming 20 years. Let us carry on.
Sônas siorrat d'anam usall! Levenez d'e ene hael!
A. Heusaff.

GWYL Y WERIN, HARLECH

In protest against the visit by the Queen of England to Harlech and the following "royal progress of Wales" due to start on June 22nd, as part of "the jubilee", Gwyl y Werin is being organised for the period from June 20th to 24th in Harlech, to show that the birthdays, etc. of a foreign monarchy which has presided over the disintegration of the Welsh community, are no causes for celebration in Wales but that the Cymry have plenty in their own history and culture to rejoice about. This festival will include an exhibition of the Welsh people's history, a Noson Lawen, a film show, drama or reviews, Disco Cymraeg. Further there will be a solemn vigil protest picket outside the castle gates for the 12 hours preceding the English queen's arrival. We regret that the appeal to participate in these events and to help financially reached us too late for publication in CARN 17, but you can still express your rejection of this attempt to perpetuate the colonization of Wales by sending a contribution to the Organising Committee, Gwyl y Werin, Coleg Harlech Welsh Society, Harlech, Gwynedd.

WHAT WAY ADFER?

A major argument has blown up within the Welsh Language Movement regarding the philosophy of the leader of 'Adfer', Emyr Llywelyn. (Adfer, meaning 'restoration' was at one time a limited company concentrating on the renovation and the letting of property. Recently, however, the company has developed into a movement, concentrating on the Welsh speaking areas, very often in direct competition with Cymdeithas yr Iaith. The founders and present day leaders of Adfer were all at one time members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith.)

Dr. Tudor Jones, Principal of the Theological College at Bangor, and a very well known nationalist, has accused Emyr Llywelyn in his book 'Adfer a'r Fro Gymraeg' of adopting philosophies which are remarkably similar to those of several German philosophers on which the philosophy of the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler was based.

Emyr Llywelyn, in press statements and on television, strongly denied that he had read the works of such philosophers, and that Adfer was totally committed to non-violence. Dr. Tudor Jones retaliated by pointing out that it was Emyr's responsibility to read such works in order to realise in what direction he is leading his followers.

As the original article by Dr. Jones appeared in 'Tafod y Ddraig', the monthly magazine of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, the prospect of co-operation between the two movements, which many people would like to see, seems further away than ever.

LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Meir Stephens, 1976. 300 pp plus 30 pp introduction. Describes the historic background and the present situations and struggles of 50 national minorities or linguistic groups. Undoubtedly the most comprehensive book on the subject. Price £9.50. Available from Gomer Press, Llandudno, Dyfed, Wales. See review in CARN 16.

THE REPUBLICAN STANDPOINT IN CYMRU

The basic difference between the Republican standpoint in Cymru and that of the Political Nationalists, i.e. 'Plaid Cymru' is not generally understood and it is with the intention of clarifying the republican outlook that I am writing this article.

As the Plaid Cymru policies are already well known, it may be worthwhile to compare the two basic attitudes and see how they differ. To begin with, the political nationalists accept the 'status quo' as the norm, and seek to change it via the 'ballot box', their first priority being to obtain a majority of the Cymric seats in what one must remember is the English Parliament, where irrespective of what any future successes may bring them, they are doomed forever to remain a permanent minority. The proof of this is the classical example of Tryweryn where the representatives of 95% of our nation voted in Westminster against the drowning of the valley together with its flourishing cultural community, by Liverpool Corporation. In a Democratic society, this vote would have been overwhelmingly decisive, but the English override the Cymric vote and today, the once proud waters of Capel Celyn lie in its silent tomb below the waters of a vast reservoir and bearing silent testimony to the so-called effectiveness of political constitutional means. England's respect for the 'ballot box' exists only when it is favourable to her vested interests, otherwise Cymric opinion will be trampled on as at Treymern.

There must be few nations indeed that have obtained their freedom within the framework of their oppressor's constitution.

Political nationalism alone will not gain us our freedom, only toothless concessions like 'Devolution' to quote Saxon phraseology "To prevent the breakup of the United Kingdom".

It would I believe be far better if we had no M.P.'s from Cymru sitting at Westminster at all. It would certainly make no difference to our present position and our people would no longer be duped, for they would know for sure how we stood and be actively inclined to remedy the situation as they would already be polarised as to identity, - us and them - it would be a case of their government, their Army, their Queen, and not the government, the Army, the Queen as at present.

It must also be taken into account, that if the English were the type to be motivated on the grounds of morality, they would not have become our masters in the first instance. The only valid argument for political representation in Westminster is the possibility of obtaining dubious concessions by holding a balance of power, but here again it centred at Whitehall rather than at Westminster.

There is no shortage of talent in the ranks of the political nationalists. There is enough to govern Cymru, her culture and economy with great efficiency but they are tied to the limitations of their political framework. There is not enough space for me to go into detail here, and I have already done so on other occasions but suffice it to say that Plaid Cymru seek 'Commonwealth Status' for Cymru with the English queen as head of state. To any republican, these trappings of English imperialism are completely unacceptable on both ideological and practical grounds.

To the republican it is not a question of politics, it is a 'matter of rights', for there can be no politics on a national level until we possess the medium to implement politics, also politics envisages argument and compromise etc. A nation's right to freedom, sovereignty and control of its own destiny is beyond and above all argument. No

man, no power, has the right to deny us this freedom and on this issue there can be no compromise.

Most people are completely unaware of the fact that whilst Scotland and Ireland signed 'Acts of Union' with England, and accordingly had their emblems incorporated on the 'Union Flags', Cymru did not sign the 'Act of Union' of 1536 and accordingly there is no representation of Cymru on the said flag - thank God - which makes the Union Jack about as relevant in Cymru as the 'Swastika'.

An 'Act of Union' under international and ethical law is by definition a 'Treaty of Union' duly signed by the representatives of the nations concerned. The 'Act of Union' which robbed us of our nationhood, nomenclature and legal system was never ratified by Cymric lands, in fact our people were never even informed of the issue until after it was passed by the English Parliament unilaterally. (What, no referendum???) By that token the Laws of Hywel Dda are still valid in our land, and Cymru is not a legal part of the 'U.K.' except by definition of alien conquest and occupation. This is our standpoint and that is why so many of our patriots have refused to recognise English courts in Cymru when facing trial.

The Republican campaign must of necessity be waged within Cymru - at grass roots level, whilst the political nationalists have until recently concentrated their main efforts in getting representation outside, at Westminster and no true patriot could meaningfully take an oath of allegiance to an English Sovereign. Our job is to first gain control of the provinces and trade unions of Cymru, (The old pre-conquest 'lands' and now recently re-named as 'Counties'). These provinces already have considerable powers of planning, education, local economy, etc. With all this under our control and its consequent reassertion of national pride and identity all that would remain would be to elevate the counties as provinces, and set up a federal senedd in Aberystwyth, hence the re-birth of our national freedom. Since we never signed away our freedom in the first instance, there would be no point in making a formal application for it to London.

It is the policy of the Republican Movement, that the Provinces would have a high degree of autonomy and the national senedd would be mainly concerned with foreign policy, finance, military, etc., on similar lines to the Swiss 'Canton' or German 'Länder' systems.

We also reject bi-lingualism as an end project, we regard it only as an intermediary measure to the eventual full recognition of our country after which English will be on a par with French, German, Italian, etc.

Once we have obtained our freedom and the prosperity which the control of our own resources would bring us, thereby reflecting itself in the reduction of taxation and increased public resources etc. - all would be lost if we failed to pass legislation forbidding the sale of land and property to non-nationals, because the English would flood in as never before to take advantage of our better standard of living, would soon rule us from inside, our language would be dead within years and we would be a little independent 'Westinghills' - another Englishman's tax dodgers' capitalist paradise - as the Marx are only too well aware. Austria, Switzerland and even the Channel Islands have found it necessary to pass such laws in order to safeguard the culture and economy of these countries. We seek too an inter-celtic alliance - 'Celtica' with mutual aid, co-operation and support amongst the Celtic nations. No Celtic nation should remain complacent and at peace whilst even one of our Celtic brethren is in bondage.

The basic aims of the Republican Movement are

- 1) The establishment of a Welsh Republic.
- 2) To regain for Welsh its rightful position as the first language of the nation.

- 3) To place the control of the Social and Economic life of Wales in the hands of the people.

The three stages or 'trist' in the march of liberation of Cymru are roughly the same for the other Celtic lands, after 700 years of foreign domination and suppression. The Saxon propaganda machine - the world's most effective - has had no lack of opportunity to perfect itself on the countless millions that have come under England's imperialist heel, - has seen to it that our national identities have become extensively eroded, so the first stage, must of necessity be the restoration of National identity and pride. This is absolutely vital, for without our identity and self respect, no further progress is possible. Once our identity, pride, self respect and patriotism are established the second stage must be implemented, i.e. the Nationalist Movement, to channel and guide patriotic sentiments into a positive and concentrated struggle for freedom. The third stage is the organisation necessary to back up the demand for national freedom and defend the native heritage by all the means at its disposal should all other means prove futile in the face of a brutal oppressor.

"It is a sin against national faith to expect national freedom without making use of the necessary means to obtain it."

Here in Cymru, the organisation responsible for the first stage, is 'Cofw' which organises the Cymric rally in honour of Llywelyn II, Caedrawyn, and Bryn Glas, with regard to Owain Glyndwr's war of liberation together with field trips, plaques and lectures; and generally educating the people with regard to their heritage, and restoring national pride and identity irrespective of language spoken. It was formerly known as the National Commemoration Association.

The second stage, via the "Mudiad Gwerin Cymru", (The Republican Movement), together with "Cymru Goch" and the republican elements of Plaid Cymru. And the third stage via "Byddin Rhyddid Cymru". The reader will undoubtedly find many details in this article which need further explanation but I have omitted such detail for obvious reasons, it would need a whole book to contain them. I have instead tried to give a rough idea of basic, comparatively unknown, fundamental issues, relevant to patriotic nationalism in Cymru today, particularly with regard to the non-validity of the Act of Union, and Cymric law, things played down and hushed up by English Education and propaganda media. With regard to the above any individual can obtain documentary proof of what I have written, but such documentation is not easy to come by as it is not in the interests of the English establishment that such things are made public.

In spite of the organisations involved in the Resistance Movements, it is in the end the individual that can have the greatest impact, for the surest way to national freedom is for all individuals to THINK FREE and to ACT FREE.

Burig Ap Gwilym.
GAIRM, quarterly, 100pp in Scottish Gaelic. Publishes new work in poetry and the short story, folklore, musical and literary criticism, articles on current affairs and scientific topics. Annual subscription £2.00. GAIRM 20 Waterloo St., Glasgow G2.

The Cornish Banner, organ of the Cornish National Party, quarterly, 40pp, price 30p. Subscription £1.50 (overseas £2.). Trevelgan, Gorrán, St Austell, Cornwall. Articles outlining the party's policies, about life in Cornwall, book reviews, letters, etc.

Culture in Crisis: The Future of the Welsh Language

By Clive Betts, The Mynnon Press.

This book was written after much research. The author is a journalist with The Western Mail, a "Welsh" daily. He invites us to look carefully at the problem of the minority languages, especially Welsh which, although in a privileged position compared to Breton, tends to decline. How much more urgent attention must be given to the Breton and other minority languages within the French orbit, in view of their total lack of official status!

An indication of the urgency of the examination is given in the blurb: "To to-day's Wales the bitterest battle is the struggle for the survival of this fine language... Its enemy is the 'anglicization' and its defenders are deeply divided as to the means which should be employed to prevent its disappearance. One of the best journalists of Wales, who is familiar with the subject, outlines its decline and describes its role in government, education and the press, comparing its situation with the one that obtains in other bilingual countries such as Ireland and Canada. He ascertains that over a wide area, the language is clearly on the way out. He submits a detailed set of measures to be taken in order to save it - in particular in an area of the West and North where it still holds out."

This book is a warning to all those who are involved in a similar struggle. We Bretons, among others, will find it in a reminder of what is in store for our language if we don't act firmly, in concert to obtain the satisfaction of claims which have been put repeatedly to the French governments ever since the advent of the Third Republic!

Betts's view is that "we cannot ignore the central role of the government as an influence for better or for worse. The political factor is the most important one in the development or the decline of every language. If we have English in Wales it is because the English government is also the government of Wales." Therefore, "it is the popular demand which will bring about government action and not the reverse."

But if a so-called minority language is to win official status, this demand must be raised wherever the State intervenes; and I should add the Church authorities as well, since Church and State are working practically everywhere hand in hand in language matters. Why can we not demand from the bishops that a mass in Breton be said every Sunday in every Breton-speaking parish? The last Vatican Council specified that religious services should be celebrated in the language of the place.

The author refers to the indifference of the English towards Welsh and their ignorance of the problem. In that they are like the French, but it should be recognised that the Welsh have obtained - thanks to their stronger fighting spirit too - much more from the English than the Bretons have from the French. C. Betts deals with the various aspects and levels of education, the press, the acquisition of Welsh land by the English, etc. All these problems concern us Bretons so much more, as we have not reached yet that degree of collective consciousness which characterises the Welsh in the linguistic, but also the political and economic fields. In all the Celtic countries, we have "nationalists" who don't bother to learn the national language, saying it is not essential. Let them ponder this question from Internationalism or Russification, by Dryub, (New York, 1974, p.154): "A people can even create a new homeland, but never a language; when a language dies on the lips of a people, the latter dies also..."

L. Hervé.

ÉIRE

TOGHADH AN DÁ DHÉITH-

- A. Ach céard iad na ceisteanna tábhachtacha?
B. Tá a fhios agat féin chomh maith liomsa céard iad féin - praghasanna, díothaíocht slándáil agus rí.
A. Ach na fóir-cheisteanna. Tá a fhios agat nach gcuireann na rudaí sin isteach ná amach orainne - níl chuir ariamh. Bhí muid chomh bocht céanna nuair nach raibh rudaí deichú cuid an phraghas atá siad anois.
B. Bheadh muid go dona marach an bosca bruceair seo fhíon. Fíor cheann deluxo é. D'imeodh an saol thart i ngan fhios dúinn ar fad marach é. Níl lá an tsaothain seo nach bhfuair mé na nuachtáin laethiúla ar fad, idir mhaidin is tráthóna.
A. Geofaigh chuile dhream suíochán sa dailcheantar seo.
B. Más mar sin é gabfaidh na Tories iad féin leasach - agus chuile púirtí eile i Sasana freisin. Is iontach go deo an bosca é agus ag feabhsú atá sé.
A. Níl an rogha híd chomh maith mo léan?
B. Seo seo anois. Cé a chuala ariamh an bia a bheith ar aheastán na leabhar?
A. Feictear dom go bhfuil tú ro-mheallta ar fad ag na diabbail nuachtáin chéanna le goirid. Creideann tú chuile shórt a léana tú iontu anois.
B. A, ní fóir sin. Ní dóchar ar bith iad má tá a fhios agat cén chaoi is ceart iad a usáid. Mar go bhfuil an chuid is mó de na fábhíndíthe tar éis an pholaitíocht a thréscint in Éirinn.
A. Agus cá bhfuil siad más ea?
B. Ar an radio siad ar an teilifís nó ag déanamh a n-anam.
A. An gceapá?
B. Rud eile siad na siúrachas agus na sagairt a bhíodh sna clochair agus sna mainistreacha nuair a thug muidne an bóthar orainn féin atá i mbun agus i mbarr chuile shórt faoi síde eile anois - síceolaíocht, sócailíocht, feallíocht, fógraíocht, sídeachas, eacnamaíocht trí. Agus an dream abhí aerach, doacuach, siad atá bocht, geannmaí, diaganá - cúl tuagha acu don tsaoil, don diabbal agus dá oibreacha uile.
A. Tá'n saol ina chifr thuathil.
B. Tá'n capall deire ag dul 'n' tsaigh.
A. Ach céard atá ag tarlú daríre?
B. Tada. Na scailí ag cleasaíocht leis an solas mar bhí ariamh, sin an méid.
A. A seo anois. Éirigh as. Tusa an ceann a bhíonn i gcóir ag cur i mo leithes go bhfuil mé mífhreagrach ó thaobh an phobail se. Pé scáil é tá rudaí ag tarlú. Fíach a bhfuil fáil le deich mbliana - tá leath na cathrach scríosta, tá an canál loda...
B. ... tá na boicht linn go fóill agus tá na dailíní i gcomhacht, mar bhí, mar tá, agus mar bheas go bráth.
A. 20,000 job taobh istigh de bhliain. Diabbal mara mb'fheidir go bhfaighinn féin ceann de na jobanna sin. Basaich uisce agus culaith fadaigh ó Sally. Cé ag a mbeadh a fhios cá raibh mé le blianta beaga? I gcóir ar mhídháil speisialta. Níl ach beirt nó trí eile sa tír a bhfuil fios mo chuide acu...
B. Tarfaidh dhá bhliain bheadh do theach saor ó rátaí - sa gceis go mbeadh teach agat.
A. An té a bhíonn ag magadh...
B. Tá mé dífirre. Mís maith leat an choine sin a imirt arís. Ach cumhachd tá na rialacha ag fóir níos rasta agus níos casta, an luachasachair agus an

síamh ag dul i lúbadh agus an pfonos ag dul i méid. Sin é é. Sin é atá ag tarlú daríre - freagra do cheista. A. Tá mé féin ag fóir fairsach den tsaoil seo pé scáil é. Níl daoine chomh fiahtuúil agus a bhíodh. B'fheidir go léann siad níos mo nuachtáin ach chaitheadh sé nach n-ithenn siad an oiread nó sin é fianaise na mboscaí. Níl na seallóga féin le fáil linn mar a bhíodh.

B. Sin é an scáil a barúla a chuala mé ariamh - chuir an costas maireachtála ar an mbóthar thá tráth agus anois tá sé dód thiomáint ar ais.
A. Chuirfeadh sé ag cumhachd thá ceart go leor.
B. Chuirfeadh.
A. Chuirfeadh.
B. An bhfuil saibheas an tsaoil gan teora?
A. Frithghníomh! Sin é an freagra.
B. Ach níl caint ar bith ar sin sna manifestos, an bhfuil?
A. Bhuel tá, ach níl aon rud cinnte.
B. Léigh mé ansin an lá cheana, nach fada go mbeidh pléascadh uafásach sa ngréin a seriofas an domhan seo agus domhantá uile na cruinne.
A. O, fan ort. Tá sé anseo. Tá sé mar chuid de pholasaí an Lucht Oibre....
Bun Cliste Amach.

CONRADH A. G. M. - TIONOL

The Árd-Fheis of Conradh na Gaeltuge was held this year in Kilkenny. The outgoing President, Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, was re-elected on the first count, by an overall majority. At the Árd-Fheis, which was one of the best attended and most successful in recent years, a number of policies were endorsed and decisions made on further activity. The agitation of the past year was ratified and it was proposed that more effort be made to extend this to all parts of the country. There were also calls for the strengthening of the organisation throughout the country and acceptance of minimum standards of activity for all branches. It was decided that the various campaigns - Language Rights, Broadcasting, Gaeltach, International and Educational - should be formalised and broadened. It was resolved to support plans for the development of the organisation's bi-lingual paper Rosc and to organise a National Language Rights Rally to be held in Dublin. The incoming executive was instructed to formulate and implement a plan to bring about the financial independence of the Conradh within a set time limit.

The Irish Language organisation Tionól, one of whose aims is to draw attention to the policies of the political parties with regard to the Irish Language and to organise supporters of the language to vote for those with the best policies, has been active in the run up to the General Election in the Republic. They have been canvassing the parties and arranging meetings in different constituencies to bring issues affecting the language to the fore particularly those associated with education (or the lack of it) through Irish, an adequate Irish service on T.V. and Radio, the often promised Gaeltacht Authority and the question of facilitating those who wish to conduct their business with the State and its agencies through Irish. At the time of writing it seems clear that no positive response is forthcoming from the Coalition parties and while vague promises have been made in the Opposition's manifesto, many important details remain to be clarified. It is hoped that the efforts of Tionól will bear some fruit in producing more positive State policies.

THE NORTH

The history of the present conflict in Northern Ireland is probably well-known to most of the readers of this magazine, but in case there are some who are not aware of it, let me give a very brief summary.

After a sustained struggle for independence against British forces, a treaty was signed which partitioned Ireland. Of a 32 county Ireland, 26 counties were to form an independent Republic and 6 counties were to remain inside the United Kingdom.

The area to remain inside the United Kingdom was decided by the simple device of defining an area which had a sizeable Loyalist population which would presumably govern by majority-rule in perpetuity ... and, which would not contain a sizeable enough Nationalist population to cause much trouble. The importance of that last "and", I will deal with more fully anon.

Since the signing of that treaty, two states; the Catholic South and the Protestant North have grown up and whatever small differences may have existed before the treaty have been accentuated and deliberately exaggerated ... mainly by politicians on both sides of the border for political gain.

The inward-looking state in the North, feeling threatened by the enemy within the walls, as it were, devised various methods to curtail the Nationalist population inside its boundaries ... enforced emigration by job-deprivation, the gerrymandering of constituencies, etc. were among the delightfully subtle methods used.

The Republic in the South, although holding even in its constitution the aspiration to a United Republic encompassing the 6 counties of the North, over a period of years became almost as inward-looking as the North and after a time, cared little or nothing about what happened inside that state. The result was, of course, that a huge ignorance developed in both states about what was going on in the other.

All during this period, a guerrilla army, with varying degrees of ferocity, carried on a number of campaigns aimed at achieving a United Republic of Ireland. That guerrilla army, whose resilience has been described as almost phenomenal by at least one writer who is an authority on guerrilla armies, is the Irish Republican Army. The efforts of this group were suppressed by the governments on both sides of the border ... in the North because their stated aim was the destruction of that state and in the South because the Government feared that, given a moderate military success, the IRA might come to power. "Protecting the security of the State" was, however, how they described it ... even when it meant internment.

Two states then developed happily until the emergence of a passive resistance campaign under the guise of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement, shook the foundations of both. But before we go into that, there is one thing which the violence of the past few years has obscured. Capt. Terence O'Neill who was Prime Minister of Northern Ireland when the Civil Rights Campaign started has been hailed as a liberal leader. It did not start with the campaign for civil rights. I suggest that it started one year before that when a survey of schools in Northern Ireland revealed that just over 50% of school children there were Catholics ... and thereby, by political persuasion, Nationalist. The implications for Unionism of this survey were devastating. The methods of curtailment were failing. There would have to be concessions to try and make every little Catholic child into a happy little Unionist.

But how does one concede anything when one has built a system on the war-cry of NO SURRENDER ... That system, as we now know, turned on every single leader who

attempted to concede and unceremoniously ate him for breakfast.

The rest is history. The suppression of the Civil Rights Campaign, the change from passive resistance to a full scale armed battle, the emergence of the IRA, the introduction of the British army, the mounting death-toll, direct rule and finally stalemate ... which is what I think the present military situation in N. Ireland is.

The Retreat of the Republic

It has been stated openly by leaders of the IRA, that their army was almost defunct before 1969. They had little arms and fewer volunteers. At a republican parade in Derry in 1966, fewer than 150 people attended the annual Republican parade ... that is a fair picture of how high republican feeling in that part of N. Ireland ran.

Nevertheless, when Catholic homes in Belfast were attacked by sectarian mobs, a few lone gunmen of the IRA held them off and gained massive respect in the Catholic strongholds.

The actions of these men contrasted favourably with the attitudes of the Government of the day in the Republic who claimed to be the guarantor of the security of the Northern minority but who in fact did little other than set up field hospitals. The Prime Minister of the Republic at this time, beat feebly at his shield, but the fact remains that the Irish army did not cross the border to protect the minority. If you asked anyone from Belfast at this time, who represented the army of the Irish people he would have said the IRA.

The changing attitudes of the people of the 26 county republic then and since are of a truly remarkable nature. One could almost compare them to that community in Switzerland who spoke a dialect of German and who so emphasised their accent over the war years that they became unintelligible to ordinary Germans ... this was an unconscious drive towards disassociation. The change in the attitude of the people of the republic was no less astonishing.

A large part of the republic's culture was based on the struggle over seven hundred years for independence. Songs, poems, plays and indeed, the visual arts are permeated by the romantic vision of the Irish people living in an all-Ireland republic, free for once and for all from dependence on or subservience to Britain. In a partitioned Ireland, the emphasis of this vision switched inevitably to the six lost counties of the North. The vision would have to be completed. For many years the IRA, or "the lads" as they were affectionately called became in the mind of the people of the South the romantic agents who would realize that vision. That was until the guns actually arrived, so to speak.

The romantic vision did not entail the actual spilling of blood. Somehow the IRA could achieve this aim by, say, blowing up transformers and the like.

When the IRA undertook their devastating campaign and as pictures of blood and dismembered limbs filled the television screens of the South, the clouds of romanticism began to disappear.

The price of the national vision became clear. A more uncharitable view holds that, in fact, the price became too high when Ireland's tourist trade and industrial hopes became affected by the continuing campaign in the North.

What did happen however, with the help of the native government's propaganda machine, was that the romantic heroes of song and story who came to life in front of the population's eyes, used the most unromantic methods to fight superior odds. If that had been the only effect, it would not have been so bad. However, not only did the people of the Republic disassociate themselves from the

shadowy gunmen, they also disassociated themselves, in their enthusiasm, from a good part of their own culture. The rights of yesterday became today's wrong. The freedom-fighters of the past became common murderers. Encouraged by government ministers, a rethink of Ireland's history had begun and was to end in the nightmarish Orwellian solution ... if the history of yesterday does not fit the policies of today, change the history. Herein lies, what I believe to be a profound danger for the whole population of the Island of Ireland.

The inevitable result has been that the government of the Republic has abandoned Ireland's historic struggle for total independence in favour of a mouthful of platitudes.

But an even more serious result has not been seen by many inside the South's republic.

The Southern Government has joined with the forces of Britain to destroy the IRA. They condemn the IRA for presuming to speak for the Irish people. Few will deny that, given the circumstances I have described, the IRA do not speak for the Irish people.

However, there is one question left unanswered ... What force will be the guarantor of the minority's security in N. Ireland? When the Dublin government has answered that question, they will have effectively destroyed the IRA, because the IRA's role as defender of the people will have been taken from them.

The lack of resolve and the lack of a policy on the part of the Dublin government does not give grounds for optimism ... nor does their present onslaught on the cultural singular vein of Ireland and the few drops of self respect which remain there.

I wish to make it clear that I do not refer to the militaristic tradition of this country when I say that, but, I merely wish to point out that in an effort to lance the boil, the government would seem to be well on the way to skinning the whole bloody patient.

Peadar Gordon.

IRISH BRANCH INTERCELTIC CONCERT

An interceltic concert was held by the Irish Branch of the League in Dublin on April 29th. The concert was held to raise funds for the publishing of two booklets. The first of these is a booklet giving information on the language and cultural organisations in the Celtic countries which the Celtic League undertook to produce following the Celtic Languages Conference which was held in Rath Cairn last year. The second is a pamphlet on the links between Ireland and the Isle of Man during the Viking period. This has been written by Shorrs y Creadryr and will be a bilingual Manx-Irish publication funded by the Manx Language Society and the Irish Branch of the League. It was decided that as such concerts are rare an attempt should be made to make the evening an interceltic one as far as possible. We are happy to report that this was achieved and that a good night was had by all. Music and/or songs were heard from all the Celtic countries except Kernow and a considerable sum was raised. The list of those who contributed to the success of the night is too long to give here but we would like to thank sincerely all those artists who performed and also all those of our members who helped us to sell tickets and organise the event.

Thanks must also go to the Celtic Bookshop (6 St. Fearchair, B.A.C. 2), Gael Linn, Club on Chonradh, Fear a'Phoirtin and Shorrs, all of whom donated prizes for the raffle which added in no small way the financial success of the night. The Manx-Irish pamphlet is currently being translated into Irish and it is hoped that the compilation of the directory of organisation will be completed shortly. Both booklets should therefore appear before the end of the year.

GENERAL ELECTION

After over four years of rule by the Coalition composed of the Fine Gael and Labour parties an election was declared in the Republic for the 16th of June. Over the weeks preceding the election a high pressure campaign has been run by the Opposition Fianna Fáil Party who unveiled a manifesto full of promises along with a pop song and monogrammed tee-shirts. Among the many promises were increased tax allowances, the abolition of rates on dwellings, the abolition of Road Tax on cars up to and including 16h.p., a scheme to abolish existing ground rents, a programme to create 20,000 new jobs in their first year in office followed by 60,000 over the following two years and prices increases to be kept to 7% next year.

The Fine Gael party following its extremely jingoistic A.G.M. went into the election campaign claiming that the Government performance had been excellent in view of the overall recession and promising that if re-elected they would cut the inflation rate to 2% next year, abolish rates on houses over a two year period, introduce a flatdwellers charter and establish a National Development Corporation. Their junior partner, the Labour Party, has been rent by internal divisions. These centred mainly on the efforts of the Left wing of the party to have its own candidates nominated in a number of constituencies. These efforts were thwarted by the manipulations of the Head Office and the imposition of Head Office candidates. The result is that independent Labour candidates are standing in a number of areas and the party strength is depleted in others.

Sinn Féin - The Workers Party are fielding 16 candidates, without on the face of it much chance of success with one possible exception, on a programme of nationalisation of natural resources and massive State investment to build an industrial base and create employment. In Dublin a number of Community candidates are standing and there are also candidates from the I.R.S.P. and Independent Fianna Fáil in some constituencies.

Economic issues tend to have dominated the campaign and the question of the North has not become a major issue with all the major parties stating that they would follow the same security policies as in force at present and continue co-operation with the British. At the time of writing as the campaign draws to a close both the Coalition and Fianna Fáil are claiming that they are confident of victory. Two factors will certainly have an outcome on the result. The first and major one is the revision of the constituency boundaries carried out by the Labour Coalition Local Government Minister Mr. J. Tully. Commonly known as "Tully's Gerrymander" it is said by many political analysts to virtually guarantee the Coalition's return to power with the type of Proportional Representation voting system used here and the number of seats allotted to the various constituencies. Another is the large number of young people between 16 and 21 (about 400,000) who will be voting for the first time now that the voting age is reduced to 18. Whichever grouping is brought to power it seems unlikely that those who are genuinely interested in full political, economic and cultural independence for Ireland will have much to be optimistic about. [Editor's note - see p. 20 for Election results.]

CELTIC BOOKSHOP. (An Siopa Leabhar) 6 St. Fearchair, B.A.C. 2, Eire. Large selection of books in Irish and of Irish interest. Wide range of books on the Celtic countries. Catalogue Available.

Gael Linn - FONODISC. Creation Arcade, Grattan St., B.A.C. 2. Best selection of Irish traditional records and folk music. Large stock of classical records.

KERNOW



Above left: Official Road Sign. Right: Unofficial sign. Pow Saws = England.

Assa vu plegadow dhyrn gweles an kensa prys an arweth orth agan or ow e teryvas mar efan dalith gwias Kernow. Ena yma neb un esel Seneth Westminster ow kelwel war tus sodhak Londres may whrontyons cumyas dhyrn a sevel agan baner agan honen!

My a lever homma: bodhen-ny war na vo oll an re-ma res dhyrn-ny hep gallos-nyth dhe omrethys. Dre agan gasa dhe dhrehevel an baner Sen Peran ha dre acryfa Kernow pup tyller, y fynnos-y sur lowr gul dhe'n arwedhow gwias na vona-y namur es facienow coynt dhe'n havyes. Saw martesen aga geryans a wra trelysa adro ha codha war gyl aga fen. Pan wel tus Kernow scryffys, y a yl eryrya dyndyl hanow Kernowyon ha sewya An Gof!

Its possible, and to be feared, that by letting us have "Kernow" on road signs, and soon probably by allowing the flag too, they mean to draw our teeth. Perhaps though this plan may recoil on them by reminding Cornish people of their proud name!

LADRANS AGAN TYR

Y'n dedhyow-ma y tegoth dhe bap huny yn Kernow whythra orth tebelwryans Aberpym yn an cyta Sawnek a sef war lan an Avon Tamara a dal Essa (Saltash). An cyta-ma a dyl kepar ha cunker ha hy ow consumya pup buthyn gwer ha pup cos cosel adrohedhy.

Lemmyrn Aberpym yu gyllys hep tyr yn le may hyl drehevel ken hag yma hy ow myras orth Kernow gans hy deulagas lun a avy del wei agan buthynow hep chyw po gwythvow warnedha. Rag henna yma Consel Aberpym ow codros Kernow hag yma hy ow lemdyda tyr lowr rak 800 chy.

Yn termyn us passyes an Counsel Kernewek ny vu lent dhe geredhy Aberpym mes lemmyrn del hevel yma kesoberyans ynter Aberpym ha Consel Caradon. Yndella y tegoth dhe bobel Kernow sevel erbyn bragynas Aberpym ha leveri dhedhy na gyl odra tyr Kernewek dhe gollennel y hanrowow maystry.

[Shortages of development land in the English city of Plymouth have led to demands by the City Council for building land in S.E. Kernow. There is apparent collaboration between Plymouth and the local district council.]

KERNOW RECOGNISED

It is noticeable that increasingly companies offering "linguist holidays" in the British Isles distinguish Cornwall from England in their adverts, at least in France. Whilst it is very doubtful if the difference is based on anything other than the similarity between tourist facilities in Kernow, Cymru, and Alba, and the difference between them and the more urban tourism of England, nevertheless it does mean that someone somewhere is doing a good job to bring Kernow to the attention of the world. Whether tourism is to be welcomed is another matter, but we have at least got a clearer base from which to present our own propaganda. I. H.

UNEMPLOYMENT

If one looks hard enough in the local Unionist papers the good news of a fall in Cornwall's unemployment rate may be discovered tucked away on page 6. We are now informed that the rate has fallen from the post-war high of 12.8% in January. But at 10.8% in May Cornwall's dole queues are still twice as long as those for England and according to an English govt. spokesman only the Western Isles of Scotland of any administrative county (sic) in 'Great Britain' has a higher rate.

The worst areas in Cornwall are those dependent upon the parasitical tourist 'industry'. Portlisa (St. Ives) having enjoyed a winter rate of around 21-22% unemployed (equivalent to around 1 in 3 men out of work) and Newquay suffering 15%. At least the workers of these towns will have the opportunity of employment at near starvation wage levels in the tourist industry during the coming months.

Less tourist dominated local economies such as Helston, Penzance, Camborne-Redruth and Liskeard will be lucky to see their unemployed fall to less than 10% of the total workforce during the summer.

Indeed, mass unemployment has been endemic in Cornwall since well before the present capitalist crisis. This in turn has sapped the confidence of many Cornish people and makes it difficult to confront the low wage payers or to mount an effective campaign against unemployment.

And it is only through the latter that we can hope to alleviate our situation. We can put no faith in the ineffectual blottings of powerless 'local' M.P.'s or an English government whose economic policies are designed to force the poorest sections of our community to pay the costs of the crisis of their economic system. Neither can we look for help here in Cornwall to an English careerist dominated administrative infrastructure totally (and deliberately?) insensitive to the needs of the Cornish people; or to a rootless and comparatively well-off English settler class ignorant or uncaring about our problems, or a pathetic County (sic) council composed largely of disguised and undisguised Conservatives, retired businessmen and the middle and landed classes wedded to Unionism.

THE LANGUAGE

The long struggle facing Cornish language users has been illustrated by a recent case in Cornwall. In an attempt to use the language in an everyday fashion a Cornish speaker went to place a bilingual advert with the Truro based 'West Briton' local paper for accommodation to let. Much to the advertiser's surprise the West Briton refused to accept the ad. and on attempting to elicit a reason no answer was received from a very hostile desk manager.

Letters to the Editor demanding a statement of advertising policy have been ignored and the issue only received further publicity through an English Sunday newspaper in Plymouth. (The other 4 major 'local' papers in Cornwall are all owned either by the Mail group or Beaverbrook.)

Yet this same paper has printed Cornish several times in a 'cultural' context and has stated it would do so again. The struggle begins when we attempt to remove the language from its present quaint mummified status as an adjunct to the tourist industry, and bring it into everyday use.

A campaign is now being started to force the West Briton, which incidentally has a long anti-Cornish record, to recognise our right to use our own language in our own country. This, plus another planned campaign to persuade banks to accept cheques in Cornish only, are indications of the growing determination of some Cornish users.

Cornish Course

"TAM KERNEWEK" (A little bit of Cornish) - new L.P. record with Richard Gendall from the Cornish based company Sentinel Records, Newlyn, Nr. Penzance. As the

booklet enclosed with the record says, "A completely non-political course compiled by Richard G." The record is intended to stimulate the uninitiated and help the beginner by giving everyday phrases in Cornish and English. Another excellent addition to our stock of language material.

M.K. MAYOR

Mebyon Kernow have had their first official Mayor elected in Liskeard, East Kernow. Roger Holmes an officer of M.K. and who is also on the approved list of prospective parliamentary candidates is one of M.K.'s most experienced members in local government campaigning - increasing his vote in the last district election by 50% by changing his previous independent councillor status to that of official M.K. candidate and winning a place on the District Council.

ELECTION EFFORT

Following the contests to win seats on the "Cornwall County Council" there has been the usual post-election silence from the organisations involved in the political struggle for Cornish self-government. Mebyon Kernow was the only national party to put forward official candidates in the May election, although the Chairman of the Cornish Nationalist Party stood under an "Independent" label. A few weeks prior to the election, the newly formed youth section of the C.N.P. which had been given the title of "Greenashirts" by the news media (see CARN 16) and organised by it, seems a new convert to Cornish nationalism, announced that they were breaking away from the parent body to form a new group to be called the "Cornish Front" which would be affiliated to the "National Front". M.K. on the whole, are not displeased with the result of their first real effort at gaining seats in a local government election. There is a long way to go before there will be a nationalist candidate fielded for each of the 79 seats on the Cornwall Council, but as a start M.K.'s 7 candidates received 1,736 votes or 17% of the poll. It would be difficult to assess what affect the "Greenashirts" business had on the nationalist result but we can be sure that similar incidents aimed at 'cutting down' potential support for the national movement at critical times will increase as we gain momentum. Since the first news of the formation of the "Cornish Front" nothing has been heard of them. I. J. Williams.

[Cowlways continued from end of 2nd column]

Following performances at Pen y Groes on Good Friday, and an informal lunchtime session at Canolfan Tanybont Caernafon, other venues were the Club Trebon Rhyll, and a Ghenea, this last event being organised by Plaid Cymru. An invitation to perform at the splendid premises at Caernafon this Autumn is evidence of the interest shown by the audiences.

The Manx party was most impressed by the energetic and uncompromising efforts being made by the young Welsh in the cause of their language and culture. They were also frankly envious of their language club in Caernafon. Members of Yn Cheshaght Ghalloghagh have long had ambitions for a similar centre for their own activities but have so far been thwarted. The exhibition at the Easter school at Pen y Groes suggested to them ways of extending the acceptance of bilingualism, and very interesting informal discussions about bilingual schools stimulated other ideas for promoting the Manx cause. Another happy result of the trip was the intention expressed by some of the Welsh party to organize a visit to Mannin later this year. When they come we hope to return the kindness and hospitality they displayed at Easter. C. Jerry.

MANNIN

SEYRANYS NY HALBEY - NY VEG (Independence for Scotland - or Nothing)

The collapse of the Westminster Devolution Bill has sharpened the political issues in Scotland. More people can now see why the annual conference of the SNP has decisively opted for full independence for Scotland.

Ta fya ec dy chothyll pellaig dy row yn Slattys ry-hoi Jee-veanaghey (Devolution) ceat nagh ayns Kiere as Feed Lunin er y fa nagh vel ny Sottee as nyn paaryn credjal ayn. Anasheer, quot ta gvearee geddyn rey rish e chartye hese? Dy jinnagh MP-yn Westminster reih poar firrinagh y chur da Nalbin as da Bretain, veagh kuse jiu coayt nyn giartaghyn. Son shickryys, cha nel monney Sottee credjal dy vel Nalbin as Bretain nyn ashooyyn firrinagh. Yn ynterian red ta polit-ickeryyn Hostyn goall aggle roish, shen yn SNP. Tad guee dy debejagh dy jed yn SNP ass shillee as dy jean ny hashooneyryn theie ersooyl. My vees Sheshaght Obree Hostyn foast ayns poar, prowee Michael Foot present dy jannoo Slattys Jee-veanaghey elley breoil, agh gyn ourys bee shoh fardallagh neesht. Anasheer, s'cosoylagh dy vow Thoreeyn Hostyn yn varriaght sy voar-reihys shoh cheet. Surrys ern-dy vel yn Inneen-Yarn hene, Eir Thatcher, alane no'n jee-veanaghey.

Kydagh rish shoh, cha rhyrrys dy dooyrt Sheshaght Ashoonagh ny halbey dy vel ee no'n jee-veanaghey as ayns foayr jeh seyrans kiart. Myr dooyrt Eir Margo Mac Donald, cha nee ve fuirraghtyn rish jee-veanaghey West-minster as cha nee tannaghtyn lesh y status quee. Dooyrt ee nagh vel agh un red faaght: seyrans kiart. Mannagh row red enagh jeant dy theihys reihys ny halbey, veagh sleih erskyn towae fegoiash obbyn sy cheer. Vee tolgal dy vel ymmdoe Albinee goall aggle voar roish seyrans kiart. Agh veeagh redoyr amsaey foast taghyrt dy jinnagh Nalbin tannaghtyn marish Sotyn.

T'en jeshaghtyn dy vel Gordon Wilson, ren goll dys Ardcoill Ghoolish, ny maast-oc shid syn SNP ta dy jean ayns foayr jeh seyrans kiart. Dooyrt eh dy vel yn Cheshaght Obree ayns Nalbin yn cheshaght jeh'n tra hie shaghey. Vee er choayt yn sleih aag as er chur yn oik er sheen sleih. As va ny Thoreeyn scollit dy bolagh kyndagh rish yn jee-veanaghey. Dooyrt Mar Wilson dy jinnagh yn SNP cosney seyrans da Nalbin dy jinnagh ad goll er nyn doolaght or y choorse kiart.

Myr shen, ta'n caggye politickiash ayns Nalbin er jeet dy ve ny smoo cronall. Ta'n SNP shassoo dy baghtal son seyrans kiart. Ayns nyn greaghyn, ta politickeryn Lunin goall aggle roish y tra y best. Gyn ourys, shoh yn oyr ta ben-reih Hostyn as e dooinsey er cheat tra fad-day rouall had ny halbey erriash jee v'ee ghra dy row ee crooinit myr ben-reih jeh'n Heerlaght Unasseyait. Ta Lunin jannoo ymmyd jeh'n jubilee shoh ry-hoi ghraih-cheery y niarlaghey ayns Sotyn hene. As ta Lunin treishleil dy jean shillee bog jeh ben-reih Hostyn kiart yn SNP y laggaghey begoon, ga dy dooyrt yn SNP veagh yet ad no'n ven-reih hene. Dy jarroo, bee yn smoo-reihys shoh cheet ayns dy dooar. Brian Mac Shyll.

COWLWAYS

A group of Manx musicians, singers, and dancers visited Cymru over the Easter weekend, the trip being organised through contacts made when two members of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymrag came to Mannin to address members of Yn Cheshaght Ghalloghagh earlier this year. This visit was itself a result of suggestions made at last summer's language conference at Rath Chairn.

[Continued at end of 1st column]

THE COLIGNY KELTIC CALENDAR.

All thanks to the Editor of CARN for this opportunity to attract the attention of its keltic minded readers to OUR wonderful and much overlooked Coligny Calendar. This unique bronze tablet provides us with our forefathers' astonishing astronomical knowledge but still more with their extremely original and highly synthetic philosophical system.

This unique bronze exemplar was unearthed at the turn of this century near Coligny, Jura, Free-County of Burgundy. It was broken into many fragments. What- ever was retrieved is kept in the Museum of Lyons. It was immediately noticed that its language was undoubtedly keltic - but consisted mostly of abbreviations which so far have resisted clear understanding. Its roman lettering shows it to have been engraved (in defiance of druidic teaching) at the beginning of the common era, when indeed druidic teaching on the Continent must have been already much shaken.

The first and magnificent breakthrough in attempts to unveil its secrets was achieved by the late Eoin Mac Néill and published at the end of the thirties (in English) in the Irish review *Eriu*. He discovered the recurrent rules governing its permutations and coherent intricacies, which "keltic" the whole calendrical Period into one piece, and was thus able to give a safe reconstruction of the whole. Yet the meanings of these coherent mechanisms have also so far resisted clear understanding. Further progress was achieved by the present writer and pre- maturely published (in French) in the German *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie* in the year 1942. It established the correspondence with the modern common Calendar, fixing in modern terms the beginnings of Periods, years, months (and days), and showed their perfect agreement with the gist of the druidic philosophy as described by the well-informed Caesar in his "Gaulish War" - "The druids teach that night has precedence over day".

The Calendar's general constitution can be thus briefly stated:-

- 30 days congregate to make a "complete" month (and 23 to make an "incomplete" one).
- 60 months (plus two built-up "complementary" ones) congregate to make the calendrical Period.
- The Period divides into five years.
- The year divides into twelve months. Hereafter from memory their names and rough correspondences: SAMON- (30 days) October; DYMANN- (29 days) November; RIVROS- (30 days) December; ANAGANT- (30 days) January; OGRON- (30 days) February; CVTIOS- (30 days) March; GIAMON- (29 days) April; SEMIVISONN- (30 days) May; EQVOS- (28-30 days) June; ELEMBY- (29 days) July; AEDRIN- (30 days) August; CANTLOS- (29 days) September.

When the sixty-month Period was finished, another one was obviously introduced. Actually, this writer got it printed and re-entyped every year from VIII to XVII (1950-51) without finding it to depart one day from its Sun-and-Moon astronomical system. Due to lack of space there is no question of giving here even a brief comprehensive account of the Coligny Calendar. I shall only dwell on the six following points which I assume to be within the interests of if I have awakened their wish to inform themselves better about it: The Coligny Calendar is highly scientific, eminently practical, linguistically keltic, philosophically druidic, knitting time into one synthetic unit, and requiring a very elaborate astronomical central observatory.

- Highly scientific:** Anyone who is an old jaybird has noticed on the whitewashed cell

walls the frequency among graffiti of the groups of vertical small bars (generally in fours or in sixes) cut across by a long horizontal one. This was the spontaneous way for prisoners to keep account of the passage of time in their complete absence of information. I call it an unscientific system. Such is the seven-day week which bravely ploughs its way through all times, months, years and calendrical systems with no reference to Astronomy. Yet although it is very simple (-giam) the seven-night week is, of course, very ancient among us, most stable, and native to us Kelts (and also to the Teutons) contrary to the current opinion.

The modern common calendar is only semi-scientific as it knows only solar time. The years are kept adjusted to the Astronomy of the sun. But though it mentions months, these are merely relics bravely ploughing their way without any reference to the Astronomy of the moon. The keltic calendar is highly scientific: It keeps a joint account of both the solar and lunar astronomical times.

II. Eminently practical: The months begin with the last quarter of the moon. The new moon occurs on the seventh or eighth. The first quarter on the fifteenth (uniformly marked ATENOUX) and the full moon on the 22 or 23rd of every month. Therefore a quick glance at the shape of the moon allows one to say: "To-day is the 13th of the current month". As for this month, one would know it by noting at any time around noon where one's shadow extends on any bit of flat ground and measuring it with one's feet as children do: The number of feet would reveal to him what is the current month. His noon shadow is longest in December and shortest in June, to grow again to its December length. Actually, the decreasing April shadow would be about the same length as the growing August one; and so on. But a quick glance at the surrounding vegetation would differentiate April from August, March from September, etc., so that with a good degree of accuracy anyone with no other information could say: "To-day is the 13th of the month Giamon of the current year". I would challenge anyone using the common calendar with no watch, no sundial, no radio, no reading and no writing to achieve the same and to be able to announce: "To-day is April 23 in the current year".

III. Linguistically Keltic: There are only slight differences between the Coligny dialect of Keltic and the contemporary insular Keltic. For example, the "second" is rendered "ALLOS", as on the La Graufesenque graffiti in Southern France, whereas all modern Keltic languages go back to a form of "ALLOS". The use of the letter Q for a K-sound has resulted in a lot of eminent learned stupidities about Gaelic, Sequana, prekelts, etc., rivaling the Big Bang, the Expanding Universe, and the brilliant Einsteinian odds. In fact, I realised before 1945 that this Q had no more meaning than in the French names "Épique, Amérique, etc." beside the adjectives "épique, Américain, etc." and was due to the already uncertain pronunciation of the classical Latin C. Latin had no K. Thus we find the month CVTIOS generally written, but occasionally QVTIOS. And the word Ki meaning "here, this here" appears once as Ci [Ci ALLOS B. = Here the second (half-Period)] and once as QVI [IN QVI MON. = in this here (lunar month?)]. Space compels me to stop here, Ki!

IV. Philosophically druidic: All time intervals: Period, years, months (and days by extension) are divided into two halves. To the first half (or at least its beginning) belongs obscurity and cold. To the second half belongs light and eventually warmth, according to Caesar's and Pliny's druidic dictum "The druids teach that the night (and winter = giam) has precedence over daylight (and summer = sam)." "

The first half-period consists of 30 months, a "month of months", and is headed by one of the two complementary months. It begins with a SAMON month introducing winter. The second half-period, similarly a month of months and similarly headed by the second complementary month, begins with a GIAMON month introducing a summer.

The five years, clearly indicated by the fivefold repetition of the twelve monthly names, are bipartitioned by alternating SAMON (roughly October) and GIAMON (roughly April) with the winters coming first.

All months are similarly bipartitioned by the word ATENOUX (taken to mean "re-shaping", of the half-moon shape which began the month). Their first half, from the last quarter to the first quarter, consists of the obscure moonless nights of the new moon. Their second half consists of the full moon and all the long-moonlit nights.

The same rule of giam-sam allows us to conclude that the daylight began towards sunset, with the night as first half, and the daylight as second half.

This precedence of giam over sam allows us also to understand why the Kelts (and also the Teutons) counted time and age by nights and winters, contrary to all Mediterranean usage. Cf. also such linguistic relics as the English word "fortnight" for two weeks, and the French "huitaine" and "quinzaine" (of days) for a seven-night week and two weeks.

V. Intricately knitted into a synthetic unit: Those coherent mechanisms of permutations and borrowing of days between months and years are too long to be developed here. Let the reader refer to their discoverer Eoin Mac Néill. Only one remark: The month SAMON which begins the winter half of the year borrows its name from the preceding Summer (SAM-) and similarly the month GIAMON borrows its name from the preceding winter (GIAM-).

VI. Requiring a very elaborate astronomical central observatory: All calendrical systems of astronomical nature need astronomical observation to prevent them from going astray. This is due to one main cause, plus a subsidiary one:

- The real mean yearlength, monthlength, daylength are not in rational relations with one another. It is therefore impossible to express them as fractions or multiples of one another. Every calendrical astronomical system will thus necessarily introduce slight discrepancies which, in the long run, will put it out of gear.
- Yearlength and other lengths are not exactly static.

It is known that our present monthlength and daylength are very slowly increasing, whereas our present yearlength is probably very slowly decreasing.

For these two reasons, every astronomical calendrical system required continuous astronomical observation to put it right from time to time. We are all familiar with the common solar calendar adding of a day to the year every four years; then there is the retrenchment of a day every century or so, and there is an endless (and changing) series of other corrections every millennium and so on.

Yet the common calendar takes account of the Sun as well, as does the druidic calendar, the need for accurate and centralised astronomical observation gets compounded.

Since it was in the charge of our druids, they must have used one central observatory necessarily of a monumental nature and not inconsiderable fame. That it was Stonehenge in Wiltshire has been established in great detail by the present writer and published (in Breton) in the review *Ar Bed Keltiek* (after 1966).

(An English version ready since 1966 still awaits a publisher.) This last assertion has two important sequelae:

- Stonehenge has been in astronomical operation until the days of the Roman conquest of Southern Britain.
- the druidic Calendar - known from the unique bronze tablet engraved around year zero - had been in use for at least one to two millennia, since the central rings and horseshoes of stones in Stonehenge were built for its astronomical control.

Conclusion: In view of its scientific nature, coherence, practicality, regular intricacies, exactitude, extreme originality and all superior characteristics, not to mention its age, I have no hesitation whatsoever in proclaiming this Calendar to be one of the main marvels of the human World - a marvel which ought to make us modern Kelts feel as proud as peacocks. Alas! Never. Hencall.

P.S. A Newly-Spotted Elaboration in the Coligny Calendar (June 1977, Coolock)

Apart from desinence (-QOS, months 3, 6, 9, 12 have one syllable. Preceding months 2, 5, 11 (but not 8 SEMIVISONN) have two syllables. Still preceding months 4, 10, (but not SAMON and GIAMON) have three syllables. This is too much to be just blind chance, SAMON and GIAMON having outstanding functions can well be admitted to get outstanding treatment. Only SEMIVISONN is not accountable. I take it to be a nickname (-Mid-Spring) which has displaced the original two-syllable name (possibly just VISONN + Spring). Compare similar treatment with modern "November". Welsh "Tachwedd", nicknamed the black month, Mys Du. Breton knows only the nickname Miz Du. Similarly with "December". This shows the druids to have been particularly concerned with arithmetic. N. H.

A NEW INFORMATION ORDER?

A study of the global flows of TV programmes carried out for UNESCO in 1973 by Dr. Tapio Varis and Dr. Kaarle Nordenstreng of Tampere University, Finland, revealed that the economically and politically dominant countries of the West also dominate the poorer and weaker countries of the World via the cultural-informational apparatus. In short, the study, which was published by UNESCO as "TV Traffic a One-Way Street?", showed that the rich industrial, former imperial countries flood the rest of the non-socialist world with their TV material and control the collection, editing and distribution of TV newfilm. The Anglo-American core (USA and Britain) export over 200,000 hours of TV programmes per year. This represents more than five times the total exports of the rest of the World combined. Three Anglo-American news agencies control most of the global flows of newfilm.

On the receiving end, are dozens of countries which, like Ireland, depend on Anglo-American for 60% to over 90% of the TV material broadcast on their national TV services. RTE in the 26 countries broadcasts about 80% Anglo-American and the TV services in the 6 countries broadcast about 98% Anglo-American material, while imports of newfilm are almost exclusively Anglo-American.)

The Tampere Study was initiated as a result of the increasing expressions of concern by the formerly colonised countries whose accession to membership of the UN and UNESCO forced a re-think by these international bodies of the real meaning and effects of the "free flow of information" slogan, which for the previous twenty-five years had been the ideological legitimisation of the Anglo-American cultural empire. The UN and UNESCO, of course, had

been fully committed to the slogan and their conversion to the ideal of balance (even if there are still doubts about the wholeheartedness of the conversion) is an event of considerable significance in contemporary history.

Of even greater significance, are the pronouncements and activities of the Non-Aligned Countries, the over eighty-member organisation of the Third World, and formerly colonial states, who simultaneously, with the publication of the Tampere Study, began to establish practical institutions to enable them to achieve cultural sovereignty.

The Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned countries in Algiers in September 1973 pointed out that economic and political imperialism had an important cultural aspect, and furthermore stated that the Non-Aligned countries should "consider that the cultural alienation and imported civilization imposed by imperialism and colonialism should be countered by a re-personalisation, and by constant and determined recourse to the peoples' own social and cultural values, which define it as a sovereign people. Guide lines laid down by the heads of state for progress towards this aim by their states, included:-

- Reorganise existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past and which have hampered free direct and fast communication between them.
- Initiate action for revision of existing multilateral agreements with a view to reviewing press cable rates and facilitating faster and cheaper intercommunication.
- Take urgent steps to expedite the process of collective ownership of communication satellites and evolve a code of conduct for directing their use.
- Promote increased contact between the mass media, universities, libraries, planning and research bodies, and other institutions, so as to enable developing countries to exchange experience and expertise and share ideas.

These were not idle words. The Non-Aligned Foreign Ministerial Conference in Lima in August 1975 could report the setting up in February 1975 of the Pool of Non-Aligned Countries for exchange of information (Centred in Yugoslavia).

In July 1976 a Conference of Information Ministers and Directors of Press Agencies of the Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi issued the New Delhi Declaration. The Declaration and the action plan prepared by the New Delhi Conference were endorsed by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo Sri Lanka, in August 1976.

In view of the importance of both statements to the struggle for cultural sovereignty and to counter the so far successful efforts of the media in Europe to suppress awareness of them, excerpts from New Delhi and Colombo Statements are reproduced below:

NEW DELHI DECLARATION

Non-aligned countries meeting for the first time at the high political level of ministers of information having taken note of the persistent and the serious imbalance in the current global information situation and its adverse effects on them, have recognized the need to liberate their information and mass media from the colonial legacy and have expressed their collective determination to rectify this situation and add a new dimension to the ever increasing cooperation among themselves by promoting mutual cooperation among themselves in all fields of information, communication, mass media and social and cultural interaction.

- The conference noted that:
a) The present global information flows are marked by a serious inadequacy and imbalance. The means of

communicating information are concentrated in a few countries. The great majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of information which is disseminated from a few centres.

- This situation perpetuates the colonial era of dependence and domination. It confines judgements and decisions on what should be known, and how it should be made known, into the hands of a few.
- The dissemination of information rests at present in the hands of a few agencies located in a few developed countries, and the rest of the peoples of the world are forced to see each other, and even themselves, through the medium of these agencies.
- Just as political and economic dependence are legacies of the era of colonialism, so is the case of dependence in the field of information which in turn retards the achievement of political and economic growth.
- In a situation where the means of information are dominated and monopolized by a few, freedom of information really comes to mean the freedom of these few to propagate information in the manner of their choosing and the virtual denial to the rest of the right to inform and be informed objectively and accurately.
- Non-aligned countries have, in particular, been the victims of this phenomenon. Their endeavours, individual or collective, for world peace, justice, and for the establishment of an equitable international economic order, have been under-played or misrepresented by international news media. Attempts have been made to erode their unity. Their efforts to safeguard their political and economic independence and stability have been denigrated.
- Non-aligned countries have few means in the present situation to know about each other, except through the channel of the existing international news media and news centres, their own news media being mainly underdeveloped or undeveloped for want of required resources.

Statement on the New Delhi Declaration

A new international order in the fields of information and mass communications is as vital as a new international economic order.

Non-aligned countries noted with concern the vast and ever growing gap between communication capacities in non-aligned countries and in the advanced countries, ... has created a situation of dependence and domination in which the majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of biased, inadequate and distorted information. The fuller affirmation of their national and cultural identity thus required them to rectify this serious imbalance and to take urgent steps to provide greater momentum in this new area of mutual cooperation.

The emancipation and development of national information media is an integral part of the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of the peoples of the world. Self-reliance in sources of information is as important as technological self-reliance since dependence in the field of information in turn retards the very achievement of political and economic growth.

Maolsheachlainn Ó Caoláif

Latest Election Results: Contrary to the forecasts of most of the political pundits the Fianna Fáil party has been returned to office (with the biggest majority they ever achieved in the history of the State). The state of the parties now is FF 84, FG 43, Lab. 17, Others 4. Three Government Ministers lost their seats, Dr. Cruise O'Brien (Posta & Telegraph), of whom readers of *Carr* have heard previously, Mr. P. Cooney (Justice), and Mr. J. Keating (Industry & Commerce), while another, Mr. J. Tully, (Local Government, whose gerrymander rebounded completely) barely scraped in on the last seat in a four seat constituency.

DIE KELTEN - THE CELTS

A: Ailán Róimh-Radh.

In 1975 Gerhard Herm's *Die Kelten* (Duesseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1975) held the interest of the general reading-public in West Germany for well over six months before other popular historical works relieved it of its lead in the top ten. This book has now appeared in an English translation. Blackwells list *The Celts* in a catalogue under the caption 'British history', although the main portion of the volume is primarily concerned with the Asiatic, Near Eastern and Continental European wanderings and meanderings of the 'historical Celts'. Regrettably only the last few chapters touch upon the Celts in Ireland and Wales; mention of those in Scotland is marginal. The 'Celtic condition' today is summed up briefly as an aside: "Indeed, Welsh nationalists whom I know feel that what [sic] was then begun (against the Romans) is still going on. The struggle, they believe, is not yet over". (p. 261) However, Herm is writing about the Celts *per se* and not about the various national groups that fall under the heading of the so-called 'Celtic fringe'. For him the zenith of Celtic culture had been reached and had indeed already declined before the Middle Ages. "By the twelfth century the nucleus, the people who had started it all, lived hardly anywhere in the old way, save in the far north of Scotland, the edge of Wales or in those areas of Ireland that had escaped control by Vikings or Normans." (p. 286) Their 'old way' found final literary expression in the story of the 'Holy Grail'. This documents the passing of the Celts and their culture. "No poet could have invented a more beautiful ending than the castle of the Grail, one of the most brilliant products of European imagination. It is as if history had thereby sought to erect a final monument to the Celts." (ibid.)

B. Beith, Na Ceiltigh.

Herm uses the Roman Empire as a historical barometer. Like a modern-day war correspondent, he reports on the infringements of the Celts upon the boundaries of Rome. When they reached the capital the vanquished complained on having to pay tribute, that the victors had balanced their scales against them to which the leader of the Celts replied "vae victis", thereby setting an example for future conquerors. This experience was to favour all the future contacts the Romans were to have with the Celtic peoples north and west of the Alps. Rome sought to blot out this blemish of 387 BC wherever and whenever the opportunity presented itself. It was not only ruthless in its battles against the Celts, but intolerant in things for which the Romans were proverbially generous.

The Celts were the first prehistoric people north of the Alps to make a name for themselves in the annals of the civilized peoples of the Mediterranean world. The Greeks knew them under the 'Keltoi' or 'Galatai'. As the 'Galli' Rome had much too much traffic with them. Herodotus, Heracleides of Miletus, Polybius, Poseidonius and Pompeius wrote about them. However, it was Julius Caesar in his *De bello Gallico* who wrote most with them in the field of battle. He made a name for himself by waging a long, complicated and decidedly victorious war against them and their great chieftain Vercingetorix. Other authors, like Strabo, Velleius Paterculus and Tacitus (*De origine et situ Germanorum*) contributed to the history of the Celts with indirect knowledge. The Celts themselves wrote no histories of their exploits.

However, today peoples with little or no written

histories are having their stories told by modern archaeology. Therefore we know that the Celts were a significant group of Indo-Europeans whose domains stretched from Ireland to the Balkans, even to Anatolia.

Modern scholars cannot tell us with absolute certainty where the Celts came from. Herm has a few ideas on the subject to which he grants some credence. He quotes two modern-day Celts, Bryon McMahon and Myles Dillon. McMahon told Herm in Llistowen:

"Whenever I meet an Indian I take him to one side and hum the first lines of an Irish folk-song. Then I ask him to continue the melody as he likes; and, believe it or not, almost every time he will sing it to the end as if he already knew the song. Isn't that astonishing? ... We Celts came from the mysterious east." (p. 146)

Myles Dillon drew comparisons between the Irish Druids and the Brahmins in India, implying that there is an intellectual relationship between the Irish Celts and the Aryan Indians. Their respective 'wise men' carried out their offices in a similar manner: 'teaching and study, poetry and law'. (p. 146) There were even more parallels:

Dillon notes further similarities: in both cultures there were eight different forms of marriage, from arranged marriages, marriage by purchase and love-matches to kidnapping - though this was illegal. In both cultures there was a strict distinction between inherited and earned property and when contracts were drawn up what guarantees before obtaining what he wanted. In the one case it was the Brahmins and in the other the Druids who administered these principles. (p. 147)

This reviewer would like to maintain that these old Celts of song and deed lived long after the mythical Arthur served as a model for the romances in many European cultures. Herm quotes Diodorus describing a battle against the Celts:

"Their aspect is terrifying ... very tall in stature, with rippling muscles under clear white skin. Their hair is blond ... some are clean-shaven ... others ... leave a moustache that covers the whole mouth ... they wear brightly coloured and embroidered shirts, with trousers called braccæ (breaches?) and cloaks fastened ... with a brooch ..." (p. 3)

A more recent battle was described by the English author John Prebble, in his *Culloden* (1961; Penguin Books, 1973), in the following manner:

"Clan Chattan ... their kilts pulled high to the groin ... each man's face was twisted with rage and despair ... bearded, ragged, angry men, with their mouths open in yells that merged into one unintelligible shout." (p. 80)

The defeat of these Highland tribes on Wednesday, 16th April 1746 (old style), was the final military victory of Saxon over Celt. Culloden might well be considered the Celts' 'last stand'. From Culloden to the decimating Clearances of a century later, something precious ceased to exist which was the remnant of the 'Celtic way of life'. How true the Scottish pibroch lament: 'Cha till mi buille', (I shall not return).

In conclusion let us answer the last question, 'What ever became of the Celts?' For Herm the Celts ceased to exist when the Arthurian sagas were in their prime. Perhaps, he is right. The 'Celts' survive no longer as a loosely connected cultural group stretching from the Atlantic to the Black Sea. Out of the 'Celts' grew specific national groupings which are easily discernible today as: Alba, Breizh, Cymru, Eire, Kernow and Mannin.

Although some in Galicia claim a Celtic heritage, the language of the former Celtic Gallaeci has no present-day descendants.

There are no Celts in Herm's sense anymore; rather, there are now only Celtic nations.

C. Colli: Colmheart

The English version of *Die Kelten* makes mistakes in Gaelic that disturb even the most casual student of Gaelic or Goidhlig. Since readers of such books might well be speakers of Gaelic or Goidhlig (the languages of Breizh, Cymru, Kernow and Mannin are not really discussed) an author should avoid giving incorrect forms in a work that professes to impart knowledge about the Celts. (A century ago Amédée Thierry was more careful.)

D. Dair: Comh-dhruadh

The readability of Herm's book in German has been well preserved in Norman Stone's translation. Herm is more journalist than scholar. There is little that would overly burden the patience of a reader who is interested in the broad generalities, the sweeping coverage of centuries and the frequent comparison of the well-known to illustrate the obscure and hypothetical. Herm's is a work that satisfies the hurried reader who wants to have general, not too critical view of what is known about the Celts. Leslie MacEwen.

LETTERS

"The information about the S. L. P. in CARN 15 is very instructive. I wonder however if the path they have chosen is not leading to a dead-end as regards the status to be given to Scotland in the future. This criticism applies to all the parties seeking self-government for the Celtic countries. They all advocate a Europe of the Peoples which would give all the nationalities a similar status, but in effect we are doing nothing to bring about that situation. "First, they say, let us get for our countries as wide a measure of self-government as possible. Then, with the passage of time, the European states will work towards unity." In my opinion, this is not realistic. Large States, like "Britain" and France will never agree to build that kind of Europe, because it would result in death for them.

During its history Keltia was often an example for the other peoples. Pythagoras acknowledged his debt to the Druids; Ireland kept the light of science after the collapse of the Roman Empire. To-day we could again show Europe the way by striving to create the first true federation in our part of the world: a Celtic confederation, a Keltia of the peoples which would be the nucleus of a "Europe of the Peoples".

This Celtic alliance in the spirit of the Celtic League constitution could perhaps contribute to a solution of the problems of Northern Ireland. There would be difficulties on account of language and religion for instance but our peoples are capable of surmounting them. By giving this example, the smaller ones first, the larger ones later, would draw other nations to their confederation. They could thus exercise an important influence on the future of the world. [Trans. from Breton] **Mikael Baudu.**

"Ne sojan ket ez eus tu da zisrannañ ar stourm evit Breizh diouzh an hini a-emp ar gaulo-louriezh e'hall, rak ma vez Breizh un drevadenn eus ar Stad Gall, e vez ivez unan eus ar gaulo-louriezh e'hall. Y.K. a seblant bezan a-emp an etrevroadelouriezh. Koulskoude ma soñj n'eo ket kudennoù ar vro-mañ traoù ispisial da Vreizh; kavet e vezont en ur bern broioù all. Neuze perak chom klost warnomp? Ur strollad breizhat a de kompen an dra-se

ha bezañ a-du gant un Europa ar pobloù... ha pelloc'h c'hoazh marilese. Ar menozioù-se hag a ya pelloc'h eget ar vroadelouriezh vreizhat a zo gouest da zedennañ muioc'h a dud." M. Baudu.

CELTIC LEAGUE The Celtic League Annual Meeting will be held in the Guildhall, Liskeard, East Cornwall, during the 16th-17th July weekend. Write well in time to the Cornish branch secretary L.J. Williams (see address on p. 24) if you want him to arrange for accommodation - deposit may be required. Send proposals/suggestions/resolutions for agenda to your branch secretary (whom you should notify of your intention to attend) or to the Secretary General. If the latter is notified in time an agenda will be supplied to participants. Apart from the usual items on the agenda, the following matters will be discussed: Fishing limits; Siting of nuclear reactors; Attitudes of people of N. Ireland to their Celtic background.

New York Branch: We are pleased to report that our links with this branch have been strengthened again. It organised a Conference on April 30th at Fordham University, with a programme of 4 lectures on the following themes: Irish-American Genealogy, Celtic Mythology, The Cornish Connection, Galicia - Celtic or not?

ARDANGOSFA Mai-Medi 1977

Cellyddod yr hen golliad fel ysbrydoliaeth i artistiaid heddiw. Dehongliad gan grefftyr cyfow yn gweithio yng nghymru. Gwaith mewn Pren, Lledr, Carrag, Brethyn, Haearn, Piwtar, Crochuwaith, Arian ac Aur. Prisau £1 - £200.

EXHIBITION May-September 1977

Design Forms of the ancient Celts as a source of inspiration today:- An interpretation by contemporary craftsmen working in Wales. Work in Wood, Leather, Stone, Fabrics, Iron, Pewter, Ceramic, Silver. Prices £1 - £200.

CANOLFAN CYNLLUN CREFFT CYMRU. Craft Design Centre of Wales. Tregaron, Dyfed, Tel. Tregaron 415.

CÚRT FHLÍOCHTA AGUS CHEOLL

The annual visit of Scottish poets and musicians to Ireland took place this year from the 28th March to the 2nd of April. The Court of Poetry and Music was held in Dublin as usual and the other venues this year were Sligo, Rosmuc in the Connemara Gaeltacht, Cork and Waterford. The tour was, as we have by now come to expect, a resounding success. The visitors this year were Iain Mac a'Chobhainn (poet), Tormod Mac Ill'Eain (poet, piper and singer), Fearchair MacRath (Traditional fiddler) and Anne Souter (traditional singer). They delighted audiences with their poems, music and song and were joined at the various venues by Irish poets, singers and musicians. A special mention must be made of the highly entertaining evening in Rosmuc where a special rapport was achieved between the visitors from the Scottish Gaeltacht and the people of Rosmuc who packed into the hall to welcome and listen to them. Rosmuc was well represented by its own poet Caitlín Maude and its singers, dancers and musicians. The evening was interspersed with bouts of boxing displayed by the local club which served to lighten the proceedings. Following a most enjoyable night the visitors were entertained generously and an informal session went on into the small hours of the morning.

Comhdháil Náisiunta na Gaeilge and the Scottish Arts Council should surely be congratulated for ensuring the continuation of this intercultural exchange on an annual basis.

"Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle" by Alfred N. Bonanno (Bratach Dubh, c/o A. and V. McGowan, 83 Langside Tce., Port Glasgow, Scotland.) 15p plus postage.

The C.L. does not subscribe to Anarchism but the reviewer considers this pamphlet useful for those willing to differentiate between State and nationality. It is written "as a response to a real situation, that of Italy and, in particular, Sicily". It is a constructive contribution to the national liberation movements throughout Keltia.

The general aim of Anarchy is "the production and distribution of goods as opposed to the political administration of people". Like marxism it postulates the primacy of economics. It is internationalist in outlook but recognises "the importance of man's roots as expressed in the ethnic, social and linguistic aspects which constitute nationality. They reject the State in all its manifold appearances, whether it be capitalist or administered by the dictatorship of the proletariat through a revolutionary minority.

Bonanno warns all national liberation movements against the emergence of "regional third-worldism" - he sees no difference in the situations of regions and subject nations, the former can be as badly exploited as the latter; as happened with the Third World countries there is a risk of continued exploitation by the developed States of the natural resources of the nations still struggling for liberation.

There is a gargantuan similarity between the Anarchist and the Marxist economic arguments. In the present pamphlet, economics are discussed and illustrated through the Italian system: we see how the neo-feudal South has been disintegrated and enslaved by the industrial North, providing it with exploitable markets and cheap labour. The transition from this colonialism to Italian imperialism is explained. Bonanno warns of the Fascist/CIA manipulation of the resultant reaction in Sicily and the crystallisation into a separatist movement.

The ideological differences between anarchism and Marxism are highlighted in the final section: Anarchists have a non-deterministic view of history. Marxists see the necessity of a transitional socialist State before communism can be established, Anarchists don't!

John Llewelyn.

After 14 Portlaoise hunger striking prisoners had been brought to the Curragh military hospital and were reported to be in danger of dying, a letter, in Irish, was sent on behalf of the Celtic League to the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave expressing support for the petitions from many associations and councils throughout Ireland asking the government to allow an independent enquiry into the conditions in Portlaoise prison or modify these in such a way as to enable the prisoners to stop their hunger strike. In reply, we received a copy of a long statement made on the radio by the Minister for Justice saying that the conditions in the prison were dictated by the prisoner's own behaviour and that the accusations of inhuman treatment were propaganda lies.

AL LIAMM, bimonthly magazine in Breton, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton periodical. Annual subscription (6 issues) 40F (50F outside French State) to P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a Chaux, St-Servan, 35400 St-Malo CCP 5342 06 Paris. Publishes poetry, short stories, travel accounts, history, notes and reports on the Breton movement, etc.

Vol. III of *Franses Debauvais De Breiz Atao Et Les Seins* by Anna Youenou Debauvais has been published and will be reviewed in our next issue by Nevan Henaff. It covers the period August 1939 - December 1942. 355pp. Price 53F. 2 CCB Madame Debauvais, 2658-42 N. Rennes. Publisher Youenou Debauvais, 20 Place des Lices, 35000 Rennes.

DIVIDED AND RULED

Dr. Johnson remarked that the Irish are most honest people who never speak well of each other. After a couple of hundred years the witticism retains some validity and applies also to other Celts. As far as "Carn" is concerned if the course of events in the individual Celtic countries were to be portrayed as an uninterrupted progress towards internal solidarity, sweetness and light its credibility would be decidedly lacking. Clearly, any internecine quarrels of consequence that take place within any of the Celtic countries ought to figure in the appropriate run down of national events. However, while CARN should acquaint readers with what is happening it is not its function to act as fight promoter or to provide a platform for one group of nationalists to attack another.

One aim of the League is to foster Celtic solidarity. Where it is unable to actively help better relations internally among nationalists it ought at least to be able to provide common ground for those who are at odds to come together and if not to co-operate at least get to know each other better. (It could perhaps be argued that they already know each other too well!) This will not be achieved by using CARN as a vehicle for varying shades of nationalist to attack each other. At the personal level this sort of approach puts the editor to some embarrassment. In a wider sense it amounts to an enthusiastic participation in the Anglo-Saxon strategy of Divide-and-Rule.

P. O. Conchúir.

NEUE ZEIT is the political magazine (in German) of *Sache des Volkes* (the People's Cause), a national revolutionary organisation. It concentrates on --- information about revolutionary national movements throughout the world and the development of a new concept of national identity opposed to multinational alienation; --- anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic criticism of society and the development of people's own ways to socialism on the basis of co-operatives; --- information about the ecological crisis and the development of the concept of the ecological revolution. Annual subscription (4 issues) DM 10./£3 incl. postage to "Sache des Volkes", NRAO, 8000 München 33, Postfach 366, W. Germany.

Cornish Essays 1971-76 by James Whetter, 148pp. A collection of articles published in *Cornish Nation* (Nr. 1-30) and later in *The Cornish Banner* (21-34), £2.00 post free from C.N.P. Publications, Trellispen, Gorran, St-Austell, Cornwall.

FINANCIAL CRISIS

The recent news that Norman Burns, full-time director of An Comunn Gaidhealach, has been made redundant because of a financial crisis is disturbing news. Equally disturbing was the revelation that An Comunn's income for 1976 amounted to a miserly £54,000. The U.K. Government gave £22,000 and the remainder came from local authorities and various individuals. An Comunn Gaidhealach, despite criticism in the past, is the major organisation working for Gaidhlig. That its income should be so small, that the Government grant in particular should be so insultingly low, is downright scandalous. This is seen even more clearly when it is remembered that vast sums, tens, hundreds of thousands, and even millions of pounds, are regularly raised by public subscription and regional/U.K. government grants in order to preserve such-and-such a work of art, or such-and-such a historic building. These projects, whatever merit they may possess, are of only trivial importance when compared to the work of An Comunn in making a future for Gaidhlig. It has been noted elsewhere that the Scots have no sense of priorities.

APPEAL TO OUR READERS: DANGERS OF PLUTONIUM

We reproduce here passages from an appeal signed among others by Sean Mac Bride and John Carroll, vice-president of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, with "the Celtic Countries" substituted for "in Ireland".

"The Windscale Public Inquiry which starts on June 14th 1977, at Whitehaven, Cumbria, is an event of crucial importance to our society.

British Nuclear Fuels Limited, (a Government agency), propose to extend their works to process spent oxide fuels in large quantities from Japan and some European countries. This will be a major step towards the use of fast breeder reactors which represents Britain's future energy strategy. Plutonium processed at Windscale will be used as fuel for fast breeder reactors, and will be transported in large quantities, thus initiating the "plutonium economy" which is so widely feared, and which President Carter is working to avoid. This substance of course is also used in the construction of nuclear weapons. In addition the works will produce large amounts of highly toxic radioactive waste, the safe storage of which remains in doubt, while discharging its so-called low-level effluent to the Irish Sea, where its potential for long term harm to marine life has not been investigated.

The dangers of the creation of plutonium in large quantities in conditions of increasing world unrest are genuine and serious. What is most to be feared is an insidious growth of surveillance in response to a growing threat as the amount of plutonium in existence and famil-

ilarity with its properties increases. Whether to embark on a programme with such far-reaching implications is a matter for the public to decide. It is therefore vital that all of these issues be thoroughly examined at a wide-reaching public inquiry.

We, the Celtic countries, cannot remain unconcerned at this project. That the Irish Sea is already used as a dumping ground for low level wastes and that ships carrying toxic substances will pass through the Irish Sea, is our concern. The Windscale Appeal need a fund of £30,000 to engage expert witnesses, prepare detailed evidence, instruct solicitors and brief counsel.

We appeal to all those who doubt the benefits of nuclear technology to support its appeal for such a fund by sending whatever contribution they can to the W.A. Irish Committee, c/o David Walsh, Sec., Mathematics Department, Colaiste na hÍolscoile, Má Nuad, Co. Cill Dara, Ireland."

** Gregory McNab would like to acquire the following out-of-print works:

K.W.F. Hardie - Handbook of Modern Breton.
Gerald Morgan - The Dragon's Tongue.
Ellis & Mac a' Ghobhain - The Problem of Language Revival.
David Greene - The Irish Language.

Willing to negotiate. Please write to Gregory McNab, Dept. of Languages, Univ. of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI 02881, U.S.A.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the **Celtic League** are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to **CARN**) and the subscription rates are £2.00 for Ireland and Britain; 20F (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; \$5.50 (or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the **Celtic League**, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

Alba: Mrs. Maire Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee DD4 7JN.
Cymru: Antwn ab Osborn, 165A Witton Str., Northwich, Cheshire.
Breizh: Jabez Derouet, 89 Boulevard des Anglais, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
Éire: Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Oir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
Kernow: Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.
Mannin: Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.
London: John Rh. Humphreys, c/o P.O. Conchuir, 84 Pulleyns Ave., London E6 3LZ.
New York: Mickey Burke, 2463 Grand Ave., New York City, N.Y. 10468.
General Secretary: Alan Heusaff, 9 Bóthar Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire.

Help us to sell **CARN**, by finding booksellers to stock it (5p allowance per copy, sale or return), by selling copies to friends, at gatherings, or by advertising/publicising it in national periodicals. Articles for **CARN** should be tidily typed or easily legible to printers, with double spacing; keep carbon copy; endeavour to express ideas/reports clearly, support arguments with facts, be precise. Send us reports, letters, articles of Celtic interest. Publication may be delayed, if space is lacking, particularly if articles exceed 1000 words.
FOR REPLIES, ENCLOSE STAMPED ENVELOPES OR INTERNATIONAL COUPONS-REPOUSES.

CARN is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire, and printed by Blackrock Printers, Blackrock, Co. Dublin. The Editor is Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, 127 Br. na Trá, Dumhach Trá, Áth Cliath 4, Éire. Contributions should be sent to him. Views expressed by contributors, where diverging too much from the general Celtic League policy, should be signed by their authors. Use of the material in **CARN** is granted free, provided the source is acknowledged - in which case indication of our address would be greatly appreciated.