

COXFN

SPRING
1978
No. 21

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



*** SPECIAL ISSUE ***

CELTIC POETRY MISCELLANY (With Translations)
NATIONAL REVIEWS OF SITUATION IN EACH CELTIC COUNTRY

- ★ **Alba:** Scotland Gains Confidence - 15 Years On. Seann Sgoil.
- ★ **Breizh:** Brittany - 20 Years of Struggle. E Kanada.
- ★ **Cymru:** Wales - Land of Hope. Sefyllfa'r Canu Ysgafn Cymraeg.
- ★ **Éire:** The National and Language Questions. Taisteal Idir Cheilteach.
- ★ **Kernow:** Cornish Movement Has Progressed. Dasserghyans Sten.
- ★ **Mannin:** Manx Nationalism: The Past 12 Years. Torchagh-Chengey.
- ★ **Interceltic Co-Operation - An Assessment.**
- ★ **E. E. C., Energy and Celtia.**

30p

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

EDITORIAL
INTERCELTIC CO-OPERATION

Contacts between the Celtic countries have certainly involved much more people during the past 20 years than at any similar period previously. They have been facilitated by easier means of travel and greater affluence. They remain largely informal. It is now common, for instance, to meet visitors from Wales or Brittany in Dublin enjoying the city's sociable atmosphere, or on their way to attend a flea chéoi, to explore Ireland's scenery. It is difficult to give figures for this increase of interest. Such events as the Panceltic Festival, the partly interceltic Lorient Festival, the Eisteddfod Cenedlaethol, have their business and tourist aspect, but they bring thousands of people together and contribute greatly to reinvigorating the Celtic music.

The wish to strengthen relations between the Celtic peoples arises from the realisation of the risk of assimilation by our big neighbours and from the sense of kinship between us, based on common ethnic roots, the affinity between our national languages, and similarities in our attitudes to life.

Most people won't bother to analyse further our community of interests. The Celtic League was founded 17 years ago with the ambition of giving it organised form and more active expression. Our aim was to establish a permanent link between the national parties and organisations of the different Celtic countries by means of periodicals and a council which would initiate campaigns of solidarity and other activities whenever the occasion arose. The existence of an organic link between countries which, separately, had populations of only minor size but together totalled 15 millions would give our struggle for freedom a higher sense of confidence, and common approaches could help us to get more attention on the international scene. Hence our memorandum on discrimination against the Etienne family and the right of Breton speakers to educate their children in Breton, sent to UNESCO and the European Commission of Human Rights (1963) the memorandum detailing the right of Brittany, Wales and Scotland to self-determination, sent to the United Nations Organisation in 1965, and the petition to UNESCO signed by over 100 University teachers in the Celtic countries drawing attention to the neglect of Scottish and Breton languages by the London and Paris governments (1962). We discovered that these international bodies, were not concerned with the rights of nations and minorities without a State, or had no title to intervene. They were too dependent for their existence on the goodwill of France and England. The best we could do was to inform all the individuals, associations and local authorities abroad who might be sympathetic to our claims and aspirations, and hope that they might generate a diffuse pressure on the governments concerned to modify their attitude or policy, the assumption being that these were sensitive to matters affecting their international image and prestige. We organised demonstrations of solidarity, asked people to join in written protests, distribution of leaflets, letters to the press, resolutions, pickets on embassies. Again it must be said that the effort of all this was difficult to assess. We don't get enough feedback to know the exact response to our requests.

It had to be recognised also that the diversity of status, size, degree of national consciousness, and commitment to language restoration, made organised co-operation difficult. The national organisations and particularly the parties had to give precedence to down-to-earth considerations. They seem to have been wary of certain aspects of our activity such as support for civil

rights in the 6-counties and appeals on behalf of the dependants of jailed Bretons. The C. L. had to choose between remaining an agency just for disseminating information (without an analysis) and abandoning its aim of linking the national organisations, in order to act freely without committing them. We decided for the latter although we stressed our willingness to co-operate with them.

Initiative in interceltic co-operation has of course not been limited to the Celtic League. Gwynfor Evans and other Welsh MPs have intervened in Westminster, in Paris or Strasbourg in support of Breton language rights and for Y. Fosse's release from jail. Gwynfor has also repeatedly sought direct co-operation with the SNP. In an effort to get the EEC to heed our claims, a Bureau of Unrepresented Nations was set up in Brussels with co-operation between people from the Celtic and other countries; the Brest Declaration links, the UDB and socialists from a similar group of countries. Conradh na Gaeltige took the work of the Nantes 1974 Celtic Congress a step further by organising the Rath Chairn Conference (1976) which worked out a programme of co-operation between Irish and Scottish poets has found a well-organised annual expression in the Cúirtanna Filíochta (tours of poetry readings), in many other ways contributions are being made to inter-celticism: using the same pictures as in adapting Per Denez's "Brezhoneg Buan hag Aes" to make it possible to learn Breton through Welsh; translating books from Breton to Welsh, etc. This should be developed.

The best part of the work of the Celtic League has consisted in fact in disseminating information by means of our publications and correspondence. For a more active role in promoting interceltic co-operation we would need to involve more people and our "officers" would need to devote more time to it and to have greater mobility. We should always be on the look-out for ways and opportunities to make our solidarity operative.

Generally speaking I think it is possible to charter a course which would gradually strengthen our bonds and bring us closer to the reconstitution of a community of culture. In this our languages have an essential role to play in so far as their development can be guided, we should seek to do it on converging lines. This is possible in the formation of new words (it has been already done frequently by adapting words from Welsh into Breton, and frequently by adapting words from Breton into Welsh, and frequently by adapting words from English and French. We are not concerned with preserving a status quo but with renewal and rebuilding. What the future holds for us we don't know but let us contribute what we can to the destiny of our peoples, and think in terms of decades, not of years.

The Celtic League A.G.M. is due to take place in Scotland in the first fortnight of September, (date and venue to be given in CARN 22). Proposals for resolutions and other matters to be discussed should be forwarded to the branch secretaries or to the general secretary.

**** Please note** (on last page) the changes in Secretaries and Editor. We would like to thank Aotun for his work and P. Ó Snodaigh who, due to the many pressures on him, particularly that as President of Conradh na Gaeltige, has had to retire from his editorial commitment.

ALBA

SEANN SOIL

The sinn cainteair, uaireigin 'nar beatha gun do leugh sinn ROSG GÁIDHLIG. Chuir An Comunn Gáidhealach a mach an leabhar seo iona uair. An leabhar uaine' mar a theireadh ioma doime. 'Sa chlad dol a mach buisidh sinn le speudaich 'Seann Soil', le Donnall MacPhionghuin, nach maireann, a bha 'na chlad Ard Oilabh na Gáidhlig an Oilthigh Dhùn-Eidsann. Sgrìobh e an earran seo cuir is ceud bliadhna seo chaidh ach tha i fás nas cudthromach a h-uile bliadhna.

Carson? Bha an speudaich ag ràdh gun robh e fada na's thear a bhi a' teagas a h-uile leasan 'na sgolltean agus 'na chànain agams òibh, a' chànain Albanach. An latha an duigh, bho'n nach eil Impreachadh Shasunnach air fhàgail, chan eil leiseigil sam bith ann a bhi teagas troimh na cànain Shasunnach, gu h-àraidh bho'n a tha ann ann an Roinn Eorp a nis, far a bheist a h-uile rìghachd a' teagas agus ag obair agus ag clùich ann a' chànain aca fhéin.

Ach dè thachair do na seann sgolltean ann an Alba far nach robh ach ar cànain fhéin air a' teagas. Ann am bliadhna 1872 chur na Sasunnach Achd Foghlum troimh 'n Parliamaid ara. Leis a sin b'urrain daibh ar cànain a chur as 'na sgolltean. Rud iongantach, aig an aon am, rinn na Frangach an aon rud an sgothaidh na cànain Breantunnach.

Ach de mu dheighnna Donnall Mac Phionghuin agus a speudaich 'Seann Soil'? Dé thuairt e? Chan fhaicear, ach annam a nis coimeas do 'n fàrdach ri an abairte an Tigheoil. Tigh fada, farsuing, dorch, le ballachan iosal de chloich ghlas nach do ghearrain air buille an ùird, air an aiteachd air an loabh mugh le còr, air an t-àiteachd air an dhubh le toit, Dorus air gach taobh de 'n tigh, ach gun chomhla mar bu trice ri an duibh. Càite anns a' gheamhradh agathach fhrathach ri taobh an fhuairidh de dhòrus an t-sòirbheis air a cumail 'n a seasamh le cas camain. Ka chadh an sgathach a chaitheamh a lion beagan is beagan a' lasadh na teine' agus bhiodh an aia boitein conallich ag gleidheadh fagadh gun a tigeadh mart no each mìthmail an rathad a dh'fheadh e. Anns an t-samhradh bha an tigh fosgailte gu farsuing, fuaidh, do agoltearan de gach seorsa. Urrar de thalamh fuar, fhuch, ach làrach na teine a mhin.

Ummeagan leth-bhoite le piuc, 's an còrr condaichte le tic is clach r' a cù. Dà tholl air drum an tìpe a leigil a mach na toite nach iarradh a rathad troimh dhòrus no ummeig. Dà theine air an urrar dhùh air meadhan an tìpe, agus clach estera. B' i a' chlach se "Sòl (no furr) an aithreachaich". Is tric a rinn mi cron latha fuar geamhradh a dh' aon ghnòthach air son factainn air an stòl. Bha deileachan a gheibte air a' chlàdach aite air clàchan a' deasamh lèise-suibhe; agus bha dh' aon shàn bhòid le casan briste air an urrar aig an fhaigte sgrìobhadh le beagan cunnairt. Agus ma bha àirneis an tìpe-sgoil gann, cha robh leigil an sgoilteir duilich a ghluin. Leac-sgèil saor 's a gheibheadh cailleach nan ubhean an Grànnaich, dhùh de shùghadh an daraich, peann de ite an t-àlanaich, Gray, Leabhar Aithghearr nan Ceist, Bìobull Gàidhlig air a chomhach le cràicean corrach, agus deagh chaman. Bliadh e cu-camaich do 'n fhear-theagais a bu chomazaiche sgoiltearan math a dheanamh air a lethid so de chothrom; ach tha mi creidsinn ged bhiodh gach ligh is gach goireas a b' fhearr aig mo sheansa mhaighistir (chan ann a' chuir-'na dhéidh e), nach laigheadh an sgoil an clù a b' àirde o fhar-'cheannachaidh ar latha-ne.

Air dhìomhaireachd an lagha "Leathan ri leathan, is caol ri caol", bha e mion-eolach "Na labhair ach marth mu na marb", theirte o shean; agus gu fìrinnach is ann le urram agus le seir a b'airidh seann mhaighistir-sgoil na b-Alba a bhi air an cumhachaidh. Thùd ar gairm a' dteach, is thèid na camain to 'n bhòrd. Tòisich ar obair an latha le lèiridh dhàrachdaich an Gáidhlig; thèid sarrann de 'n Bìobull a leughadh, is na Ceistean a chur. Tha an sin sgrìobhadh is cunntas is sgrìobhadh, gu teagas. Leughar an Bìobull. Còdhuar le lèiridh. Bheirar na camain am follais, is bitheas ag tomatis gun a toir an oidiche as ar dùilean e.

An uair a bha Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair a' broenachadh nan Gàidheal gu fìrigh a sheasadh cùr nan Sìubhairtach, sheim e a Orain lomraiteach an Gáidhlig: an saoll thu an ann am Beurla bheireadh e earail air còinn bhig? "B' fhearr leam", ars' an t-Abolol Poi, "còig faicail a labhairt anns an eaglais (nam bu mhaighistir-sgoil e nach abradh e 'anns an sgoil?)" le m' bhuag, chum gun teagailidh daine eile mar an ceudna, na deirh m'le faicail a teagaidh chòinichidh". Ach tha m'ran de mhaighistir-sgoil na Gàidhealachd de atharrach beachd. Nach duilich, an uair a tha tìpean-sgoil a' seachdail 's an còr agus anns m'cas a' sgrìobhadh, na deirh m'le faicail a teagaidh chòinichidh". Ach tha m'ran de mhaighistir-sgoil na Gàidhealachd de atharrach beachd. Nach duilich, an uair a tha tìpean-sgoil a' seachdail 's an còr agus anns m'cas a' sgrìobhadh, na deirh m'le faicail a teagaidh chòinichidh". Ach tha m'ran de mhaighistir-sgoil na Gàidhealachd de atharrach beachd. Nach duilich, an uair a tha tìpean-sgoil a' seachdail 's an còr agus anns m'cas a' sgrìobhadh, na deirh m'le faicail a teagaidh chòinichidh".

Tha fios againn gum bhèil dhifir mòr ann, an duigh, a thachair togalachd nan laighean-sgoil - agus an àirneis se. Tha fios againn gum bhèil ioma seorsa de leabhraichean agus fòra seorsa de theagas 'na sgolltean an latha an duigh nach robh 'na Shean Sgoiltean. Ach feumaidh sinn ar cànain Albanach a bheir air ais an àite an Beurla Shasunnach feadh Alba gu leir bho'n a tha sinn Albanach agus bho nach eil sinn 'nar Sasunnach. Gilleteubag Mac Mhuirich.

[The English Parliament's 1872 Education Act was used as a pretext to teaching education conducted through Scottish and the teaching of traditional Scottish literatures. An account of what these old Scottish schools were like is coupled with a demand to restore Scottish as medium of teaching.]

ENERGY SCENARIOS FOR BRITAIN - PARTICULARLY CYMRU & MANNIN

Researcher seeks information and/or support in developing energy scenarios for 'UK', and the Celtic Nations (excluding Breizh). The scenarios will be for non-nuclear, energy-conserving futures, and the models for the separate Celtic Nations will be based on assuming independence/revolution/federalism within the 50 year horizon used. Joint authorship of studies, to be published in 'Ecologist' (with potential for subsequent book format), is welcomed. Please contact: Andrew MacKillop, c/o The Ecologist, 73 Moleworth St., Wadebridge, Kenwyn PL27 7DS.

ADVERTISEMENT Young Australian student would like to correspond with young Celt in either Eire, Breith or Alba, with view to exchanging information and views on Celtic culture and struggle in their country and Australia. Exchange possible at end of 1978. Fluent in both French and English (have a fair notion of Irish & Scottish Gaelic). Write to:- Sophie Mason, 26 Grosvenor Street, Neutral Bay, New South Wales, 2085, AUSTRALIA.

SCOTLAND GAINS CONFIDENCE - 15 YEARS ON

The opening of the Routes car plant at Linwood in Renfrewshire to produce Hillman Imps in 1962 was seen by the London based political parties as the genuine answer to Scotland's endemic stagnation. The society and the outdated economy were launched into a new era. The 60's saw a rapid build-up of New Towns such as Cumbernauld and East Kilbride and some change in the pattern of economic activity towards light modern industry - more women employed in the new, less men in the old heavy sector. But unemployment still topped twice the British average, new housing still lagged well behind needs and migration still seemed to go on draining away our lifeblood of young talent. Yet there was a change of mood.

The SNP developed from sound ideals but few members in the 1950's to within the space of 5 years transforming Scottish political thought. From the worthy second place achieved at the West Lothian by-election of 1962 to the triumphant election of Mrs. Winnie Ewing at Hamilton in 1967 and the election of hundreds of councillors at local elections the following year the party's success was in sharp contrast to the sluggish and uneven economic scene in Scotland as a whole.

Perhaps it could be dismissed as a "protest" movement along with other shock waves of the great era of protest, the early success of Cymdeithas Yr Iaith, Civil Rights in N. Ireland, the Anti-Vietnam and Unemployment demonstrations. However Welsh and Scottish Nationalist election successes heralded a new age which encompassed the break up of Labour-Tory hegemony of the political scene. It saw a much greater involvement by all governments in the economy and society of Britain as a whole and the growing awareness that people at the grassroots had to get much more direct control of this changed condition throughout W. Europe.

In setting up such organs of central economic direction as the Highlands and Islands Development Board (1965) to the Scottish Development Agency (1975) government was subtly changing its reasons as such. In 1968 the Business Editor of the "Observer" could write that if the Scots wanted Home Rule - "let them have it!" - they thought Scotland was too poor to stand alone - many experts including the SNP believed otherwise. But by 1971 there was no doubt. Oil had changed the scene entirely - now in Westminster's eyes Scotland was too rich to have Home Rule! The SDA was set up as a political sop to the rising power of the Nats. - similar developments took place in Wales.

The corporate state looms larger by the day whether Labour or Tory governments are in power. Now, as even a few recognised then, the strong export led Scots economy fuelled by oil is the healthy sector of "British" business. Talent has been trickling back as the general recognition that Scotland has a balance of people to land area and abundant mineral etc. resources becomes common knowledge. Into the bargain how unspoiled our countryside is in general compared to the industrial triangle of W. Europe. A whole new economic and therefore cultural and political scenario emerges.

The SNP spent the break years from 1970-73 organising expanding and learning - no quick push to independence but a hard slog. The temperature rose in March 1973 with a good second place in the Dundee East by-electional one in Goran in November. Margo MacDonald was able to join Donald Stewart, previously the sole SNP member returned for the Western Isles at the 1970 General election. Lord Kilbrandon had reported 5 years after the setting up of a Royal Commission on the Constitution - in favour of legislative devolution!! As Scotland's Oil and devolution

fever brought 7 SNP MP's to Westminster in the February 1974 election to hold the balance of power with other small parties.

In May 1974 the new District and Regional Councillors were elected and the SNP made modest gains - the October General Elections saw four more MP's join the SNP Group, but most significantly the SNP vote reaching 30.4% of the Scottish Electorate - it had doubled its size at every election since 1962! Perhaps the final tribute to this SNP success in breaking out of the protest category and into the legitime Westminster as it loses the game changes the rules. Party political broadcasts are grudgingly given and even now in short measures. In the proposed referendum, a part of the 1978 Scotland Bill - 40% of the electorate must vote for the Bill if Parliament is to accept it as the true will of the Scottish electorate. The dead will, of course, count as votes against Devolution.

The district elections of May 1977 saw the SNP pick up 100 extra seats but underlying the political surge forward is the returning confidence and returning population to Scotland. Of course the unwelcome side is evident too! The scars of offshore oil developments, the buying up of Scottish land by Dutch and Arab owners in particular spring to mind. One out of every six children is born to fail in some areas of Strathclyde region, 97.5% of the areas of greatest multiple deprivation in West Europe are in West Central Scotland yet these are spurs which prod on the Scots. Our culture, especially homegrown humour, has blossomed - unintentionally it is very Scottish and at that level football success plays a part. But other indicators suggest increasing learning and speaking of Gaelic as witness bi-lingual local government developments in the Western Isles and perhaps in the Highlands. The folk revival of the 60's sees exciting developments in the 70's and Scots mix much more readily today with Irish, Welsh & Bretons in their increasing awareness of common Celtic Roots. Our poets, in particular Hugh MacDiarmid, have been recognised as towering over the European scene - if not the world - we have our part to play but there are so many things which have to be done to raise this nation out of its mangled past that it is the kind of struggle which involves several generations. Inescapably the world's resources which are rapidly being used up and the strategic position of Scotland in the front line of East West conflict means that far greater forces from outside will be at work to influence the internal political developments. They are unmistakably menacing and must be seen in perspective. What emerges in the next five years will point the way into the 21st century. The options are rather over simple - a rotting province of declining England or a free nation taking again its rightful part in European and world affairs - a tri-lingual modern nation where state power can be devolved from the bottom to the top and not as it is in the British context from the top down.

The SNP has been the main political vehicle for this change of ideas - it must be the vehicle of government in the Assembly or Parliament to carry them out.

Rob Gibson.

GAELIC MOVES IN THE WESTERN ISLES

le Frang MacThomais.

When reorganisation of local government took place in Scotland in 1974, the Gaelic speaking community in the Western Isles were given their destiny and their own salvation (socio-economic and cultural) in their own hands.

For the first time in centuries, there has been a real sense of duty and purpose; one of the most significant aspects of the renewed activity and interest being in the establishment of a bilingual policy in the Hebrides.

Comhairle nan Eilean (Western Isles Islands

Council) have recently produced a consultative document (available from the Council Offices in Stornoway, Isle of Lewis) which outlines the areas in which Gaelic and English can work together in cohesion. All areas of public life will be impinged on by this proposed policy and though there has been some opposition the general feeling is that, given time, the idea will work out to the satisfaction of both native speakers and monoglot English-speaking incomers to the Western Isles.

The Comhairle itself has been bilingual from the start of its existence, with reasonable success; oral, written and visual Gaelic is now an accepted fact in the islands. The most important area is seen to be that of education, and Gaelic is proposed to be a significant element in pre-schooling, primary and secondary sectors. Recently the Comhairle has gone into partnership with An Comunn Gàidhealach and the Highlands & Islands Development Board to form ACAB, a publishing, organisation primarily to produce Gaelic and bilingual educational material for schools. In this venture the Bilingual Project, now in its third year as activity in the Western Isles, will be the guiding agent.

In particular, teachers in schools in the area will be encouraged to use Gaelic at every possible opportunity, as educational material becomes available this task will become easier. In the further education sector, particularly in Business Studies, Gaelic will be offered to students who will then be able to deal with correspondence being compiled.

The Comhairle is encouraging the use of Gaelic in any dealings with other public bodies, and its attitude and representations to these have so far met with some sympathy and action.

All in all, the outlook for Gaelic is bright, though the future will not be attained without some hard work to overcome the difficulties ahead.

This contribution to CARN will be followed by others to keep readers up to date on developments which may well have some significance for those involved in the language struggle elsewhere in Celtic lands.

As a post-script one might mention the recent formation of ER-CHLÈ, a Gaelic-based drama group which intends to develop community drama with presentations to Gaelic-speaking communities. The group intend to offer full-time professional presentations; yet another indication of the enthusiasm and interest now abroad in the Western Isles.

THE MOUNTAINS OF MOURNING?

Since the outbreak of protest over the proposed geological survey of the Loch Doon area for use as a nuclear waste dumping ground, (CARN 18.4 and 20.6) a steady strengthening of organised protest has followed.

COND (Campaign Opposing Nuclear Dumping) [1] has prepared plans in the event of Nuclear Energy Authority officials arriving in the area. An information centre has already been set up on the shore of the loch, where a meeting attracted 3,500 supporters in July. Two hundred supporters can be called out with a fifteen minute warning according to the organisers and there have already been confrontations between COND members and "an official".

The portacabin for the geologists was met by a demonstration in Ayr and slogans (slugh ghairms - people's outcry) painted on it. It is interesting to note that because of inadequate local knowledge it was found to be impossible to take the cabin to the proposed site. However, one is not surprised to hear that the geologists are not staying in Dalmeilington, the town most affected, but at Cannock, well away from the area.

COND already claims that proposed drilling in April 1977 was postponed because of its activities and further marches were planned with the SNP to take place in late January, to coincide with the application from the Nuclear Energy Authority for permission to drill.

[1] COND, 32 Main Street, Dalmeilington, Inbhir Air (Ayr), Alba.

OSSIAN - NEW TRADITIONAL FOLK GROUP OF ALBA

In years gone by the people of Alba had to turn their attention to Èire and Breizh if they were looking for pure traditional Celtic music and song, performed in a fresh approach and by the use of quite a variety of traditional and newer instruments.

Certainly there are in Alba a lot of musicians of standing and high quality (to mention a few: Flora Mac Neill, the late Calum Johnston, Alison Kinnaird, etc.) and not to speak of various groups, mainly following the Lowland traditions in the Beurla language, however, we can say that Ossian followed a way - although having developed their own style - which has been landmarked by The Chieftains, Alan Stivell, Na Pìil, Clannad and Ar Log (in Cymro), just to list down a few which elaborate music and style to highest standards. Ossian is no doubt almost the sole representative of this direction in Alba.

It's far away from these multitude of groups embarking on "Bonnie Glen" and "Bonnie Prince Charlie" songs; Ossian's stuff is a true reflection of ethnic music and song, deeply rooted in Gaelic society and other parts of Alba, material which was composed by the very people and which passed into oral tradition ranging from such joyful tunes like the Sivey Crufters (pipe tune) to the very plaintive sound of Dean Cadlan Samhach.

All the members live in Glaschu now and were playing with other groups such as the electric folkband "Contra-band" and the folkband "Dappleggin" before. The Jackson family croft that they developed a taste for Celtic music and culture. John Martin derives from a family counting a long line of famous Aberdeenshire fiddlers and Busby (Mor) Ross of Sgitheanach parentage has a strong affection for Ghàidhlig songs from an I-Eilean Sgitheanach and certainly sees selection and contents of songs also with the eyes of a historian as he holds a degree in that field and is doing some research work.

So far they have toured Alba, where they were celebrated at every club at which they turned up, played occasionally in Sasann and then they met their fellow Celts at the Festival of Lorent/Breizh. Recently they toured the continent and were enthusiastically received in clubs and halls in the Low Countries, Germany and France, which proved their refined artistry and kind of music anyway.

We will hope that they will not be driven away from Alba permanently by the necessity of earning their livelihood on the continent, which is quite a folk Mecca for Celtic artists, but that the Scottish Arts Council will see the importance of such groups and facilitate their activities in many ways at home. We should also discuss the necessity of establishing a Pan Celtic Festival in Alba.

Ossian's first Album is out now; Ossian by Spring-thyme Records (No. Spr 1004), Kingskettle, Fife, Alba, a good reflection of their repertoire, featuring a lot of their topers; the sleeve is a masterpiece in itself.

Booking through B or G Jackson, 9 Eastfield Ave., Cambuslang, Glasgow, Alba. R.A. MacM.

BREIZH

E KANADA

Ur sizhunvezhidiad a brezegennou, sonerezh, c'hoariva zo bet e Toronto a miz C'hwever diwar-benn "Kanada hag ar Genskiat Keltiek". Ur bern "arbennerien" a oa pedet eus Iwerzhon, Kembre, Alba. En o zouez, biskozh kemendall, an distrujer idennou ha kamarad bras d'ar rouanez Elizabeth. Conor Cruise O'Brien hag a dremenas un survezh o tispenn brud Iwerzhon. Ur c'helenner istor, Meyer, a dle d'eo eus Roazhon ivez, ur mailh moarvat war ar genskiat keltiek ivez, met ne zeuas ket. A-drug-er evelat da Sean O Tuama (Ar garantez er varzhoniezh iwerzhonek), Yann Fumier (Breton, Kanada and the Reveng of the Celts) hag un nebeut re all e voe. Hervez mouezhoù gwir vragarourien. Kanada ur vro golliek? Embann a ramp emichians arroudoù eus prezegen Yann hag ur studiaden gant Ron Stewart diwar-benn ar guden-ee hep dale. E c'heller lavarout diouezhu n'eo ket gwall vras perzh ar Gellid e kemaos poblañs Kanada. Mennad ar re a oa oc'h aozon ar sizunvezhad eo hep mat startaat an ercoù etre tud-a-orn-dishenad Kanada d'ur maere ma vez laketa unaniez ar Stad en arvar gant disarbennerien Rannvro Gebek. Arc'hant e-leiz a voe roet gant ar Gournamant Kevreded en Ottawa ha gant Ontario, evit harpañ an embregedur. Gwell a se n' i laka muioc'h a dud da deurel p'ed en o herzh keltiek. Kendalc'h Keltiek Kanada en deus gounezet un toullad mat a izili nevez er mizioù tremenet.

Conradh na Gaeltige en deus aozel ur Sizhunvezhidiad Iwerzhonik a-rak Gouel Padrig. 53 darvoud pe abaden a oa en holl, en o zouez un diskuzadeg tresadennoù doare keltiek gant ar Breizhad-Iwerzhonad R. Berthelien hag ur Fesi-noz (nebeut a vrezhoneg a-zwar al leurenn, dansou hep kalc'h a urzh plijas moarvat d'ur re a gemer perzh enno met digened a-walc'h d'an arvesterien -- o teskin e oa an darn vrasañ). Un delwenn nevez da v-Brendan Behan, e bered Glasnaon, laeret diouzhu delz an dioueladur.

BRITANNY: TWENTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE

Introduction: Twenty years ago, Brittany had approximately three million people not counting more than a million emigrants. Her economy was primarily agricultural, most of the farm holdings being too small to afford a fair standard of living. Lack of employment in industry continued to force a high proportion of young people to leave. The French media and State agencies had been at work for 100 years to destroy the sense of Breton community, instilling shame and contempt for its language, fostering the notion that the country was too poor and too backward to support itself, while extolling France's military power and culture. The mass of the people had, during the first half of the century, come to accept that in order to succeed in life they had to give up the Breton language, that things Breton belonged to the past. Opposition to this assimilation was organised during the inter-war period by the Breton National Party of Breizh Ataoz. Following the example given by other small nations struggling for liberation the nationalists leaders sought help from the only foreign power disposed to give it, as World War II drew nearer. The retaliation which followed the return of French power was applied indiscriminately to all Breton-minded activities. Those who escaped the physical repression were forced into a mental ghetto.

A new link was quickly established however between Breton language writers and readers through the periodical AL LIAMM while the musicians and amateurs of Breton dances and other customs gathered in large numbers in Bodeg ar Sonerien and "Celtic circles". No politics, please! To satisfy UNESCO, 30 minutes a week of Breton programmes were broadcast from a short range radio station and a law was passed in 1951 allowing optional Breton lessons (but not in technical colleges). On the economic side, a Committee for the Study and Co-ordination of the Breton Interests (CELIB), sponsored by the Breton members of Parliament, was set up in the early fifties and produced a Plan of Development which got a vague promise of official endorsement.

Rise and Decline of CELIB

In 1959 dissatisfaction among the farmers came to a head due to their having too narrow a margin of profit and expressed itself in mass demonstrations. They were to continue all during the sixties, attended by tens of thousands, throughout Brittany. They were marked by road blocks and railway barricades, tractor parades, dumping of tons of cauliflower, artichoke, potatoes in town streets; and the occupation or siege of government buildings. There were clashes with the riot police, resulting in October 1967 in hundreds being wounded in Kemper. They were organised efficiently by the department-based farmers unions, with purely economic or professional objectives in mind. They wanted sales prices to be related to production costs, and the handicap of the great distance separating Brittany from the main EEC urban centres of consumption to be reduced by the adoption of lower transport tariffs. This unrest was not confined to Brittany but nowhere in France was it so strong and sustained as in Brittany. And nowhere did the farmers get the support of other categories of workers as they did here: this was particularly the case in the more industrialised Loire-Atlantique département. They expressed their awareness of being economically penalised as Bretons and demanded that a Breton Plan of Development be implemented.

CELIB, with Martray as its general secretary and Prof. Philipponeau as the chairman of its Commission for Economic Expansion, took an important part in co-ordinating this demand. A plan to endow Brittany with a modern infrastructure was prepared in consultation with the professional organisations, but also with the cultural ones, giving detailed estimates of costs. 1090 commune councils (elected by universal suffrage) representing 80% of the Breton population expressed their support. The plan was adopted by the CELIB General Assembly attended by 1300 people in Plozevet in August 1962, and was presented to the French National Assembly for inclusion in the Fourth French Plan of Development. It by October 15th the Breton proposals were not adopted, mass demonstrations would be stepped up and a call would go out to boycott De Gaulle's presidential referendum.

Prior to 1960 minor incentives had been given to bring new industries to Brittany. The farmers revolt won further subsidies, but their effect was not felt much further West than Rennes where Citroen opened a factory which was eventually to provide thousands of jobs of which hundreds of small farmers availed. Prime Minister Debre grudgingly agreed to declare one third of Brittany a "special zone of conversion" qualifying for financial help but turned down demands for industrialisation on any significant scale. Promises obtained as it were

under duress were contradicted in practice by such measures as the introduction of transport tariffs which penalised Brittany (they triggered off the 1962 Railway Battle) or the decree to discontinue incentives to Brittany that she was part of France, that the solution which conformed to the national interest was to abandon the uneconomic farms, to direct credits towards the already prosperous regions and let the unemployed follow, Decongest Brittany! A government threatened with an OAS putsch saw with concern the testimonies of Breton unity and signs of renaissance nationalism. But while De Gaulle shouted "Vive le Bretagne" in Nantes, an administrative reform separated Loire-Atlantique from the rest of Brittany. A CELIB proposal to seek, in the absence of French credits, a loan from the European Investment Bank ran against protracted opposition from Paris, yielding only 25 million where the Italian Mezzogiorno was getting 8 times as much. Heading the Plozevet ultimatum, the government tentatively conceded reductions in energy and transport but offered no real remedy for the agricultural crisis. Once they had secured a strong electoral support in Brittany, the Gaullists could afford to ignore the Breton claims. CELIB was seen as a challenge to French unity. When it engaged in a campaign of information to build up popular pressure on the government to adopt the Breton Plan, the Gaullist members of its Parliamentary Commission thwarted it by threatening to resign.

From then on CELIB had to decide whether to resign itself to a purely advisory role and to go into politics. Martray and Plozevet opted for the former course hoping to influence the government while Philipponeau, seeing that no worthwhile change of policy could be expected from the regime, set about to win the forces of the Left to his views. CELIB was neutralised and De Gaulle could veto the Breton Plan without fear of a concerted Breton reaction. His triumph in 1944 had been accompanied by the ruin of the national movement. Once more firmly in the saddle, the "great Frenchman" had thrown the Breton regionalists into confusion.

Since 1939 it was a treason to advocate separate sovereignty for any part of the territory under French jurisdiction. The Movement for the Organisation of Brittany (M.O.B.), and all the subsequent organisations seeking self-government, by legal means, spoke therefore of regional powers within a federal system, French or European. But for all its moderation, the MOB had to contend with a distrust of "autonomists" sedulously entertained by French interests among an alienated people ignorant of their own history and community of interests. Smears of fascism, physical and legal threats in which the French Communist Party and the Prefets concurred, made it almost impossible for the MOB to engage in normal political activity. Its literature pointed out that the CELIB plans needed for their implementation a "Regional Executive" backed by an Assembly directly elected by the people. 300 commune councils and 32 department councillors signed a demand for a similar form of Devolution. Throughout 1962 and 1963 the MOB engaged in a campaign against the economic displacement of the young Bretons which, as shown by the order given to police to systematically remove its posters everywhere in Finistère hit on the right nail. However the assortment of regionalists and nationalists, conservative notables and left-wing students which made up the MOB prevented it from doing more than to give some political expression to CELIB's economic regionalism.

Neither CELIB nor the MOB advocated a radical redress for the Breton language. All the legal paths were

blocked to the introduction of any amendment to the 1951 law after a bill, which had reached the French National Assembly, had been declared unconstitutional (1961). The ministry of education repeatedly tried to discourage students from submitting for the optional "regional language" tests and would have cancelled the 1951 concessions but for vigorous protests. As shown by Beillaudegou Treger (stage performances attended by thousands) the people retained an emotional attachment to their language.

From 1960 onwards, several reprinted but substantial periodicals joined AL LIAMM and AR BED KELTIK in upholding the good standard of publication in Breton that had been established by GWALARN (1925-44); HOR-YEZH, SKOL, BARR-HEOL, PREDER were devoted to philology, teaching, general information, philosophy. Mainly in French, AR VRO cautiously expressed a nationalist-federalist view while BARR-HEOL and AR SONIER continued to cater for those mainly interested in folklore and music. A marked tension existed between the "preservationists" grouped in Engleo Breiz who protested their loyalty to France in the hope of some consideration and those who saw the survival of Breton conditional on its restoration in all the straits of Breton conditional on national freedom. The two tendencies were also divided by differences in Breton spelling. A reading and writing knowledge of the language was imparted in evening classes in some towns, correspondence courses and a summer school (KEAV). Dr. Etienne waged battle to establish the right of Breton parents to educate their children in the mother tongue by setting up a home school. Depriving him of children's allowances did not defeat him, so the parents' rights depended solely on the State. A. ar C'halvez tried another way: after studying bilingual education in Wales, Friesland, Schleswig, he decided to test his findings in the Catholic primary school of Plozevet. Eventually he taught up to 8 hours a week of (or in) Breton, hoping his example would convince all concerned that his method was sound. But Church and State made an agreement whereby the latter would dictate all schools' curricula. No more than one hour a week of Breton was henceforth with school children. Turn any way you like, the system has you in its grip!

Patent Work and Violence

From 1964 to 1968 mass demonstrations went on, mobilising sometimes up to 120,000 farmers, as well as workers and fishermen, on such issues as milk, poultry, eggs, pigs, fish prices, the closure of the Henbont foundries, the dismantling of old-established factories, wage parity with workers elsewhere in the State, bad working conditions in the pirate factories "decentralised" solely for profit motives. The farmers were selling at less than their production costs and were deeply in debt after buying machinery in their endeavour to modernise and compete. They wanted farm production to be "regionalised", i.e. each EEC region to be allotted its quota and kind of production, but contrary to such regions as Bavaria and S. Italy, Brittany had nobody in Brussels to stand up for her special interests. They demonstrated, bearing banners with such notions as "Brittany wants to live", "Brittany before Quebec" (an answer to De Gaulle's "Vive le Quebec Libre!"). Clashes with the forces of Law and Order culminated in an attack on the Kemper Prefecture (2-10-67) in which 280, farmers or police, were wounded. On numerous occasions, the farmers received support from the trade unions while on the whole, they were let

down by The French National Farmers' Association (its wealthier members, the big cereal growers, had benefited from the 1964-5 Brussels agreements which raised the price of foodstuffs needed by the Breton pig and poultry farmers).

The CODER's (Committees for Regional Development) set up in 1964 could do no more than rubber stamp in the Superprefets' hands: composed of 1/3 of elected representatives and 2/3 of government nominees, they could not discuss any awkward problems. No notice was taken of their advice in the 5th French Plan. Philipponneau's budget analyses showed that, contrary to the official boasts, credits for Brittany were being curtailed as before. The number of our agricultural workers in 4 departments was to fall from 816,000 to 317,000 in six years, that of our industrial workers from 162,000 to 147,000 (1964). In 1967 investments in the "Region" were down by 31% on the 1966 figure. On three occasions, CELIB tried to alert the EEC to the gravity of the situation by sending delegations to Brussels. The Commission seemed willing to help but did not overcome the French opposition to an EEC study of the Breton problem. At the same time, the prefect of St-Brieuc brought pressure on qualified speakers to withdraw from a conference which planned to rally all the live forces of Brittany. In an effort to boost exports, CELIB got the five department councils to subsidize Breton centres in London and Paris and in trade fairs abroad.

This period threw into relief the "treason of the Breton notables". Lombard, mayor of Brest, like Plevin and A. Colin, warned that "to politicise the problem was to court disaster". The MOB, undermined by inner contradictions, dwindled into insignificance after many of its active workers left in 1964 to form the Union Democratique Bretonne. The UDB not only advocated effective regional powers (they claimed for the Breton people a "vocation nationale", not yet actual nationality) and engaged in campaigns against the proliferation of military installations on Breton soil, they also attacked the exploitation of Breton workers by the pirate factories as well as some native employers. They could count on dedicated members to sell their monthly "Peuple Breton" and were able to survive a costly libel action when they denounced the sell-out (with the connivance of the "notables") of Breton land to promoters.

The weakness of Breton politics at this stage can be gauged from the fact that all the MOB and the UDB could do in elections was to recommend to their sympathizers to vote for the candidates of the French parties which seemed most likely to raise the specific Breton claims. The activities engaged in by the language workers continued quietly, patiently. KEAV summer camps were attended by 120 to 160 people who spoke nothing but Breton there. The volume of publication was increasing. -- in a few years the author Youenn Olier published, on his own or otherwise, a series of novels, poems, short stories, memoirs, works of historical research or literary criticism. Preder turned out volume after volume of Repart Hemon's Historic Dictionary of the Breton Language. Still believing that the French government needed proof of a popular will, Emile Breiz got 150,000 signatures to one more petition. It was treated with the same contempt as the umpteenth unanimous resolutions of department councils and other associations.

A group gathered around Dr. Euzenne and the periodical FRIDER recognised that the traditional movement, laying stress on rights, the mother tongue, and traditions, made little impact on the people to begin with. The Breton language had to be seen as essential factor of integration in the stirring but historically disjointed

Breton society. We should speak in terms of building a new nation, of substituting a new Breton society for the French one. We had to develop our own structure as of now, capable of undermining the alien one and providing services normally supplied by State. SADED was set up and was within 4 or 5 years to provide 12 correspondence courses on subjects of a pre-University level employing 21 voluntary teachers. They pushed vigorously the work of transforming Breton into a means of modern expression by coining neologisms and adapting Old-Breton or Welsh terms.

In no democratic state would the popular demands outlined above have been ignored. There is no room here to describe the harm caused to the Breton people by social disintegration arising from emigration and the policy of cultural assimilation. It was inevitable that the State's institutional violence would drive its victims to resort to illegal means. This started in 1966 and developed in 1967-68 with attacks on State installations, prefectures, police stations, tax offices. They were claimed by the FLB (Breton Liberation Front) and seemed to have no other aim than to draw attention to the Breton grievances in a more striking manner than could be achieved by impetuous Breton "monthlies". Their finest hour was when they destroyed a dozen riot police lorries the night prior to that 53 persons allegedly belonging to the FLB were rounded up. Coming as they did from various sectors of society, they "represented the conscience of the Breton people". They were jailed in Paris for up to six months, sixteen of them after a fortnight's hunger-strike. But by June 1969 De Gaulle, having failed in an ambiguous referendum, had resigned without getting the chance to show what his regionalism amounted to. His ministers had given ample warnings that it could not be much. As the Bretons in general did not reprove them the State thought it wise to amnesty the FLB people. That sort of violence was quite manageable.

Entry into Politics

Following the 1968 "Revolution" and the first FLB arrests, Breton associations were formed with more or less nationalist, leftist, or revolutionary aims. They were badly organised, dissolved or eventually merged into a kind of common front with the party Strollad ar Vro which was created in 1972. S.A.V. tried to attract people of various tendencies but underwent a mutation, being first neutral on social issues, then, after a virtual take-over by its chairman J. Le Calvez and the edging-out of Yann Fouere, becoming leftist before losing its identity. Doubts arose early about the origin of the money which Calvez was contributing, and were confirmed in 1975, leaving the party discredited. The UDB remained the only organisation deserving the name of political party: it had a good structure, a consistent if moderate policy, the ability to play a role albeit modest, in workers demonstrations and other public protests. Its steady line was due to the control of a democratically elected central committee. It refused co-operation with the other Breton political groups, attested its socialism in denouncing the exploitation of workers by native employers, supported legalization in doing so it had to forego the support of a section of Breton opinion. Much more questionable was its policy of

advising its own supporters to vote in the second round of elections for a candidate of the French Left better placed than its own, without having secured any firm commitment for its Breton aims in return. It has helped the UDB to get very encouraging results in the 1977 municipal elections. The party is in a position to dialogue with the local sections of the French Left and of the CPDT (the main trade union confederation in Brittany). The Communists however, remain opposed to the recognition of the existence of a specific Breton problem, while the Socialists and the CPDT have adopted many of the UDB views. On the whole, the Breton movement has turned to the left.

The prolonged strike at the Joint Francals factory in St-Brieuc brought about a most remarkable expression of solidarity between nearly all sections of the Breton people throughout the country. A Breton general strike in November 1975, demonstrations by the dairy farmers, protests by fishermen, the struggle to prevent large scale acquisition of farm land by non-agricultural workers, testify to the continued insecurity of the Breton economy.

The FLB renewed its attacks in 1971-72. Men were arrested and brought to trial: dozens of witnesses turned it into a trial of the State. Since then clandestine organisations have continued to operate, e.g. carrying some 20 bomb explosions in 1975. But the destruction of the Roch Trédouan TV aerial - a justified target for an illegal organisation - and other actions or threats affecting the workers of firms which contracted for the building of military installations, provoked adverse popular reactions. Y.M. Kernalegenn was killed in action, a dozen people were jailed in 1975 and again in February 1976, without generating any marked public sympathy, on the contrary.

The UDB, anxious to translate the Breton grievances and demands into political pressure thinks that the use of violent means, which has hitherto not caused any innocent death, is counter-productive in that it could alienate the people from the Breton movement in all its aspects and give the State a pretext to repression. A survey showed that 21% of the Bretons were "Breton first" but the majority has yet to be convinced that the country needs to govern itself. What about passive resistance? Others than Yann Ber ar Mat, who is in jail for a year, have refused to do French military service. The RTB campaign to withhold payment of the TV licence has the support of hundreds of people. In other peaceful ways Loire Atlantique has given proof that it is part of Brittany.

The great development in the cultural field was the popularisation of Breton music: it already started in the '60's with Glenmor and was brought to unexpected heights by singers like Servat, ar Fur, ar Tri Yann, Gwerin and above all Stivell. They contributed considerably to re-install respect for and interest in the Breton language while, by expressing through it the cares and the struggle of the people, they restore to it part of its waning social function. Investigations like that of Favereau showed that two thirds of the Breton schoolgoers would like to learn Breton. Since 1968 the various types of voluntary courses have multiplied, what is lacking are people competent enough to teach it. The Department of Celtic in Rennes University, SKOL AN EMSAV and Brezhoneg Yezh Vev have done their best to remedy this but no voluntary effort in this age can replace active State intervention in restoring a language. The newly opened nursery schools should receive unstinting support. New teaching aids are available (with cassettes and records). Various other undertakings, like the annual Breton language festival, the staging of Breton plays, the organisation of the Breton speaking families, the recording of the traditional airs and songs, the Kan ar Bobi festival, the

provision of Breton films, are so many signs of hope. The publication of Evid ar Brezhoneg and of Pobl Vreizh in order to get the ordinary Breton speakers to read the language they speak is also to be commended. Plenty of books in French, even if biased, allow more and more people to be informed of Brittany's history, of her problems, of her national movement.

Recent issues of CARN have given details about the Cultural Charter "granted" by the French President. It was prepared with great care by the cultural associations, adopted after watering down by the Regional Council, and purged of all innovative proposals by the government. It recognises a Breton cultural personality (as it were a pure spirit) which does not need any hard cash. It came on the eve of a general election, in which at the moment of writing my countrymen are engaged, hoping, always hoping, for better days.

In conclusion, it may be said that the French government makes promises galore, when hard pressed, as in 1961-62, 1968, 1977, but does not modify its fundamental policy. Its chief interests are elsewhere. So, if there is unrest in Brittany, just keep it manageable. The UDB expects better from a Left government, but has no great illusions. The sooner the Left is put to the test, the better. The FLB is the expression of those who are fed up waiting for France to change its mind, but nothing indicates that it can swing the people around to a more determined or radical stand. If the struggle were lost, one could say that theirs was the more dignified way out. Like the Breton general Cambronne at Waterloo. Merde!

But Brittany struggles on. In much too disorganised a way. It is not only a matter of divergent ideas, but the lack of political sense and of courage. The mood of the people has changed for the better, says everyone. While the Breton language - which is the essential characteristic of our nationality - slowly declines as a vernacular, young people everywhere, in towns and also in Eastern Brittany are trying to learn it, in groups or isolated. In as far as nationality depends on collective consciousness, on the awareness of a community of interests, on actions attesting it, Brittany is today a resurgent nation, more alive than it has been for centuries. The great question is about the future of Breton. What sort of language will it be? How thoroughly can it be learned in the conditions of modern life? The prevailing general climate is not propitious except that it is causing more and more people to look for a different way of life, based on smaller communities. Numerous links have been forged between the Bretons and people elsewhere carrying out similar struggles or sympathising. The solidarity of other peoples is precarious particularly for us Bretons who are facing a most centralised State, jealous of its power to do what it likes within its borders, yet supposed to uphold the ideals of democracy and freedom. It is especially important that links between Brittany and the other Celtic countries should develop because they strengthen our culture. And that is why we are there. Alan Heusaff.

Footnote: All the information given in this review is based on the bulletin BRETON NEWS which I edited from 1960 to 1972, with financial support from Yann Fouere, and on the articles published in CARN.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS are asked to renew their subscriptions for 1978 now. This issue is the first for 1978 and early payment helps. All readers please note that all the poems in our special poetry section are copyright of the authors and should not be reproduced without their permission. All translations are by authors unless otherwise noted.

CYMRU

SEFYLLFA'R CANU YSGAFN CYMRAEG

Mae sylweddol Huw Jones, un o Gyfarwyddwyr Cwmni Recordiau Bain, yn 'Y Cymro' yn ddiwedd, yn haeddu ystyriaeth ddiwy, yn eiddo o ystyried fod adiantau ysgafn yn Gymraeg yn beth llawer llai bywiog y dyddiau yma nag a fu. (Mewn erthygl yn y 'Western Mail' yn son am dath Dwydd Iwan a Mynediad am Ddim cyfeirwyd at yr 'laining Welsh pop scene'.)

Pan oedd y canu 'pop' Cymraeg yn ei anterth rai blynyddoedd yn ôl roedd mwy na digon o grwpiau 'perchus' oedd fel arfer yn apelio at garfan hyn o bobl ac yn canu llawer o ganeuon sentimental a rhamanus. Bryd hynny doedd dim digon o grwpiau mwy beiddgar a chyfoes i apelio yn benaf at bobl ifanc, ond erbyn aeth mae'r sefyllfa yn hollol fel arall.

Priid neges Huw Jones mewn gwirionedd yw nad cyddwyddid llawer yw fod hynny wedi digwydd yr un pryd ag y colwyd llawer o'r bywiogedd ydy yn y byd canu ysgafn Cymraeg. Recordiau 'Hogia'r Wyddfa' sy'n dal i werthu orau hyd yn oed rwan, er eu bod wedi rhoi'r gorau iddi (yn swyddogol beth bynnag) era tro byd, a chymharol fach yw gwerthiant recordiau mwy blaengar fel rhai Gerald Jarman, 'Hafan' neu Eudaf Emlyn. Er fod Hogia'r Wyddfa a'u lobyw yn cael eu dilyn gan lawer o bobl ifanc sydd wedi eu magu ar eiddo Americanaidd Radio 1 a Radio Luxembourg, mae lle i greu, meddai Huw, fod llawer o bobl ifanc, yn eiddo yn y wlad, yn prynu mwy o'u recordiau neu nag unchwyf grŵp arall.

Ar hyn o bryd, meddai, does dim darpariaeth o gwbl bron, ar y teledu na'r radio na'r paperau Cymraeg, ar gyfer y garfan hon - y garfan fywyr wedi'r cwbl. Rhaglen arbenigol yn apelio at ym mhob oed yn 'Twn-dian', yn wahanol i 'Disc a Dawn' oedd yn ceisio rhoi sylw i sbectwm fwy eang o grwpiau a chantoriau, ac o ganlyniad yn rhaglen fwy llywyddiaid a phoblogaidd.

Dylaiwyd y cyfyngau yw darparu yr hyn mae'r gynulleidfa yn galw amdano a'r hyn y mae'n eisiau ei wlyto neu ei wrando neu ei ddarllen. Tuedd amfodolus iawn - mewn mwyd eiddo heb law adiantau - yw hollti'r Cymry yn genedlaethau a ifanc, canol oed a hen. Anghofir yn aml nad mater o oed yw chwast bob amser - mae cymaint o nad mwy o ddiwydiad i grwpiau a chantoriau gwria ymlith pobl ifanc ag aydd i grwpiau a chantoriau roc. Ond yw taith ddiweddar Dafydd Iwan a Mynediad am Ddim yn profi hynny y tu gwat i bob amheusech? Pa grŵp roc Cymraeg allai ddenu cynulleidfa oedd mor niferus ar dath fel hys ym mhob rhan o Gymru?

Wth gwrs, petai Edward H. yn ail-gyhoeddi, lwystrach y byddai pethau'n wahanol. Ond hyd yn hyn does dim gobwg fod hynny'n mynd i ddigwydd. A. G.

[Huw Jones, the manager of the Bain recording company, feels strongly that a compromise is needed if the Welsh 'pop' scene is to flourish. There is too much emphasis on rock groups and others which appeal exclusively to young people, at the expense of people who prefer other types of groups such as Hogia's Wyddfa. Records by these kinds of groups still sell better than any others even though they are not regarded as 'pop' records.]

Rhys ychydig wythnosau yn ôl cyflwynwyd adroddiad ddy-iesiog gan Mr. Tacey Ellis, Cyfarwyddwr Addysg y str, i le-lywllor ysgolion Gwynedd, ynghyd ag argymhellad gan Banel Ymgynghoriol ar Addysg Ddywysieithog y dydd penodi pump o sutrannu ymgynghoriol rhanbarthol er mwyn gweithredu pethau ddy-iesiog Gwynedd yn fwy effeithiol.

Yn benaf rheuon unio-gyrbol am y ddyddiad mawr a chyfyddol yn hanes yr iaith Gymraeg yw nifer y plant uniaith Saesneg Sydd yn llifo i'r ardal. O'r can-lyniad, mewn rhai lleoedd mae Cymry bach yn rhoi lliu na hanner poblogaeth rhai ysgolion cynradd. Mae'r ystadegau yn ddiwedd hyn: o 12,156 a blant yn dygwg Cymraeg fel all iaith (51 y cant o'r cyfan) o'r rhain mae 1,425 yn gwlb ddywysieithog, 8,553 a rhyw wybodaeth o'r Gymraeg, gan adael 2,181 na wyddid dim o'r iaith.

Dwyedir yr adroddiad bod byrifoldeb ar yr Awdurdod Addysg i ymateb i'w bolisi ei hon ac i ddywysiad y rhieni. Gwelir maint y broblem wrth gymharu nifer y plant genedigol Gymraeg a chyfarfry y plant yn y wahanol ardaloedd. Dwyedir bod yr iaith Gymraeg yn colli tir mewn rhai lleoedd a plant bach enedigol Cymreig yn rhoi lliu na hanner poblogaeth rhai ysgolion tra mae'r iaith yn cadw ei ghen mewn ysgolion eraill.

Dwyed Mr. Ellis y buasai yr athrawon ymgynghoriol, a gynhella i'r rhanbarthau yn arwain a hyfforddi athrawon eraill, yn ogystal a chymryd gofal grwpiau neu ddotbar-thiadau o blant.

Buasant hefyd yr derbyn rhagfoni manwl o'r gwaith sydd angen ei cyflwyni gyda'r bariad o leiaf o sefydlu polisi ddy-iesiog Gwynedd ac hefyd osod i lawr y sylfaeni i ddatblygiadau y dyfodol. Ein cyfrlodeb a'n hawfiraent ydyw gwarchod ein hiaith.

Idris Ap Sion Gruffydd.

The above deals with the retreat of the Welsh language in the county of Gwynedd - the last bastion of the language where a completely bi-lingual education policy is being pursued in the primary schools. The cause of the decay is the great numbers of monoglot English entering the area - sometimes outnumbering the native Welsh-speaking children.

The report advocates the appointment of five consultative area teachers, to lead and instruct other teachers as well as taking groups or classes of children.

In the opinion of this writer these are merely panacea-measures meant to paper over the near-impossibility of containing the situation/what use is it to operate a bi-lingual education policy solely in primary schools if the language is neglected in the child's future education?

END OF BROADCASTING CAMPAIGN?

By the time this issue of 'Carn' is published the London Government will almost certainly have made a major announcement concerning the future of television in Wales. At the time of writing it is difficult to foresee what exactly the statement will contain since the pattern for the rest of the UK has not yet been decided. According to one newspaper report, the fourth television channel was to be delayed for three years and then given to ITV, but it seems that there is no agreement in the cabinet committee responsible for the matter.

However the Home Office minister responsible for broadcasting, Lord Harris, told a deputation of Plaid Cymru M.P.s that they are standing by their promise that the fourth channel in Wales will be used mainly for Welsh programmes. He also agreed that the economic situation had improved. All this suggests that there is no excuse whatsoever for any further delay.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith has been running a last minute campaign to bring pressure to bear on the Government, involving interfering with transmission in all parts of Wales and also parts of England. A spokesman for the Independent Broadcasting Authority said that a million TV sets had been switched off one evening in the Guildford and Tisbury Wells areas. Meanwhile, Rhodri Williams and Wynford James, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Chairman and Vice Chairman, are still waiting for a date to be fixed

for their Conspiracy trial. This follows a raid last year on the Blaen Plwyf TV mast near Aberystwyth for which the Senedd of Cymdeithas took responsibility. The authorities as usual, have picked out two officials, and are basing their evidence largely on press and TV interviews.

RADIO

The future of Radio Cymru has also been causing concern recently. Most Welsh programmes are now broadcast on VHF while the English language Radio Wales programmes are sotted in at convenient times within the Radio 4 service on Medium Wave.

From November all Radio 4 programmes are to be transferred to the Long Wave (Radio 2 at present), leaving Radio Wales room to develop into a full 50-hour week service. Radio Cymru will not be developed to the same extent mainly because programmes for schools are broadcast on the same frequency, VHF. The only sensible morning - peak listening hours - but this is also the time of the day that most schools programmes are broadcast.

At present Welsh language programmes run from 6.45 until 9.05 in the morning. The fear is that people will switch over at 9.05 to the English language service in order to avoid the schools programmes, and stay with the English service permanently.

CILMERI RALLY.

On Saturday 10th Dec. 1977 the annual Cilmeri Rally took place near Builth, Cymru. A monolith and mound mark the spot where Llewelyn, the last native Prince of Wales, of the House of Gwynedd, was murdered by the English. The occasion brought together approximately two hundred nationalists, mostly from mid and south Wales. A contingent of the Roman Branch, Celtic League, attended as a mark of solidarity.

In the morning a small ceremony was arranged at Abbey Cwm Hir, where the headless and mutilated body of Llewelyn was laid to rest. During the afternoon the main rally was held at the foot of the monument-mound. In a ring of torches and banners, notable figures of the Welsh movement addressed the gathering. Speakers included John Jenkins and representatives of Cotwin (the Welsh Commemoration Committee), Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society), the Irish Republican movement, and the occasion showed the diverse opinion within the Welsh movement on how to achieve national freedom, but differences of opinion were recognised for what they are, a healthy sign of the breadth of the nationalist spectrum.

A dominant theme of the speeches was to counter English propaganda, to quash the widespread belief that Devolution, a promise of an emasculated assembly without powers, represented a way to national freedom. Our chairman urged all English speaking Welshmen to at least make sure their children learn the national language, to guarantee the future national life of Wales. The League's participation in the event was warmly received, and proved how worthwhile an inter-Celtic demonstration can be.

As recently suggested in an article by Ian Lloyd, in the 'Welsh Nation', (January Edition) it would be good for Welsh morale to commemorate Welsh victories such as Crug Mawr in 1196. Although not of such long-lasting benefit as Bannockburn, none the less if turned the tide for decades, re-establishing Welsh principalities in all parts of South Wales for more than a century.

Cotwin use the symbol of the ivy leaf, in remembrance of the mock crown of ivy that adorned the severed head of Llewelyn on its progress to London. M. O'Loire,

for their Conspiracy trial. This follows a raid last year on the Blaen Plwyf TV mast near Aberystwyth for which the Senedd of Cymdeithas took responsibility. The authorities as usual, have picked out two officials, and are basing their evidence largely on press and TV interviews.

REVIEW: Wales - Land of Hope.

Politically we are undoubtedly experiencing one of the most exciting episodes ever in the history of our nation. The possibility of there being established in the not too distant future, hopefully, a democratically elected assembly in our capital city, can only be regarded even by the most pessimistic, as a step in the right direction and a logical move towards full self-government. The powers the assembly will possess are totally inadequate and will only produce a meaningless talking shop, but it will at least provide a means through which grievances can be aired in a Welsh context, and will produce we hope the required momentum to move forward to greater things ahead.

Culturally the position is rather more precarious, and requires more immediate action than is likely to emerge from the present bodies and powers that control the fate of the Welsh language.

Exciting as the political changes are then we are in the end faced with a drastic language problem that requires urgent short term measures, and the questions must be asked whether we are in a strong enough position to be able to influence the various bodies, from parliamentary to local level to produce the required change.

Formidable political parties and pressure groups have clearly adopted a new stance over the last five or six years in their attempts to save the language. In both Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society) there is now a definite sense of realism in their efforts, whereas before it would be true to say that while there was a great deal of enthusiastic fervour, there was too little emphasis on practical attainable ends. Recent trends in Plaid Cymru, like for example the recent initiative in Blaenau Ffestiniog that produced Cymdeithas Dai Blaenau, - the Blaenau Ffestiniog Housing Assoc., and again the quite extra-ordinary developments at Merthyr Tudfil, where both housing associations and co-operative ventures have been established, largely through Plaid Cymru initiative, show that in many areas a 'let's get on with it ourselves' attitude is taking over. Produced perhaps by utter frustration at the failure of public bodies to produce the goods, this kind of local initiative can only prove beneficial to the fortunes of the language, job prospects for our unemployed and the possibility of providing adequate homes for our people in future years. Cymdeithas yr Iaith have also been very active recently, organising seminars discussing job prospects in areas of high unemployment, and useful conferences on how planning authorities can improve employment prospects in rural areas, thus safeguarding the language in its rural strongholds. They have also worked in close liaison with movements like 'Bael i Waith' (Right to Work) and are beginning to exert the required pressure through which it is hoped public bodies will react and provide small scale industrial developments in areas that are crucial to the survival of the language. It is being realized that the language cannot exist in a vacuum and that it is dependent rather on a complexity of other factors that must also be controlled and conditioned. What effect these fringe developments are likely to have over the next few years is impossible to imagine. Their political effect over a considerable period of time will perhaps have a more significant impact than their actual practical significance in the short run. On the language front however, it would be totally unrealistic to consider the effect of the developments I have just mentioned as being anything more than tinkering with the outer edges of an acute problem. Recent figures produced in the schools of Gwynedd, - an area regarded as the most enlightened in its language policy, show a mere 36% Welsh speakers, which also includes learners. Although Gwynedd, of the Welsh county authorities, is easily leading

10

71

the way in Wales, with its language policy, it would be wrong to give the impression that they are beyond reproach. Far from it. There is a gaping rift between the aspirations of Cymdeithas yr Iaith on the one hand, and Gwynedd County Council on the other. There are no doubt fallacies in the attitude of both bodies, - the society's "all or nothing" stance (although they have become significantly more "diplomatic" of late) and on the other hand the lethargic progress of Gwynedd Education Authority in a quite acute language predicament. However, in many respects Gwynedd have taken a positive lead. Recent initiatives providing a team of language experts who will visit schools teaching Welsh to incoming pupils is a major step forward. But on the other hand no comprehensive policy is forthcoming in the secondary school level that will ensure fully fledged Welsh medium education in every subject. One has to look to Cleyd and Glamorgan, - both highly anglicized areas for that kind of provision. Parents, committed to the ideal of Welsh medium secondary schools are becoming anxious and are threatening to keep their children home. If this happens on a wide scale man will then be expected from the few independent and Plaid Cymru councillors on Gwynedd Education Authority who have this far succeeded in persuading the council to see their point of view.

Of course, in the same way as the fringe developments on the employment front that I mentioned earlier can play a significant role in the language revival, the county councils need to study the possibilities of providing small scale work in their areas. Not a very feasible proposition perhaps in a period of such major financial cut back in public sector grants to councils. It is indicative that, of the Welsh county councils, Gwynedd and Powys have suffered most in the recent public spending cuts, - both rural areas with high proportions of Welsh speakers. The possibility of a closer working relationship between Gwynedd C. C. and the recently established Welsh Devt. authority, and the Devt. Board for rural Wales, should also not be overlooked. But it will take a great deal of pressure at Parliamentary level before one is able to influence these public bodies sufficiently to ensure that they regard work in sparsely populated areas as an end in itself, rather than being conditioned continually by a self defeating profit motive.

At the time of writing the whole question of Welsh devolution is in the Westminster melting pot, with the resounding defeat of the government in the vote FOR the amendment requiring 40% of the total electorate in Scotland to vote "yes" in any referendum on the Scottish assembly. Decisions on the Wales Bill are also likely to follow suit. Clear signs therefore that there is a deeply embedded hard line opposition at Westminster to any concept of Welsh or Scottish control, - an opposition that can only be removed by further electoral gains for Plaid Cymru and the SNP.

An eminent Jewish leader recently referred to a basic weakness in the attitude of mind of many Jews that "they are a people who like their cloths without their silver linings". In Wales, no doubt, we have such people. There are the eternal pessimists as well as the eternal optimists. On the other hand there are people who are neither, and are able to see clearly a middle ground of attainable practical goals within our lifetime. The measure of their success over the next ten years will I think determine whether the present heartening signs are the ingredients for genuine language and social regeneration.

IN PLAID CYMRU FALTERING?

Throughout 1977 the trend of unemployment in Wales was upwards. By the end of the year the number out of

work had reached about 90,000 (8.7% of the workforce) according to the official figures. (For those outside the U.K. I will explain that social scientists all agree that the British official figures are misleading; by U.S. methods of calculation the Welsh unemployment rate would be 12-14%) Last time a Labour government was mismanaging Welsh affairs in this kind of way was in 1966-70. It caused a great surge of support for Plaid Cymru, which doubled its support at the next general election.

But this time, though disenchantment with Labour is greater than ever, the Welsh are not turning to Plaid in great numbers. Opinion polls published in The Western Mail during 1977 showed Plaid's prospective support oscillating around 14%, which is not a large advance on the 11% of the vote won in the 1974 general elections. It is also doubtful, as Keith Bush wrote in CARN 20, whether the Wales Bill, granting a bit of administrative devolution, will win approval in the proposed referendum, especially if, as now seems likely after the amendment of the Scotland Bill, it has to win more than a simple majority.

What weakens the weakness of Plaid Cymru, and thereby weakens the hope of Wal's political advance? At the party conference, held in Aberystwyth on 27th-30th October, a visitor from Sutherland said to me: "In the SNP conference we don't lay down policies on nearly as many subjects as you do in Plaid Cymru". Over 45 motions and many amendments to them were voted on by the conference, - twice as many as in 1972. As the most controversial parts of the debates are shown on television or reported in the press, it is probable that laying down a "party line" on many matters only distantly connected with the essential aims of Plaid, merely antagonises possible supporters.

Other comparisons with the SNP, which is at present so much more successful, are interesting. For instance here are the ages of Plaid candidates compared with those of the SNP, which is itself younger than either Labour or Tory candidates, are on average, in 1974:

	Age not given				
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+	"The Times"
Plaid Cymru candidates	10	14	4	2	6
SNP Candidates	9	24	27	8	4

The conclusion is obvious: Plaid has little room for the over-40's. But half the electorate is over 45, and many of them are very suspicious of young men whom they do not think have had enough experience of the world. It is not even certain that the young are favourably impressed; Plaid's greatest asset with them seems to be Gwynfor Evans, and he won't see sixty again. Here again Plaid compares badly with the SNP. It has no heroines like Winnie Ewing or Margot Macdonald. There was no woman sitting on the platform during the conference. No wonder that the leading Welsh feminist, Elaine Morgan, is virulently anti-Plaid! No party puts up as few women candidates in British parliamentary elections except the Ulster Unionists and the National Front.

The SNP also appears able to attract members of all classes in roughly equal proportions. This used to be true of Plaid. (Figures are given for 1968 in "The Welsh Question" by Alan Butt Phillip.) But a survey published by The Western Mail (13rd March 1977) shows Plaid support in the various classes as follows: AB (upper middle class) 7%; C1 (lower Middle/skilled workers) 6%; C2 (working class) 12%; DE (the poor) 13%. Such a degree of "class-skew" is less than that of the Labour

Party but about equal with that of the Tory Party. An article by Glyn Williams in Planet 40 (November 1977), "Towards a Sociology of Wales", would suggest this is partly due to the replacement of Welsh elites by "outside investment which brings with it its own management", a development encouraged by the "centralized regional development policy". The same article implies that, in as far as Plaid has itself set out to encourage this class-skew, it is sociologically speaking collaborating with the English colonialists in eliminating the Welsh nation by giving it a low-status connotation.

Another problem for Plaid lies in its own success: in the district elections in May 1976 it won control of Merthyr Tudful council and an influential position in several other councils. It too can be blamed if things go wrong now. In Merthyr they have. In Wales about 60% of houses are owner-occupied: the same is true of Merthyr Tudful. One of the reasons for Plaid's victory was the desire of house owner-occupiers to stop the previously Labour council demolishing their homes. The Plaid council has carried on the same policy, and paying inadequate compensation for the confiscated houses. It must be said that English law prevents the payment of proper compensation; nor has obstruction by the English trade union (NALGO) among the council's employees helped towards the devising of a more sane housing policy.

The Welsh branch of the Plaid Party held a meeting in Merthyr recently. They were confident that Plaid's errors are going to make the Tories the main beneficiaries of disillusionment with the Labour Party. Recent opinion polls have shown them more than once as the leading party in supposedly radical Wales with up to a 5% lead over Labour. The May 1977 county council elections when they increased their representation in Wales from 71 councillors to 140 confirmed their popularity. (Plaid also increased its representation nearly in the same proportion from 21 to 38, but this was a slight decline when compared with Plaid's achievement in the district elections in 1976.) The Tories are reasonably sure that they will add two more parliamentary seats (Brecon and Radnor and Swansea West) to the eight they already hold in Wales, and hope, when optimistic, to win others. As they are relentlessly opposed to the slightest devolution, or any other concession to Welsh national feeling, which they would like to eliminate, such an advance by them while Plaid only retained its present three members, would be interpreted in London as a signal that nothing further need be done for Wales.

1978 may thus turn into a year of disaster for the Welsh cause, if devolution is rejected in the referendum, and the general election, which may be held in the autumn, brings advantage only to the enemies of Wales. But Plaid Cymru retains many advantages. The enthusiasm of its supporters was shown in 1977 when they raised £45,000 in a few months to buy the party's new headquarters. (The English political parties are trying to arrange for the taxpayers to pay all their bills.)

If Plaid is a bit out of touch with the feeling of the voters, it is partly because there has not been a by-election since the present parliament was elected in October 1974, - a longer period without any kind of parliamentary election than Wales has known since the 1939-45 War. If Plaid Cymru thought a bit harder how to attract the Welsh people, and not just small sections of them, or, at least, how to avoid antagonising them, the basic patriotic feeling and desire for a restoration of national identity, which every opinion survey shows already to prevail in two-thirds of the people of Wales, might yet make 1978 a year of triumph. Ian Lloyd.

ÉIRE

TAISTEAL IDIR NA TÍORTHA CEILTEACHA

Gan amhras is mór an bac ar chaidreamh idir-cheilteach iad na deorachlaif a bhaineann le taisteal idir na tíortha Ceilteacha. Tá sé seo fíor go speisialta maidir le turais a dhéanamh ó Éirinn agus ó Albain go dtí an Chorn agus go dtí an Bhreicéin, agus a mhalairt. Níl sé ro fásca chan oiread taisteal idir Éirinn agus Oileán Mhanainn - níl aon seirbhís baid go tíos dom idir an dá tír ó lár Mheán Fómhair go lár Bealtaine. Déibh sídh nach bhfuil déil acu nó nach amláimh dóibh, turas ceiliúin a dhéanamh, is beag rogha aif acu leamh de thréimse an tsamhraidh. Dea seól é mas sa a foilsíodh ar sa mallaibh go gcuirear tús le dhá sheirbhís nua farantóireachta i mbliana idir na tíortha Ceilteacha, ach dar ndóig le ad teoranta don thréimse ceanna samhraidh. Baid an dá bhaid aif a goisat ar ceann le Britáin; Ferris idir Corcaigh agus Rosko (Rúscoff) na Britáin; agus ceann eile (ní heol dom céan comhlucht), idir Bun an Phoibail i dtuaisceart Tír Chonnall agus Oban na hAlban. Cé nach féidir a ra go bhfuil ceachtar den dá sheirbhís ro léimach ó thaoibh na hÉireann de, tá an ceann scríbe san dhá tír eile an áisúil go deo.

Ta Rosko suite in Iarthuaisceart na Britáine, i ngiortracht cúpla uair a chloig do phríomh ionaid saoire ar chósta tuaiscirt agus iarthair na tíre. Tá seirbhís maith bus idir Rosko agus cuid mhaith de bhaile na Britáine, go háirithe na bailte beaga i lár na tíre a bheadh níos sunmíla maidir le colas a chur ar chaidir agus dúchas na ndaoine ní na hionaid saoire.

Tá an tOban suite ar an mbealach díreach go dtí na hOileáin agus Garbh Chríoch na hAlban, i gceartáir an cheantair is áille sa tír alainn sin. Ag teacht i dtír in Oban in ionad sa tír ón Reamhar, tá beagnach dhá chéad míle bainte den turas bothair. Ní beag sin ar cur san áireamh na droch bhóithre o thuaisc ó Ghlaschu. Bíonn turais baid ag dal an Oban go dtí cuid mhaith de na hOileáin. Mairtíe mar stampá agus Oileán I, seod d'óileáin gur tíe d'an Éireannach cuairt a thabhairt air.

Fálitímhí roimh na seirbhís nua agus tá súil agam go spreagfaid siad níos mó Éireannach le cuairt a thabhairt ar a gcomhthírta Ceilteacha sul a mealltar chuig críoch níos tuide i gcéin iad ag áisúil t'AWT.

Brlé Beausif.
[Inter-Celtic travel can sometimes be quite difficult. It is good then to see two new ferry services from Éire - one from Donegal to Oban, Alba and the other from Cork to Roscoff in Breizh.]

MEATH CHATHAR GHLASCHU le J. Treacy

Is mar tír éilain maorga a shamhlaítear Alba de gnáth, tír in ar féidir taisteal ar fad réimse tairraige gan duine na deoras a fheiceáil. Ní bambaíodh do chathar Ghlaschu, áit a bhfuil conaif ar dhá trías de dhoras na tíre. Dreach sarrach b'ionann aif ar tír na cathrach seo, cuid de na ceantair is mó g'áir ar Ríocht Aontaithe le fíil ínti. An tífúocht an príomh thaidh, sean príoféithe nó tionscailíná bhúimhóir le círas sarrachais, sean príoféithe seo chialla. Go mínte dh'bhíon d'áisece reatha le fáil acu ach an deoras anuas. Is cuma éf haid na bhfíor, beaice prófáidíseacha nó institiúidí ar nó an t'áras Aifíidí, an t'áras na n'Oileáin, déannaíad siad fáilín íomláin ina sa ceantair seo.

Ceibáimín a leithéid de thimpeallacht sarrach móirín dochar sóisialta agus ní beag chathair an rís mílínseach dh'fhoistíochta. Meastar go bhfuil isteach is crach le 300,000 dh'fhoistíochta, 40,000 píleáit gan ach oideachais

páirt aimsire le fáil acu, 5000 sean duine ag fáil bháis gach bliain ceal teasa agus curaim; gan trácht ar an afor easpa tithfochta. Lucht tabhairne, geallbrúiceirí agus geallglacadóirí amháin a thagann i dtír ar an deoráid.

Mí raibh ach leigheas amháin ar na fadhbanna seo uilig ina tréochtaí annas. I. na daoine a ghlánadh amach agus iár na cathrach a athfhorbairt ar bhonn eacnamaí (mar afa ag tairí i mBaile Átha Cliath le blianta beaga annas). Cuirtear na daoine amach chuig na heasáit ar imeall na cathrach agus cruthaíodh fadhbanna nua nuair a briseadh comhar an phobail, mar bhí spiorad léidir chomhludair(airiamh) ina measc. Anois tá droch chúil go forleathan ar an chuid de na bruaibhailte seo, Craignillar, Blackhill agus Easterhouse ar a bhfuil ainm an ríneachta agus an fhoréigín. Ní chun tairbhe na bpléidheantair a ndéanfaid na scéimeanna athfhorbairtheach an oiread; faighid bearnaí gan líonadh, foréigín agus bóthra leathchríochnaithe. Tharla seo cuid mhaith de bharra meath na tionsclaíochta troime ba dhual do na ceantair léir.

Tá sé beartaíte ag Rialtas Lúndain £125 milliún punt a chaitheamh gach bliain go ceann cúig bliana in oirthir Ghlaschu amháin. Gan amhras tá práinn leis an mbeart seo de bharr staid phoiblí na hÁlban. Meastar go mbeadh sé no seacht nóiread sin de dhíth chun barr feabhais a chur ar an tít cheanna.

Cheana féin tá iarrachtaí ar bhun chun na tith a chéirí. Ar an droch uair is mar chuid de scéim cruthú poist atá an obair seo ar siúl agus ní ann ach sop in áit na scuabte. Ag pointeáil agus ar cur bail ar an taobh amuigh is mó afa a dheanann, sa dóigh nach gcuirfidh an radharc iatach ar an bpobal ag dhí thart. Is léor a foirneid chun coisnas na gcomhairleoirí baile a shuaimhniú, ach is beag atá a dheanann chun na bun fhadhbanna a reití.

Droch theist ar an rialtas afa i gceannas na hÁlban an scannal tithíochta seo i nGlasgú. Cinnte ní fheadhadh an rialtas dúchasach, dá ólcais é, mós measa a dheanann. [The above deals with the decay of Glasgow.]

NUCLEAR OR NOT?

Plans for a nuclear power station prepared by the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) in the Republic were shelved with the coming of the 'oil crisis' in the early seventies and the subsequent drastic drop in demand for electricity. In recent years however the growth rate has recovered to the pre-recession level and the ESB now tells us that generating capacity on the system will have to be doubled in about nine or ten years. They see the addition of a large nuclear station to their capacity as necessary to provide for this increase and, they claim, to avoid over-dependence on imported oil. They are now pressing for an immediate decision by the government and the nuclear debate has begun afresh.

Concern has been voiced about the nuclear project by a number of groups. A group in Wexford, the county in which the proposed station is to be sited, has been active and organised a series of debates on the issue. They, the Nuclear Safety Assoc., have pointed out the danger of a major catastrophe or of minor incidents, the risk of radio-active build-up in humans through the food chain and, of course, the difficulty of disposing of radioactive by-products of the nuclear process. They have called for the decision to be deferred until a full public inquiry has been held and has produced findings. Another body who have called for a similar inquiry is the Irish Sovereignty Movement. In a statement they were sceptical of the ESB's projections and critical of the Minister for Industry, Commerce and Energy, Mr. O'Malley's equation of energy

consumption with economic development; the ESB statement said that America consumes twice as much energy as Germany although manufacturing output per head is about the same in both countries. The Minister's statement came during the Annual Congress of the Government party, Fianna Fail, in the course of a debate on the nuclear project. In a further speech in the Dail some days later he described as the only alternative - an oil burning station, while describing as 'facile' suggestions that use should be made of wind, wave or solar power or of biomass to meet energy needs of eight years ahead.

Another factor involved is the firm policy of the EEC Commission that the nuclear industry must develop and despite mass opposition in many countries the expansion plans for nuclear energy still stands. The fears and objections of those worried about the overall effects of a nuclear station have not been answered, and it would be salutary to conclude with an extract from the statement by the secretary of the National Co-operative Council,

Mr. John O'Hanlon, who described the project as 'nuclear madness' and who continued: 'To proceed with this nuclear plant before an energy conservation programme has been launched, and before alternative energy systems have been thoroughly examined, would be highly irresponsible because there is still no safe method available to us or anybody else to safely store or dispose of nuclear waste forever.

'Apart from this unsolved problem of waste disposal, we now have the almost daily reports of accidents or radiation leaks at nuclear plants somewhere in the world. For instance, during the past few weeks, there have been two accidents at the same nuclear station near Lyons in the South of France; a major leak of seawater into the Hunters-ton 'B' nuclear station in Scotland; an explosion at the Baroda nuclear station 150 miles north of Bombay on December 4th last, and a few days later, another explosion at a similar plant in Connecticut, USA.

'Last week, there was another accident and radiation leak at a nuclear plant in Belgium, and at the same time, a world-wide alert over Cosmos 954 whose nuclear reactor was only a fraction the size of the proposed nuclear station for Cairnsore.'

AN END TO 50 MILE LIMIT CLAIM

As negotiations took place on a common E.E.C. Fisheries policy in the beginning of last December reports appeared that the Irish Fisheries Minister, Mr. Lenihan, was prepared to withdraw Ireland's claim to an exclusive 50 mile fishing zone, which had been supported till then by the Government and had been strongly lobbied for by the Irish Fishermen's Organisations (IFO), and accept a policy involving controls and licensing but no exclusive zone. When discussions were resumed in January it became clear that there was substance in those reports. At one stage as the deadlock in the talks continued, with the Continental states refusing to yield to the 50 mile demand, Mr. Lenihan put forward a compromise proposal involving fishing plans and a reserved coastal conservation zone.

The talks finally came to a temporary end at a meeting, which was boycotted by the British Minister, in Berlin at the end of January. Agreement was not reached however on a final fisheries policy and what was settled for was a temporary arrangement to be in force until the end of the year. Mr. Lenihan, in accepting this arrangement involving fishing plans and quotas, effectively put an end to the Irish Government's pursuance of a 50 mile limit. In mid-February a protest was staged by fishermen from all over the country who tied up their boats for two days and held a demonstration on the second day outside

(Continued on page 17)

REVIEW: The National Question

No vantage point chosen can miss the national question in Ireland; no retrospective view from whatever angle can ignore the reality of the problem: no view of this past decade can leave out of its perspective the warfare now in its tenth year.

There is tendency among some to adopt the ostrich pose, to talk of 'our people' for example, or 'our nation' as one television ad. had it, and to mean the population of the Republic of Ireland. This is a manifestation of a wish from reality, a sometimes conscious attempt at escape from involvement in the current crisis in our history.

Other escape hatches have been anti-nationalist inspired, and all are accompanied by disparagement of nationality. On one level the hoary 'two-nations' solution (final!) has been exhumed by the same rigorists Stalinists who published a pamphlet 'proving' (they practice 'proof by assertion') that Cymru was not a nation. While they have been its most assiduous exponents others have latched on to variants of the 'thesis' as the magic rite to make the facts go away. On another level nationalism and nationality are stalked as some kind of antediluvian monster (i.e. pre-English Liberal or untouched by the arrogant assumptions of those who designate themselves Liberal).

Nationalism and nationality are blamed for the Northern crisis, Irish nationalism and Irish nationality and this by - again - disparagers of both. Such condemnations are cleverly presented: almost always Hitler is evoked as an ultra-nationalist, and therefore (the suggestion is) the inexorable *terminus ad quem* of nationalism is his crude statism and even cruder racism.

But the odd feature of this propaganda effort is that only one nationality is being held to ridicule, the Irish one: only one nationalism is held to be aggressive, unnatural and so forth, Irish nationalism. Years of ailing and listening to the huffigate of 'British' this and 'British' that have created - outside England - a consciousness of something 'British' (a junction on the line to assimilation), a vague and indeterminate thing (foreign to the English) that has functioned to obfuscate the real aggression which in the Irish story is English aggression, English expansion, English annexations, English Empire, English pretensions, and English presence. And yet the media myth-makers almost never refer to this constant, this criterion by which one can gauge the slow emergence of Ireland (among others) into self-confident fulfillment in freedom. It is not Irish nationality which is at fault (except that like the man upon the stair it wouldn't go away) it is English imperialism (the harsh fact of English nationalism).

Long as this has been ignored, avoided or treated as if non-existent, it is forcing its own way back to public notice in the bellowing Van Straubenzee (one time Minister for State under Whitelaw in the 6 Counties), and Airey Neave (Tory spokesman on North), as well as in the strident neo-racism of Margaret Thatcher. This is perhaps all to the good: clarity will help - when Van Straubenzee described the Republic of Ireland's Taoiseach, Jack Lynch's, quiet reiteration (of his long held position as to a declaration of intent on the part of England to withdraw from Ireland) as a blundering in 'with all the sensitivity of an educationally sub-normal elephant', he was echoing standard English attitudes from the hey-day of Empire and justifying the might is right bit in the same style and vocabulary as Salisbury (one time Tory Prime Minister) did when addressing the Primrose League (Imperialist Club) at the turn of the century.

Slow as this apprehension is in coming it is one of the few plus marks achieved in the present chapter of 'bloody arbitration' (to quote Salisbury) that the

attribution 'British' is being questioned more and more and its hollowness being manifest the vacuum is being filled or may be filled by a concept called 'Ulster' (again a creature of many shapes and forms) which - however bolstered at present by pseudo-history, fatuous extensions from inadequate archeology, and fascinating mumbo-jumbo in lieu of dialectology - does not of itself exclude the concept of Irish and does not pretend to absorb it as 'British' was supposed to have done.

War-weariness will often cause suggestions to be made that all has been a misadventure, that all has been to no avail, that upwards of 2,000 have died before their time to no other end than the proof that English interference in Irish affairs still is as it always was deleterious. But if one looks back through, say, the three volume chronology of the war years compiled by Richard Dentch and Vivien Magawan (Blackstaff, Belfast) - a salutary and recommended exercise - one cannot but be struck by changes in attitude.

The landed gentry and the titled aristocracy have gone from Government and importance in Northern Ireland (a few can still be found in the Alliance Party) and with them that strange feudalism which still obtains - despite the evolving of democracy - in any polity dominated by that class. The cleverest and most efficient of the manufacturing bourgeoisie, Brian Faulkner, is dead and no comparable leader has emerged to replace him, even if the party he headed at death was but the rump of the monolith it had been when he took office first.

The crudest types of discrimination cannot be practiced now. A symbol here - if the Lockwood Report of 1965 led to the sifting of the New University of Ulster in Coleraine rather than Derry (a blatant example of anti-nationalist planning) the 1963 Mathew Plan to build a new (and loyalist) city 'Craigavon' by 1981 has now been publicly shelved. Differentiation against non-loyalists in employment practiced since the state's inception, though generally denied, has lately been formally admitted (the ratio of discrimination being 2:1, an inverse - almost - of the population ratio and therefore twice as bad as it in fact appears), and one hopes will be less easy to practice from now on. The discriminatory laws against citizens of the Republic of Ireland taking positions in the 6 Counties have had to be lifted being in breach of the EEC free movement of labour regulations. In 1971 Sir Con O'Neill had successfully argued for the retention of the Discrimination for the duration of Britain's transition period towards full EEC membership. However the population of the area has declined over the past ten years - the first time a nett loss has been revealed by the census returns: the last two returns for the Republic of Ireland show a slow but steady increment.

Stormont itself has gone since 1972 as the seat of a devolved or regional government: one can argue whether this has been to the good or not - certainly without it politics are more and more the politics of the street; certainly too Westminster - which dodged the issue (and hence the responsibility for decades - has had to pay more attention to Ireland and Irish affairs, but whether this will lead to a Parnellite or to a Redmondite situation is still unclear - the English Labour Leader, Callaghan's tentative advances to the Ulster Unionists M.P.'s for support in late 1977 was no benevolent augury.

Tribunals have sat and Commissions reported; assemblies and conventions have come and gone; the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 which it was treachery to question in Conor Cruise O'Brien's view was aborted in the Loyalist general strike of 1974 and is now gone too, as is O'Brien - to the London Observer - and the Loyalist Association of Workers in the inter-ethnic squabbles and

struggles manifested when they failed to repeat the 1974 formula a few years later.

The Republic's President of the time Erskine Childers had spoken of an all Ireland Council. He died in office to be replaced by an agreed candidate recalled from the European Court. Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh who in his manner, stature and day-to-day activities did much to restore to nationality and culture the status being eroded from them under the Coalition Government which replaced Fianna Fáil in the Republic early in 1973. Intended as they were by that "liberalism" advocted to already, and despite the fact that so many were so fed up with Fianna Fáil's inadequacy and so willing to give an alternative a fairer chance than usual, it was not long before their arrogance began to lose them support. The carefully studied insult to President Ó Dálaigh by Defence Minister Donegan led to the President's retreat and to his being in turn replaced by another agreed nominee, P. J. Hillery, then an EEC Commissioner in Brussels. That insult, the steady stream of anti-nationalism from Dr. O'Brien - worthwhile as it always is to be forced to redefine one's position - the crude insensitivity to republican traditions and aspirations, all contributed to ensuring that - despite an apparently fool-proof redrafting of constituency boundaries - when a General Election was held in 1977, a Fianna Fáil Government was returned with an unprecedented majority and an obvious mandate to undo the damage done nationally and culturally by their predecessors. To date they have not been spectacularly active towards these ends.

P. Ó Snodaigh.

CULTURAL REVIEW

The year the Southern State commemorated the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising which led to its foundation saw a protest hunger strike outside the G.P.O. (the headquarters of that rebellion) in protest against the lack of effective action by the state in promoting the Irish language and its failure to pursue concrete policies aimed at the language's survival and revival. The same year saw also the emergence of a vociferous anti-Irish language body which campaigned against State support for Irish and for a virtual monolingual English State system. It is beyond the scope of this short review to go into the history of the language movement and the role of the state in relation to the language from its foundation. Suffice it to say that the "official" language movement had lost touch with the people and that the State was, as instanced by its failure to implement even the moderate recommendations of its own "Commission for the Restoration of the Irish Language", in the process of withdrawal from any role in promoting language revival on a broad basis, leaving the ritual promotion of the language to the few statutory bodies charged with that task and administering grants to a number of voluntary bodies. Since the mid-sixties many things have happened on the language front and it is only possible to highlight the most relevant.

One of the most important features in the last decade has been the awakening of the youth of the Gaeltachtaí (Irish speaking areas). In 1969 the Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement (Glúaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta) was formed in the Connemara Gaeltacht and began agitation for a Gaeltacht Radio Service, amongst other things. They later set up a Pirate Radio and must be credited with forcing the Government to set up Radio na Gaeltachta which now broadcasts from 6p.m. to 9.30p.m. each evening. They published their own monthly paper "Tuairisc" and were the main force behind non party Gaeltacht candidates in the 69 and 73 General Elections. They also organised their own National Language Festival or "Oreachtas na nGaeil" which, while fading after a number of years, gal-

vanised the Conradh na Gaeilge Oreachtas into holding its Festival (hitherto held continuously in Dublin) in Gaeltacht areas on at least alternate years.

The movement was based in the Connemara (Western) Gaeltacht while having links with other areas in the North and South. They later attempted to formalise these contacts by setting up the movement on a national basis but the widely scattered locations of the Irish speaking areas militate against easy and rapid communication and very little united effort appeared to materialise. The main campaigning point of the Movement following their success on the radio issue has been the need for a democratic Gaeltacht Authority with sufficient scope and finance to act as an effective development and administrative body for the Gaeltachtaí. In recent years unfortunately it would be fair to say that the Movement has become moribund and little has been heard from it. A factor in this would appear to be the involvement of many of those active in the early years, in both the Radio Service and the local development co-operatives which have grown up rapidly in almost all Gaeltacht areas since the early seventies.

Another important development has been the change of direction which took place in the main language body in the country, Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League), following an influx of new activists in the late sixties and early seventies. The Conradh realising the need for more contact with the ordinary person began a house to house canvassing campaign and developed policies and pursued campaigns on Road Signs, Charter of Rights for Irish, Education, Broadcasting, The Gaeltacht, etc. They took the lead in the Campaign against Conor Cruise O'Brien's (then Minister for Posts and Telegraphs) declared aim of rebroadcasting BBC television in toto on a second channel instead of a second RTE service and were successful, with the aid of the unions, in mounting support which ensured that RTE 2 was eventually favoured. Their campaign for a proper TV service in Irish, instead of the paltry and insulting 2% of Irish programmes broadcast, led to a number of members and supporters, who took part in their licence with-holding action, being jailed and to an increase to a less paltry but still insulting 6% Irish TV programmes. The position of education through Irish was covered in two articles in CARN issues 14 and 15. As outlined no education through Irish is provided by the State and Conradh members and branches have taken an active part in the setting up of all Irish primary schools in recent years. Conradh members set up social clubs for Irish speakers in Dublin, Belfast and Cork over the last eight years and plan one for Galway. In 1976 the Conradh opened An Siopa Leabhar (Celtic Bookshop) at their headquarters in Harcourt Street, Dublin, and they have continued to publish over the years a number of periodicals in Irish, as well as some books, each year. The organisation is funded by a National collection, subscriptions and a government grant. Many members feel the Conradh would be better off without any grant and last year's A.G.M. instructed the executive to devise a plan to make the organisation self-financing.

In the late sixties the Conradh founded a new youth movement "Ogras" which has by now expanded to have over 70 branches throughout the country. It holds a summer camp, training courses for its members, publishes its own quarterly magazine and organises Ogras 'Olympics' as well as participating in the various national Conradh campaigns.

Other positive developments in the last decade have been the formulation of intensive or crash courses in the language which are organised and run under the auspices of Gael Linn. That organisation also began in the late sixties a national youth festival in Irish "Siogadh" based

initially in the Dublin area but now developed on a National basis. They have also recorded many of the leading traditional singers in Irish as well as issuing quite a lot of traditional music discs and have had their own record shop in operation for a number of years.

What positive results on a broad basis we might ask have derived from the activities of all the various voluntary language organisations? It is clear that voluntary organisations alone cannot ensure the survival let alone revival of a language in a society such as today's where the State has such a dominating role in nearly all areas which touch on peoples lives at both national and local administrative levels. During the Coalition's term of office (73-77) the requirement to pass in Irish to obtain a pass in the Post-Primary Certificate examinations was abolished as was the requirement to have a pass in Irish to enter the State Service, (Civil Service, Police, etc.). Whatever about the former, which was regarded by many in the language movement as counter-productive, the latter signified a formal move away from the aim of the bi-lingual administration. Irish speakers have had continual difficulty with various government and local government departments when attempting to conduct their business through Irish and in many instances forms etc. are not available bi-lingually or in Irish. (It must be said that unfortunately many language supporters are at fault, as while active in other spheres, they do not try to do their business with the State through Irish.)

The Department of Education does not take Irish medium schools into account at all in their long term planning (see CARN 14 and 15) and in their policy of centralisation have frequently amalgamated schools across linguistic boundaries, putting Gaeltacht children in English medium schools. Indeed reports from Gaeltacht schools suggest that much English is being used in teaching in these schools. The position of teacher training in Irish is quite bad with the training colleges which used Irish as a medium of instruction now using English and the standard of Irish taught in many schools is extremely low. The lack of textbooks in Irish has continued and is definitely hampering education through Irish.

The Report of the Committee on Language Attitudes Research was published in early 1976 and dispelled many of the myths relating to the language (see report CARN 12). It showed clearly that a vast majority (70%) wish the language well and desire that the future of the language be ensured and that it be publicly supported. However the negative attitudes are revealed in that 49% felt less money should be spent on reviving Irish. The survey also revealed the low usage of Irish outside the Gaeltacht, with only 4% of the population appearing to use it frequently or intensively.

The important thing about this survey is that it provides the information on which the State could formulate positive language policies. To date unfortunately there is no sign of these positive policies emerging and the State Board for the language - Bord na Gaeilge - has yet to be given effective powers and financing to promote the language efficiently in the State system and outside of it.

In the Gaeltacht there is evidence of a continuing decline in the number of those using the language in their homes. Some commentators put the Irish speaking population of the Gaeltacht in total at under 30,000. The changeover appears to be occurring amongst those now rearing young families and a one time secretary of Glúaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta claimed recently that in the Connemara Gaeltacht many children of ages 4 to 9 have no Irish on going to school. It is ironic that this is occurring at such a rate at a time when economically the Gaeltacht is probably better off than ever, with more employment available, (through the factories brought in

by Gaeltarra Eireann, the State agency to attract industry to the Gaeltacht, and the efforts of the local co-ops). That industries have played some part in anglicisation is undoubtable but they are hardly the major factor. The main factor still appears to be fear of lack of opportunity if children do not have good English.

There are many aspects to this and space does not permit their development. It would seem clear however, that the time is ripe and long overdue for more effective co-operation between those active in language and community affairs in the Gaeltacht and the language speakers and organisations throughout the country. The Gaeltacht will hardly survive as a ghetto if Irish is neglected and downgraded in the rest of the country - no group is going to be prepared to act as a reservation to save the conscience of the nation. Ensuring the survival of the Gaeltacht and the promotion of the language as a spoken language throughout the country must go hand in hand. Do the Irish people believe that their language is the essence of their nationality? A majority would at least appear to believe that it is a major part of their national identity. However many of the old instilled prejudices against the language remain and some new ones have appeared. The language would seem to be to many like a "national monument" which can be preserved without too much effort and little or no realisation exists that it must be a living community expression with a role in all aspects of society. Until this realization dawns, followed by an awareness of the need for concrete community and political action, it is difficult to see much real progress being made in the struggle to ensure the survival of the language on a community basis let alone in any revival attempt.

C. D. L.

(Continued from page 14)

Dáil Eireann (Parliament) to press their demand for a 50 mile limit and to air their dis-satisfaction at the way negotiations had been handled. At about the same time the ban imposed on trawlers over a certain length in Irish waters, imposed by the previous Government, was declared contrary to Community Law, by the European Court of Justice. Finally Mr. A. Murrin, who spear-headed the IFO's campaign for the 50 mile limit, caved in and said, following talks with Mr. Lenihan and the EEC Fisheries Commissioners, Mr. Gundelach, at a fishery seminar in Donegal, that he accepted the Minister's decision. He said that he would recommend to the Executive, of which he is Chairman, that they accept Mr. Lenihan's invitation to participate in drawing up fishing plans. The IFO executive however did not accept his recommendation and while retaining him as chairman, voted to continue its 50 mile campaign. Meanwhile the Fishermen's Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in a statement commenting on these developments said: "This union, restates its commitment to maximum national control, including a 50-mile zone, but simultaneously calls on all organisations concerned with the industry to demand to be involved in the formulation of the present draft plans so that the best possible deal can be secured for Irish fishermen and the Irish economy."

AN COMINN ALBANNACH: "For a Ghriùthig Scotland": - Join An Comunn Albannach and work for the restoration of the Scottish Language. All enquiries and requests for information, etc., are welcome, and all enquiries will be answered. Write to A.C.A., c/o Busby, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow, G15 7JJ, Alba - Scotland.

CRANN-TARA, Scotland's Radical Quarterly, Nationalist, socialist, independent. Annual Subscription £1.80p. Crann-Tara Publications, c/o 54 Pervis Place, Aberdeen.

KERNOW

DASSERGHYANS STEN

Drea an nawjgves cansbledhen yth esa whelyow sten Kernewek owth efany toth bras. Moy es 50,000 den a laluryan y'n whelyow a ystynas a'n yl pen a Gernow dhy' gyla. Mes wosa an viedhen 1860, dyfygians a dhalithas a dnyarys bys the viednyow a -dhwedhes. Bytegens, y'n jeth hedryu, yth eson-ny ow queler dassergghyans gwyr agan gwyth Kernewek a-bengof.

Yma pypm whel Kernewek ow tenythy quarter ethom-mow Breten Vur ha lemmy, fowlow yu tewlys dhe whylas mun ogas dhe drevow Callington ha Gunnislake. Y'n Gwetha prys, ofensa a dhe a bobel a'n le yn despyt bos kemmys tus hep ober y'n randyr-na. Apert yu bos omdowlow ynter an dyogyon ha'n re-na a gar gwytha an pow adro war an yl tu hag an re-na a vyn moghe an gwyth sten war y gyla.

Bytegens, mar mynyn gweloes Kernow ryth, y lepoth dhyh moghe an gwyth sten may l'ilyn gweloes erbyz Kernewek yagh y lepoth dhyh cafes forth gres may fu pys da an dheu vugas. Mar ny mynyn degemeres an gwyth sten, ny a yl ankey agan whans a weles Kernow ryth.

Kemmys del vogh an whelyow, ny dal man the Gernow marnas an gwayn yu gwythys yn Kernow. Ny yllyn godhaf an gwayn dhe vos kemerys yn mes a'gan lya.

(Summary: The prospect of rebuilding the Cornish tin mining industry is being hindered by misguided conservationists. While every effort must be made to save farmland and to find a middle road between the two sides, if we hope to build a healthy, self-sufficient Cornish economy, the mining industry will have to form a vital part of that economy.) Tony Casey.



DOLLY PENTREATH COMMEMORATION.

In the above photograph: The Bishop of St. Germans and Grand Bard, Richard Jenkin (on his right) at the wreath laying to commemorate the bi-centenary of Dolly Pentreath's death, Kernow's last known native speaker.

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

CORNISH MOVEMENT HAS PROGRESSED.

The Cornish national movement is around a generation old. The adverse economic and social factors affecting our nation have if anything intensified since the formation of Mebyon Kernow in 1950.

Unemployment, which during 'full employment' in the 50's was as low as 3-4% now stands at 12% in winter and 10% in summer. Cornwall has wage levels 16% below those of England & Wales and has the distinction of ranking 81st out of 81 British 'counties' in the wages league. As a result of low incomes, insecurity of employment, and difficulties in obtaining housing young Cornish people continue to emigrate in large numbers. This has been the case since the mid-nineteenth century but recently has been accompanied by large scale inward migration from England. Emigration of our young, and the immigration of many unaware of Cornwall's traditions and culture, has put severe strains on our communities.

English politicians tend to regard Cornwall as one large holiday camp and the encouragement of tourism has accelerated this process. The present use of mass unemployment and cuts in the social services as an economic policy by the centralist government have particularly hit the standard of living of the Cornish Working people who have seen their inadequate transport system and health service slashed even further in recent years.

In the face of these conditions how has the national movement developed in the years since 1950? On the political front MK, which started with a handful of supporters and a policy of home rule, now calls for self-government and has a membership rising into 4 figures. In the 50's it was predominantly a cultural pressure group reacting defensively to issues as they arose, e.g. overspill from Greater London, threatened closure of the Camborne School of Mines, etc., and publicising the Cornish language and Celtic traditions by publishing Cornish calendars and initiating evening classes in the language. At this period anyone could join, even members of an English political party including MP's of the Liberal and Tory parties.

By the mid 60's MK realised its predominantly cultural approach was inadequate and began contesting local elections. To its surprise it did quite well.

Nevertheless the swing to political activity was still too slow for some and the party endured a breakaway in 1970 by a group of nationalists demanding a more political approach. This was relatively short lived. The process of politicisation continued and three years ago MK declared itself a political party and debarred those belonging to English parties from membership. This was partly a response to a renewed split that year when the Cornish Nationalist Party was formed.

The latter was begun out of the conviction that the structure of MK was inadequate for the political struggle. The CNP was intended to be more politically active whilst MK would continue to fulfil its cultural role. The CNP's politics differed relatively little from MK's and this, plus an unfortunate flirtation with neo-fascism in 1978, has led to a falling off of activity by the CNP, which at present appears to be much less active politically than the older party.

Cornwall has the added distinction of possessing its own parliament, the Stannary Parliament, now renamed the Cornish Convocation which claims legislative powers based on traditions confirmed by a charter of 1508. The Convocation recalled itself in 1974, its opening attended by observers from Cuba and the Mongolian People's

Republic. This auspicious start has failed to develop further, despite some headline grabbing activities on the part of a few activists such as refusing to pay road fund tax and speeding fines. The Convocation appears to be peripheral to the principal political struggle.

At present the political movement appears healthier than before with the 2 parties between them contesting all 5 of the Cornish constituencies at the forthcoming Imperial General Election. Thousands of Cornish people are now aware of nationalism and the local press takes it as a serious movement. Policies to cover the whole economic and social field are being thrashed out and there is now a small magazine, An Wern, putting forward radical and socialist perspectives on the national struggle in Cornwall.

Nonetheless active workers are still spread too thinly. For example although MK is relatively well organised in a few areas many parts of Cornwall have no basic grass-roots nationalist organisation. This is reflected in a very patchy approach to local elections. Both parties also lack coherent analysis and imaginative policies for many of the problems faced by the Cornish people.

The struggle to raise Cornish consciousness has been slow but in recent years some exciting developments have been occurring in the cultural field which have contributed to it. The Gorseith has continued to further knowledge of our language in a traditional way. But a new development has been the emergence of Yeth an Wern meetings across Cornwall. These largely stem from the Cornish classes and are an attempt to introduce the language into the life of the people by having deliberate get-togethers of Cornish speakers in local pubs.

Just as important as these are the emergence of musical groups who perform traditional Celtic material, often in Cornish. These again must have an effect in popularising the language.

On the academic front the Institute of Cornish Studies continues to do some work in aiding research on Cornish matters although being severely starved of funds and ultimately controlled from Exeter University in England.

Among possible developments are proposals for a mini Eisteddfod and a claim for money from the UNESCO which, if successful, might provide a boost for Celtic culture.

Despite a general rise in the acknowledgement of the Celtic nature of Cornwall over the past few years use of the language has still been slow to spread outside the classroom. The institutional barriers against its use can be seen as formidable when some Cornish banks refuse to accept cheques in Cornish and the leading local newspaper refuses to accept even bilingual adverts and notices.

It can be said that the Cornish movement as a whole remains in a transition period from being primarily a cultural group to being a fully-fledged broadly based political and cultural movement. Many of the organisational problems faced by the political movement, MK in particular have their roots in this transition. Nevertheless if breakthroughs begin to be made in the political field then this should also boost the cultural (and vice-versa). It is these breakthroughs that we continue to work for. We will then be able to play our part in making England's first colony its last. Wm. Rodda.

AL LIAMM, bimonthly, approx. 80pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 40F Breth and France, 50F other countries. To P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a chaud, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders to CCP 5349-06 Paris.

MANNIN

TORCHAGH-CHENEY

The decision by the European Court of Human Rights that Britain was guilty of 'inhuman and degrading treatment' of Irishmen but not of 'torture' may encourage the mistaken belief that 'torture' always involves inflicting severe physical, as opposed to mental, pain.

Fy-yrrey, va briwyna ry-gheddyn veih'n Whaiyl Europagh cour Kiartysyn Deiney mysh coash ny h'Eirin noi'n Ghoal. Dooyrt yn Whaiyl dy row yn Ghoal oolee jeh jamoo reddyn beishlagh rish Yernee ayns twaite ny cheerey sy vlein 1971. Agh, coardall rish yn Whaiyl, cha row yn Ghoal oolee jeh 'torchagh'. Briwyns mirrillagh v'ayn ren solishaghey magh dy cronall nagh vod brwenny shassoo erakyn politticaghlyn nyn astoonyn. Va ny Gualdee hene cho beoolagh nagh row ad er dor-chaghey ny Yernee boghtey shen as dy jarrood ad dy ren ad reddyn beishlagh row.

Jarrood yn pholitticaght, jarrood yn torchagh-cheney, she torchagh kiart v'ayn. V'eh jeant lesh kied reillys Hostrya, volsh deiney feer niartal sy reillys shen. Ta ny deiney shen oolee jeh torchagh. T'ad ny smoo oolee na ny fir treth ren yn torchagh hene as ny fir-hee ren cooney lhiue - fir-hee lhiueg ve ceant magh ass nyn obbyr.

Y red smeasey, shen dy jean sleih foast credial nagh vel peiagh enagh surrause 'torchagh' managh vel eshyn na ish surrause guth corpagh. Cha nod ymmodde sleigh tosgal dy vod oo surrause torchagh firringh ayns dhy chione. Hene yn 'New Scientist', yn carishlior skindaght Sostnagh, cha row cootsh ny h'Eirin sy Whaiyl Europagh cho lajer as oddagh se er ve. Cha ren ny Yernee jeaghyn da'n whaiyl dy ren ny Gualdee hene ny emeeny jeh ny cappee oo. Dy jarroo, haik ny cappee dy ve shigodaght (psychotic) son tamnyll. Er y fa dy row shoh taghyrt cho tappet, va ny sassey va ny Gualdee gymmydey ny amessey na sassey corpagh. She torchagh kiart v'ayn, gyn ourys erbee, as cha vod brwagn as ish v'ragyn ayns pahyryn Gualdagh as er y cheitooish shen y cheitlyn.

Myr dooyrt yn 'New Scientist', v'eh jeaghyn dy dooyrt yn whaiyl shoh dy vel kied ce reillys dy chur er sleigh dy gholl ass nyn geayll choud's nagh vel shen jeant ayns aght corpagh. Ta sasseyn lachymagh (mental) mie dy hoar.

Red feer hynoll sy chootsh shoh. Sy vlein 1949, tra va'n Conant Europagh cour Kiartysyn Deiney goll er screue, va'n chaghter veih'n Ghoal gearreus yn ras shoh chur stagh sy chonant: 'Cha shegta da peiagh erbee ve currit ayns pryssoon raad ra row solishy, ny dorraghs, ny shecan, ny tostid ta cur er dy hurrause sy chione echey'. Cha row yn ras shoh currit stagh sy chonant. Cha nel yn Whaiyl Europagh toigal torchagh jetanagh. Brian Mac Eoyll.

The following letter was sent to the European Commission of Human Rights by the Manx Secretary:

"On behalf of the Manx Branch of the Celtic League I would like to make known to you our opposition to the Manx Government's attempt to maintain the judicial use of the hirc as a form of punishment. We also dissociate ourselves from the petition which will be presented to the Commission.

Whilst we uphold the right of any individual to petition the Court regarding the infringement of a Civil

Right, the Celtic League does not support in principle the right of Whitehall to act on behalf of the Government of the Isle of Man. Neither do we countenance the Manx Government's repressive intention to withdraw the individual's right to petition the Commission on any issue. We trust that you will find the Isle of Man government (willingly represented by the British), has no right to opt out of particular clauses in the charter for political or populist ends. We believe Civil Rights exist for the benefit of humanity and not political interest."

MANX NATIONALISM: THE PAST 12 YEARS

Nationalism in the Isle of Man over the past twelve years has been centred around the activities of Méc Vannin, the Manx Nationalist Party. Méc Vannin was formed in the spring of 1966 as a forum for nationalist ideology with a view to contesting the autumn general election in Man the same year. Jack Irving of Peel was the first Méc Vannin candidate. The founder members of this organisation included Lewis Crellin, Jack Irving, Doug Faragher and Jack Kennahugh and their basic policies, which were considered hard-line at the time, advocated total independence from any outside control, nationalization of the land, and a promotion of Manx culture and Manxness, among other things. Pervading much of their thinking at that time was a strong flavour of republicanism which became watered down as more members of English extraction joined its ranks.

Méc Vannin itself means 'sons of Man' and was so christened by Dougie Faragher, not on the model of Mebyon Kernewek but from the 'sons of England' societies in existence in Zambia and Zimbabwe when Doug was out there in the mines (1956-62). Méc Vannin was never a political party as such but a nationalist organization, a sort of focal point for nationalist-minded thinkers, whose views on current affairs appeared weekly in the local press, and for a long time were not taken all that seriously by the general public. Méc Vannin lacked cohesion and tried to please everybody: it did not maintain its original hard-line policies which some now think ought to have been maintained.

At the beginning of the 1970's when vociferous opposition to the Government's new resident policy manifested itself in a slogan-daubing and house-burning campaign conducted under the auspices, it was believed, of Fo Halloo, an underground organization, Méc Vannin took the opportunity of leading the anti-Government protests and very quickly assumed an unassumed respectability. Its politics and viewpoint were suddenly considered moderate (the activities of Fo Halloo, now the new extremists - probably helped), and around 1972-3 at the height of the campaign Méc Vannin could boast over 1000 members, many times its average. It was able to maintain its credibility even after Fo Halloo had virtually melted away, and at the 1976 general election polled 13% of the vote and succeeded in electing its first member to the House of Keys. This was a great triumph, but was relatively short lived. In November 1977 Méc Vannin was torn asunder when its eastern branch walked out to form a new nationalist organization, The Manx National Party (MNP). The reason for the split was the founding of the Anti-Militarist Alliance (AMA) some six months earlier which professed that the British army presence in Man should cease (Carn 19) even though the executive of Méc Vannin had declared its disagreement with AMA policy. It was felt the walk-out was unnecessary. The Méc Vannin MHK in the House of Keys was known not to be willing to toe the party line and apparently sought an opportunity to break with the party. The present position is that Méc

Vannin is uncertain of its future. Some have suggested that it returns to its original hard-line stance, perhaps with a much stronger republican ideology. But it remains to be seen what will happen, since uncertainty is a regular feature of Manx politics.

Concerning the language Ya Cheshaght Ghaelgagh (The Manx Language Society) was more or less moribund till about 1972. It was not ten years ago when the Society's treasurer boasted a credit over the previous year of 13s. 4d, and this state of affairs the then committee considered satisfactory. The promotion of the language at this time was virtually non-existent and though the members considered the learning of Manx a good idea, nothing very much was done about it. However, at the 1972 A.G.M. a group of militant activists led by Dougie Faragher got themselves on to the committee and suddenly the society sprang to life.

Numerous books in Manx were printed or reprinted and the society provided financial backing to projects promoting the Manx. Its annual turnover and money-in-the-bank grew from a pittance to a four-figure sum, and great emphasis was put on the promotion of spoken Manx. Oighyn Ghaelgagh, or Manx-speaking sessions were organised, usually in pubs, and the society's 'old ladies tea party' image soon vanished. Evening classes for Manx learners mushroomed and the Manx classes organized by the Education Authority were the best attended of all the classes this Authority promotes extra-murally. Manx became more widely spoken, and its propagation expanded considerably, so that it was no longer confined to a few enthusiasts. One hour a week is now devoted to Manx on Manx Radio, (previously it was no more than a 1/4 hour, and regularly 5-10 minutes) and there are plans even to expand this. Enthusiasm among school children to be taught Manx grew, and in one secondary school 64 initially wanted to learn it. At the present time the initial enthusiasm has waned slightly, but matters have settled down to a constant flow of activity. By comparison with ten years ago the position now is infinitely better and the Manx Language Society has not looked back since. The language is enjoying a wide measure of support, and though this has tended in past years to wax and wane in cycles, the development in the present upsurge is such as to sustain any temporary set-backs.

Shorys y Creayrie
AR FALZ: Bi-lingual Quarterly on Breton problems: 6 issues E6 [1, 3].

SKOL DRE LIZHER: 'Free' Breton course by post [1].
SKOL VREIZH: Text book series for Breton schools: 6 for E5 [2, 3]. Including History of Brittany (see Carn 18.8). Volume III now available (1532-1780) Price E4 [3], if ordered by 1st April 1978.

[1] Ar Falz, Straed Kan-ar-Gwez, 29210 Plourin-Montronec.

[2] Skol Vreizh, Run Avel, 29210 Plourin-Morlaix.
[3] Members wishing to buy these revues/magazines can send sterling cheques to C.L. Treasurer, made out to him, L.S. Hainey, 315 rte. de Vannes, 44800 St. Herblain, (by 20/4/78) if you wish to benefit from subscription rate for History), or international transfers to addresses 1 and 2.

The Alwyn D. Rees and Jac L. Williams Memorial Fund has been set up in order to honour the memory of two excellent Welshmen through whose death the University College of Aberystwyth has suffered a grievous blow. It is intended to finance the annual award of a suitable prize for a treatise on the work of the two scholars and the making of sculptured heads to be given a location in the College. We invite our readers to support the appeal for the fund by sending their contribution c/o Mrs. M. Auriol, Wainin, Yr Adran Addysg, Cambrian Chambers, Aberystwyth.

ROIMH EROPA, NEART AGUS 'CELTIA' - II

The EEC, Energy and Celtia - Part II. A. MacKillop.

Summary.

Continuing and intensifying economic troubles for the resource-deficient 'core nations' of the EEC (France, England, Italy and W. Germany) will most and first affect the Celtic nations. This is because of Celtia's economic and geographic marginality, and its dependent, 'client-state' relationship - either formally or practically - with the core nations of EEC. Our economic and geographic status will ensure that economic recession hits us first, hardest and most: our 'client' status ensures that our resource base, when exploitable economically, and in the absence of overseas resources, will be thoroughly exploited.

Resource cut-offs in energy and food supplies are the worst threats to the security of the EEC core nations, hence the 1973-74 oil panic, and the scramble to produce - and deplete - Scottish oil and gas in the fastest possible time. With the increasing economic (and political) militancy of former client states in the Third World (i.e. cheap resource providing, and market expanding colonies) the EEC and even the USA is confronted with the potential for food and organic resource supply limits, and occasional blockades. This immediately raises the attractiveness of radically increased resource exploitation, and agribusiness farming, and factory fishing, in the Celtic territories, which are easily open to economic, political and social dominance by the EEC, at least under present political and constitutional conditions.

If Celtia acts committedly enough, and soon enough, an 'end game' scenario of 15 or 25 years of feverish exploitation, followed by the ultimate economic-social crash, might not occur. Unfortunately, we have a poor record for inter-Celtic solidarity and cooperation, a factor that has been very well used against us through the ages. But today the stakes are higher, and the prize of a secure energy system, and a productive, diverse and sustainable use of our natural environment, will be seen as more and more desirable as the EEC begins to really slump, in the 1980's.

The Crash of the 1980's

Over the last two years more and more economic indicators, and political events, have begun to show that the US, Canada and the European OECD nations are heading towards unstoppable recession. The US in particular, since it is supposedly so strong and economically 'vital', shows this clearly - its currency is becoming weaker and weaker, and its budget deficit is steadily mounting towards a yearly rate of \$24 Billion. Oil is a key element in the erosion of the USA's strength: in 1970 the US imported about \$3 Billion worth of oil; this year it will import about \$50 Billion worth. The effect of oil prices on Japan and Italy and France - all of which are more or less 'dry' of oil and gas - is steadily setting tighter an economic garrote: Italy is already choking; France is next; and Japan is feverishly howling to every OPEC nation in sight. The only reason that 'Britain' is not in an even worse situation than Italy, because its underlying or non-oil economic condition is the weakest in Europe, is because oil is being pumped from under the North Sea, along with gas which now supplies 98% of the UK's gas needs.

Oil deficits become budget deficits which become IMF loans, which become national bankruptcy. These are the economic sequences, which are accompanied by the political sequences of governmental centrism, left-right extremism outside of government, and the slide

towards a bureaucratic police state: what might be called a 'soft totalitarian state'. While the political super-structure may, in time, radically alter social and individual resource needs it will have little value in the short term: feeding nations that, in Europe, are often very greatly food import dependent, and completely energy import dependent, will not be achieved through smart speeches. This especially is so when the political rhetoric machine promises even more consumer goods and convenience foods.

The basic cause of the OECD economic crisis is oil prices. And these, of course, are solely controlled by a numerically tiny group of nations: OPEC. Their stranglehold on Western economic security is vast, and unless oil reserves magically migrate away from the Middle East - which they won't - OPEC will stay strong so long as OECD needs to import oil. OPEC's power is so great that, were they to 'call in' some of their larger debts, say in the USA, they might set in train a domino process of economic collapse. Variations of this theme have already been used to construct several novels, notably 'The Crash of 79' by P. Erdman.

In the 1920's or 1930's it would have been totally inconceivable for any small group of non-Western nations to hold the richest, most powerful states on earth 'to ransom'. If they did, gunships of either the aquatic or aerial variety would have been smartly raining down lead or napalm in no time. But it has now happened, and the significance of the OPEC cartel's organisation and action has not been missed by the 'wretched of the earth', the Third World.

Most of these, where they have any significance to the OECD and EEC, are in the position of the OPEC nations before 1973: they are lame suppliers of resources at knockbottom - or lower - prices, and they provide a large market (or potential market) for expanding Western industries. But many of the Third World nations are in a truly ghastly position of poverty and debt. They borrow money from the West to buy oil and machinery for 'development' programs insisted on them by 'experts' who are provided by the organisations that lend money (at high interest), and supply some or all of the machinery for, and organisation of, the development programs. Meanwhile their expanding populations are dispossessed of their land, and up in tin shack shanties, have their family and kinship systems destroyed, and often starve to death. This has not been going on a couple of years, but for decades, and understandably a trace of anger, here and there, is beginning to surface. To those 'poorest of the poor' there is little chance for wringing better terms of trade or aid or debt relations with the industrial nations - either christian capitalist or state capitalist - unless they possess a key resource. Those that have, are anxious to make the strategic value of their key resources pay off, in case they should fall down the hole of the Third World nations which have high populations, no oil, no minerals, and import food (i.e. the most wretched of the earth, for example Bangladesh).

The OPEC road to better terms of trade and economically fairer relations with the West was achieved through a short-term deal of oil to some EEC nations, and a massive unilateral price rise. Despite the threats of war action against OPEC, which of course came mostly from the US and 'Britain', the 1973-74 crisis ended peacefully. But other Third World nations are having to fight long, hard and bloodily for economic sovereignty. This particularly applies to Rhodesia and Namibia, because they are both - for a short while longer - colonies of Europe, at first or second hand, and contain very large reserves of non-substitutable resources. These are

chrome in Rhodesia, and uranium in Namibia. The importance of the chrome is that the EEC gets about 80%-95% of its needs, depending on which EEC nation is under consideration, from Rhodesia. And Namibia supplies a big chunk of British, French and EEC uranium needs.

Many of the Third World nations are important organic resource suppliers to the EEC. These include expected tropical products (for which no European substitute exists) like cocoa, coconut, bananas. Also there are products where cheap labour in the Third World can be exploited, and the economies of the Third World distorted to totally subservient the West, to supply vegetable oils, nuts, jute, and other organic products for which substitutes - even in N. Europe - could be easily developed, or re-continued. While these Third World organic producers have their economies so distorted that they can even experience severe malnutrition or starvation, in nations with enormous land:population ratios, the distorted agribusiness system of the EEC runs up beef and butter 'mountains'. This image of food security is, of course, very attractive to EEC mandarins, but it is totally illusory without economic colonialism of the Third World, and vicious term of trade relations whereby the West can get more and more food and resources for less and less industrial exports.

The success of OPEC, and the threat of further resource limitation, and high prices pegged to whatever inflation the West might try to add on is very serious to those EEC planners who dream of one great European super-State, with its plastic cities, giant armies, and vast populations of robot 'people'. Having a few coloured inferior people interfere with progress is 'unthinkable', but being practical the OECD strategic and economic planners are taking these threats seriously. As an immediate result they are finely combing over the resource potentials in their own backyard - in Celtic Europe.

Progress returns to Celtia.

The history of Alba, Kernow and Cymru is particularly marked by ruthless exploitation of resources, in the early part of England's industrial revolution. The then-available technologies were puny indeed by comparison to the land-crunching machines used today in mining, energy developments, forest exploitation and agribusiness farming and fishing. But it was more than sufficient to denude tens of thousands of square miles of forest, sterilise thousands of square miles of land with mine spoil, and poison dozens on dozens of streams, lakes and rivers. In those Celtic nations, and also in Breizh, Éire and Mannin, this process of environment mutilation and destruction was joined, at various times, by massive dislocations of population, by forced emigration, and by the destruction of families and kin groups. In the case of Kernow, even the peoples own language was deliberately obliterated by the exploitation machine of European industrialism and expansionism. If this is what industrial Europe could do to Celtic white-skinned people it is not hard to see why their treatment of so many non-European people has developed a hatred of profound depth.

A chance to strike back against European colonialism in its late-20th century cloak of rigged debt and trade relations is going to be grabbed. Resource security for Europe therefore demands getting what can be had from the Celtic backyard. This has already happened with Éire's farming - to its short term benefit - and to Kernow's tin - with the promise of instant employment cutoffs when the market for tin collapses, or cheaper foreign sources turn up, plus the certainty of more acres of Kernow disappearing below mine spoil. Mineral

deposits in Éire, which would have been too poor or distant from markets to be economic a decade ago are now attractive to US and European corporations, especially with recession pushing Celtic wages, on the fringe of Europe, below those even in Japan. The fishing off Celtic lands provides yet another 'grap it and run' resource for the core nations of Europe, with their 'problems' of being denied Iceland's cod, and access to Norwegian and Russian waters, together with the high fuel costs of doing so. Even uranium, in possible exploitable concentrations, has been spotted in Arcaibh and Gallaibh (Alba), and also in Kernow.

But the ultimate jewel in what would otherwise be a low-grade resource pie - because it has already been viciously worked through but 75 years ago - is oilfield na h-Alba. So much of an instant benefit is this to Westminster that there can now be gloating talk of how 'British' oil is 'rather insignificant' economically, and anyway will be gone 'rather soon'. It is naturally rather stupid of English pundits to claim that an oil reserve one and a half times the size of Canada's entire proven oil reserve is economically 'insignificant', but the remarkably voracity with which its exhaustion is planned will ensure its short life. During the exhaustion phase the massive exploitation of Celtic lands for minerals, and the rapid conversion of small and traditional farms to collective agribusiness farms (run with a concern for environment that would get Stalin's approval), will take place.

All this is not inevitable and is surely not just. We can well ask: 'Why should Europe have one last growth fling, now that the Third World resource floors are closing, by ripping our larder to pieces?' By cooperating within our Celtic nations to achieve political and economic sovereignty, and by cooperating between our Celtic nations we can achieve real stability and security of food and energy supplies.

It may sound simplistic to say this, but change is nobody's floor-mat: around 1939 Nazi Germany was fantastically powerful, and every 'rational' observer - bar the crank fringe - was forecasting its great rise to European and world power. A few years later it was all over, finished, its currency just about as valuable as wallpaper. We have entered an age of discontinuity in which the core nations of the EEC, and probably the USA and Canada, will experience an economic recession so severe it will make 1929 appear a kids picnic by comparison. If not by the 1980's - and this is eminently possible or even probable - then certainly by the 1990's, when the world's oil and gas will have begun to dry up in a big way. At this stage the nuclear Will of the Wisp, pursued at gigantic cost and fantastic risk, will be revealed as such a slender prop that - in total system terms - its economic, energy and environment, social and political costs will produce a net total deficit. Granted that a few nations can pursue a grimy coal dust smeared version of the 1960's Growth Bubble society (notably England and Germany) but the others will economically sink out of sight.

We in Celtia do not have to follow that road. Alba's oil and gas, and Éire's political independence might - if united - produce enough leverage on the EEC that it would climb off its Napoleonic grand vision of the USA recreated in Europe - despite two thousand years of greatly different development. The sight of the USA going down the economic plughole because of its energy greed and wastefulness should be some sort of sign to the EEC - which imports 65% of its oil (compared to the US's 50%), and also imports a lot of its food, and most of its minerals. Celtia should only help meet these needs in return for balanced and serious programs of 'de-escalating' the EEC's absurd

(Continued on page 32)

CELTIC POETRY MISCELLANY

DÁ RANN IN AMHRÁN

Craobh earraich air chrith fo'n bhéidín, is cèd 'na bhéidín.
Sna meangain mair dhriop aig seann smébraich s greim.
Ged thigeadh uir sgríos air cinneadh gaoil Scóta s telán,
tha bgeim 'san nidein s is filteanta fós a sheim.

Mo bharail cha cheil air na Ceiltich, s an cuan ri'n cùl.
Sgaoil an eachdraidh a greim. Thà leinn. Cha swain ach
dhìog.

Tha aiteamg 'na bhéidín. Tha teinn dol nu'n cuairt gu sìrd.
Tha ar latha 'san car is ar seasamh air uchdair cùirn.

Deòrsa Caimbeul Hay. (Mac Iain Dhèorsa.)

RODHAG

Nuair a bheir an Fheannag an t-shùil as a chaoira
mu dheireadh
bi mi ri d'èdearachd air d'uinneagan
bi iad an sin

a cluich chairlean
's ag of Beaujolais
poodie a ruagail mu'n casan

Aladh bìth a' bhainne air faibh
as na bàthchannan
's iad lan pottery - tuar, cruaidh airson an
luchd - turuis

... fuaim na brògan tacadaich nan samhail
a' coiseachd air monadh
na croitean uaine fàisail gun bhristeadh spaide

nuair a bheir an theannag an t-shùil as a chaoira
mu dheireadh
bi mi ri far-chluais air d'uinneagan
ag eisdeachd ri d' osagan ag ochanaich
's an guthan cruaidh Shasunach a' dol
an aghaidh na gaoith?

C. Nic Gumaraid.

an dràsda dà fhleasagach
a' coiseachd air duslach na gealaidh
a dhìrich 'o thalamh

gu gealach
's a' chabhsuil
air rocaid,
mar isean 's an ugh

a' ghealach cho geal
anns an dubhair gu'n streap
mi air staidhre 'nam iuntinn g'a
h-ionnsaidh 'nam òige is mise

dà fhleasagach a' coiseachd a' fàisach
bùrach 'son òr anns an duslach

is mise a' coiseachd a' chhìadaich
mo shùil air a' ghealach
mo phòcaidean falamh

aonghas macneacail

TWO RANNS IN AMHRÁN

A springtime tree trembling under the peak, and mist
on the mountain. In the branches an old thrush makes
a busy bustle with a bite of food. Although destruction
and hard straits used to come upon the dear race of
Scots, there is a fledgling in the little nest and fluent
yet will be its singing.

My opinion I will not conceal from the Celts with the
ocean at their backs. History has released its grip.
Things go with us. It is not slumber but awaking.
There is a thaw on the mountain. Hard straits have
gone around to eager activity. Our day is in the east
and we stand on the summit of a cairn.

ROAG

When the hoodie - crow takes the eye out of the
last sheep

I will be peeping in at your windows
they will be there
playing cards
and drinking Beaujolais
a poodie peancing about their feet

the warm smell of the milk will have gone
and they'll be full of hard, cold pottery for
the tourists.

... the sound of the tackety-boots ghosts
walking on moors
the fields green and fertile without spade - breaking.

When the hoodie-crow takes the eye out of the
last sheep

I will be eaves-dropping at your windows
listening to your breezes sighing
and the harsh English accents clashing
with the wind.

[Translation by the author.]

at this moment two heroes
walking in the moon dust
who rose from earth

to moon
on a rocket encapsulated
chickens in an egg

the moon so white
in darkness I climbed
imagined stairs toward
her in childhood and now

two stalwarts walk her deserts
probing for gold in the dust

and I am walking the shore
my eye on the moon
my pockets empty

shad e smugaid an aghaidh na gaoithe

bha rós 'na bonaid
cha tug i dha pòg nuair a dh'fhalbh i
bha sùda 'na suil nuair a dh'fhalbh i
bha danusa 'na brollleach nuair a dh'fhalbh i

chu tug i dha pòg nuair a dh'fhalbh i
bha leum ann a ceum nuair a dh'fhalbh i
bha solas a mhòr-bhail 'na suil
bha farum nan sràid ann a cluais
nuair a dh'fhalbh i
nuair a dh'fhalbh i

bha rós 'na bonaid
a ghearr e bho'n chraobh
a dh'fhaic e féin
le chràm 'na ghàradh

cha tug i dha pòg nuair a dh'fhalbh i

shad e smugaid an aghaidh na gaoithe
songhas macneacail

he spat into the wind

a rose in her bonnet
she gave him no kiss on departure
a glint in her eye on departure
a dance in her breast on departure

she gave him no kiss on departure
a spring in her step on departure
the bright city lights in her eye
the hubbub of streets in her ear
on departure
on departure

the rose in her bonnet
he cut from the bush
he had raised by himself
with care in his garden

she gave him no kiss on departure

he spat into the wind

SAND

Quiet and so blue the sky so blue and quiet
leaving room for nothing else anywhere
over the world only the sky so quiet and blue
and the sea
noisy rumbling song of the sea
on the sand
whispering salty song of the sea
burst and splash of the waves dying
on the sand
sea O green sea under the quiet blue sky
your song is a song of victory
when dies
the power of the waves
on the sand.

naked body of the girl so free and hot
lying down under
the caress of the sun
lively body of the girl under
the caress of my hand
beautiful body of the girl under
the caress of the dying wave
on the sand

where are you my little hot girl
what are you
what has become of your body under
the plastic flowers and the heavy stone
there in the shadow of the steeple
where are you my dearest one
every night I am standing on the shore
listening to the song of the waves
sea O the sea so red
from the sun dying to the west
while your power dies
on the sand.

[Translation by the author.]

OPIMUM AR BOBL

Labour hepken, eme ar Mestr,
hep ober en aner a-grenn
gouennou diboeil amzer;
dit eo sentil hep sevel klemm
ouz neb a oar gwel egedout
pezh a zo mat evit mab-den;
ha te 'groue 'vel un doue
ur bed nevez en dazont sklaer
n'avezo ken an dieter;
ha te 'winto betek an neiv
gant nerzh da vrec'h ha striv da vred
baradoz c'hwec an deniezh.

Setu komzoù Mestr ar Furnez
da frealñ an doueig.
Hemañ, siwazh, ne glevet ken
rak a-doul-trumm e oa larzhet
dres da zerc'hend-deiz e leve
hag e gelan er beure lent
oa bet douget en ur c'harr flamm
betek un ti a oa anvet:
"PULLUC'HEREZH KEODEDEL".

Youenn Olier
tennet eus Tre Ha Lanv Imbourch 43-44/1, 1973.

THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE

Keep working, says the Master,
and waste no time asking
foolish indecent questions;
your job is to obey without complaint
him who knows better than you
what befits mankind,
and like a god you will create
a new world in the bright future
no longer knowing need;
and you will build skyhigh
with strong arms and a striving mind
sweet man-made Paradise.

Thus spoke the Master of Wisdom
to comfort the little god
who, alas, no longer heard the word
having suddenly snuffed it
on the very eve of retirement
his body in the timid morning
being in a shining carriage
taken away to the house they called:
"THE CITY CREMATORIUM".

[Translated by A. Heussaff.]

KELTED

Pa sko Iwerzhon war va dor
Va dor a zigor hec'h unan!
Hag e don va c'hallon
Kerdu kevrenn a dasson:
Mouezh ar gwad.

Eus donder ar c'hantvedoù
Pa n'edomp nemet ur bobl
Ur bobl unvan o tiskenn
Eus teñvalded ar ragistor.
O lanren dre ar bed
Warlerc'h skeud he hulfvre.
O klaak ar Gweva-se peurbadel
'Zo bet atav kredenn ar Gelted.
Treuzet o deus traoñtenn ha menez
Gwezegi, touarzhegi ha gouelec'hioù
Diracostet tachennoù da c'hounit magador.
Ha lezet warno o siell:
Kleuzioù douar ha rogeroù bill,
Da gloaz o buorzhioù o liorzhoù,
O maeznoù, o feurvanou,
Labour rannet tud youlek ha kreñv.
Tud pennek ha difeuzhus.

Azulerien ar Gened
Teñnoerien ha barzbed
Kelted strewet e pep korn ar bed
Ho spered hag hoc'h ene
N'int ket nemet kemmet
Hulfvrienno omp chomet
Hon hulfvre zo ken meur! Hon hulfvre zo ken kaer!
Hon hulfvre zo ken uhel!
Ma chomo peurbadel
Ha morse poursevenet.

Anjela Duval.

CELTS

When Ireland knocks at my door
the door opens by itself!
And in the depth of my heart
Mysterious cords vibrate:
the voice of the blood.
From the depths of centuries
when we were one people
A people united emerging
from the darkness of prehistory.
Wandering in the world
After the shadow of their dream.
Seeking that land of everlasting joy
Which has always been the Celts' belief
They crossed valleys and mountains
Forests, turf moors, and deserts,
they cleared the ground to feed themselves
and left on it their seal:
earthen hedges and stone walls,
to fence their paddocks, their gardens,
their fields, their pastures.
Giant's work of strong wills and bodies,
Work of tireless perseverance.

Worshippers of Beauty,
Harpists and bards,
Celts scattered throughout the world,
Your spirit and your soul
Have hardly changed.
We are still dreamers
Our dream is so great! Our dream is so beautiful!
Our dream is so lofty!
May it last forever
Never fully realized.

[Literal translation by A. Heussaff.]

ENNYD

Pennar Davies

Cofiat i hyn ddigwydd o'r blaen: tithau
'n estyn imi sbrignyn o glustog Fair, minnau
'n ei godi at fy froenau a'm gwefusau.

MOMENT

[Translation by the author.]

I remember this happening before: you
handing me a spray of thrift, I
lifting it to my nostrils and lips.

MYNYDDOEDD

Euros Bowen.

Mae'n well inni adael y mynyddoedd yma
i aros lle maen nhw
rhwng eu tynged a'r gwynt.

MOUNTAINS

[English version]

We had better let these mountains
remain where they are
between their fate and the wind.

AFON SAIN LAWREN

Cyn i'r fydysawd o afon, cyn i'r tragwydd
Rew'n fyd, roedd yma hen leani, un rhan o'r ddaear

SAINT LAWRENCE RIVER

Before the universe of river, before the eternal
Frize to world, here was ancient blueness, one part of
the earth.

COED

Y Mae Coed Fei Angylion

Yr oedd criv o gwmpas fy nghartref
ac ynddyst ardar yn nythau ddu
a'u siarad yn suro'r nos

TREES

Trees Are Like Angels

There was a crowd about my house
in them birds nested black
and their talking curled the night

EAGLA

Níor chuala tú féin ná do bhufon
 Seftal an tí mhóir úd thiar
 Idir uille is gluin é aiseáís,
 Is shuigh sibh síos gan chol
 As comhair na tine go sísta.

Bhí tú féin id' bhúria macnais
 Ar an teallach in aice an fhóna,
 Ach do sírd íos ar dho ghno
 I lár na hóiche faoire,
 Tráth raibh díon an tí sin
 Ag fógairt gála is gailige balstí.

Bhí mo áird féin ar an seantriath
 Is ar a chandach máis ar an mballaí
 Lad beirt in dhá phortráid áifinthe
 Le trí chéad bliain is breis:

Ach mise a chuala an scéal
 Idir uille is gluin é aiseáís,
 Bhual sí eagla m'áinma mé
 Go dtabharfaidís bóthar dom is bata,
 Is go mbeadh an chonairt le mo shála.

Máirtín Ó Direáin.

FEAR

You heard not yourself nor your band
 As told between elbow and knee
 The story of the big house,
 And you sat down without hindrance
 In front of the fire contented.

You were a sensual bundle
 On the hearth near the wine,
 But kept your mind on your work
 In the middle of the cold night,
 While the roof of that house
 Was sounding gate and rainflood.

My mind was on the old chief
 And his consort on the wall,
 In two portraits trapped
 For three hundred years or more;

But I who heard the story
 between elbow and knee being told,
 Was seized with fear that the two on the wall
 Would show me the door and the road
 And set the dogs at my heels.

[Translated by the author and Caitlín Maude]

A PITY WE'RE NOT FROGS

The frogs began nesting deeper than ever so the
 wise farmer knew we'd have a long beautiful
 dry hot summer.

We enjoyed that summer, it was almost as beautiful
 and almost as torrid as the summers usually granted
 to Franco and his beloved people.

He'll never, said an old poet to me one day,
 be able to take that away from us, that sun
 up there, he can't take our weather from us,
 he can't take our summer: that 's the only
 thing he can't take from us - and the poet
 stretched his hand up towards the sky.

This is the second summer we've had here that's
 long, beautiful, dry, hot - and strange. Will
 our summers be always like this from now on?
 Will even the frogs get burnt?

The frogs in Spain are doubtless well used to
 laying their eggs deep.

Dublin:
 The summer of fear, 1976.

[Prose translation by the author.]

AR DHÚRLINN

Tomás Mac Síomóin

Fíú nuair osclaíonn na caisearbhúin
 's iad ag rince ana gorta dubha
 ionláine mbagúil a gcroíthe
 don ghealach
 's nuair airfear b' na béaloideasa
 ag smalacadh ceathrú feoilie
 's 'nuair nach mbíonn i snáth ariadne
 ach nathair chearclach
 cheolseasc

fiú
 ansin
 bíonn ruabhéic dhochloffe
 an chorrlaigh
 timpeallaithe ag balla
 nach lígeann am cheo tríd
 a thost
 fiú's

is briseann ailgéabair gan cochair
 ar dhúrlinn na cloiche allúraigh

EADARTEANGACHADH

(Do Yann le Du, Ploegrescant)

As clárseach gan sreing
 atá ceol an fionhair
 ag síosarnach anuas

siollaí fí bhalbhionadh
 ag cruinneáil ar na crosairí

is tadar ar a dtáirm snocht
 'donn' agus 'buí' dá r'á acu
 de chogar
 na cainteoirí dóchais seo
 gan fiacla

ach ní thuigir a dhath
 ná bac
 is gearr eile a mhairfidh siad

agus tá feadóig gan phoil agam
 ar a gcafaidh mé
 (duitse ach go h-áirí)

an port
 ceanann
 céanna

Tomás Mac Síomóin

IARMAONFEAMH

An bhfuil rogha ag duine gan a ghra a thabhairt?
 Ní smoiníonn toirneach ar chontúirt.
 Chonac an spéir lasta ag spianc thintí
 Is níor aconmhairé é ná dorachacht shíoraí.

Gabriel Rosenstock.

(As an leabhar Tuirlingt foilsithe ag CARBAD.)

ON A FORESHORE

Even when the dandelions
 dancing in the black fields
 open the mocking fullness of their hearts
 to the moon
 and when the cow of mythology is heard
 munching its mess of meat
 and when ariadne's thread
 is a circular snake
 devoid of music

even
 then
 the irrepresible red roar
 of the Laminarians
 is surrounded by a wall
 that lets nothing through
 their silence
 even
 and keyless algebras break
 on foreshores of foreign stone.

ETRE DIV YEZH

(da Yann le Du, Ploevouskan)

Eus un delem hep kerdin
 e tiakenn 'n ur sarac'buñ
 soneresh an diskar-amzer

Siabennon sebezet
 o vodadit er c'hroazhenton

O hiboudit 'maint henozh
 ha mallus o mouezh
 "Melen", "gell" emezo
 Keltigerien a-vihanik
 Dizanet ma'z int

Met ne'gomprenez mann
 Ne vern
 Emberr e vint tremenet

Hag ur fléit didoull am eus
 Ma sonin ganti
 (evidouit petgen)

An an lon
 atav

Troet gant A. Heussel.

IARMUAN

Am faod gín a ghaol a chait?
 Am faod a' tairneach bhí
 A' smuineachadh air chumairt?
 Ar uair do chumma mí an speur
 Is i ar a lánadh rís an deánaithe
 Cha bhí nbeitha i mar chait eagail dhéan
 Na' oideche na sioruidheachda.

Eadartheangachadh: Tomás Mac Síomóin.

NY' WOER HI

Tadbg Mac Alasdair

Ny' woer hi pez gweith y' kerdhis
Yn hy skeuz, war hy lergh, a-is:
Ny' woer hi pez kamm 've reknyz
Dre wiazkor hy lev, hyz ha hyz.

Ny' woer an pyth 've pris hy frankedh,
Na' chwath kostow dial an Edh:
Ny' woer pez bath 'vo y'n tresor,
Pez maen y'n tir, pez pyak y'n mor.

Ha kana hy chan heb bedhi
A' ynn hi dhe seul effo dhi:
Ny' woer a' 'vo klywyz dasson,
Ny'a deur a' 'vo tegyz hy thôn.

DARGAN GERNOW NOWETH

J. Holmes.

Cleweugh a dus!
Cleweugh, sawson ha keltyon:
dhyrn yma govynnygon,
gwalyfians a brys
a yth cowlwrya!
Yn ow fen yma veyon
a dhur oll an Gernowyon
kefrys ha'n bys.

Omwre a res!
dhe'n sawson a leveryn,
gallas genen lowr lemmy'n -
geseugh dhyrn cres!
Bedhana-e pes
dewedhys yu an termyn
may tasoreugh pyth yu dhyrn,
ha keugh yn mes!

Owlas a sewyn
ma na vyth clet na dyghow -
bydhy'n, pow ha trevow,
an gweiveyn.
Yn pub devyn,
kernewek agan ganow,
ha kernewek an chyow
a dhrehevyn.

A hunrow
garen dhyrn an gwyrioneth;
y'gan cowa-ny yeth noweth,
coth dres osow.
'mes a Anow
y whren dhyrn-ny gwlasnegeth
dhe bub a wra bos coweth
'berth yn Kernow!

PYRTHWCH KOV

Tadbg Mac Alasdair

Pyrthwch kov a henwyn, yetow,
Pyrthwch kov a dros yn stretow;
Pyrthwch kov a ganow, levow,
Garm an Noar ha gweuz an Newow.

Pyrthwch kov a law ha fordhaw,
Pyrthwch kov a vor ha bedhow,
Pyrthwch kov a chwys hag awel,
Skeuzow komol, lin an gworwel.

Pyrthwch kov a serch ha karow,
Pyrthwch kov a bonn enevow,
Pyrthwch kov a's bonn pobl,
Poes hy chow ha lymm ha chabl.

SHE DOES NOT KNOW

She does not know how many times I walked in her shadow,
after her, below: she does not know how many steps were
counted through the kingdom of her voice, its length and
breadth.

She does not know what was the price of her freedom, nor
yet the costs of the vengeance of the Id: she does not know
how many coins there are in the treasure, how many
stones in the land, how many fish in the sea.

And she will sing her own song to whoever goes thither:
she does not know if an echo will be heard, she does not
care if her tune be strangled.

A NEW PROPHECY OF CORNWALL

[A literal translation]

Hear, people!
Hear, Saxons and Celts:
I have hopes,
a precious expectation
which shall be fulfilled!
In my head is a vision
which affects all Cornishmen
and the world as well.

Self-government is required!
to the English we say
we have had enough now -
leave us in peace!
Let it be said:
the time has come
when you will return what is ours
and go away!

A nation we will raise
where shall be neither left nor right -
we shall be, country and towns,
the nobility.
In every word
our mouths shall be Cornish
and Cornish the houses
we shall build.

From dreams
let us make the reality,
in our conversation a new language,
ages old.
From oblivion ('Death')
we shall make ourselves a nationality
which will make of each man a comrade
in Cornwall!

REMEMBER

Remember names, gates, remember noise in streets:
remember songs, voices, the cry of the Earth and the
mockery of the Heavens.

Remember rain and roads, ... sea and graves: ... sweat
and breeze, shadows of clouds, the line of the horizon.

... love and grief, ... the pain of souls: ... you are a
people with a heavy memory and a bitter accusation.

FENHAGEE

Brian Mac Stoyll.

Nee Auschwitz Oak Ridge?

Nagh jeadagh shin, gaarlaghey baase chesh-veanagh
Nagh kiarralagh shin, tasey fys cho niartal
Nagh marvanagh shin, ny-yehh
As foast ta cern y vaish goll seose.

Nee Dachau Aldermaston?

Cha nei shin cur sleih ayns campyn
Cha nei shin marroo ad lesh gunn as kiebbey
Cha nei shin cur ad ayns shamyrn-gas
Agh ta shin gaarlagh jerrey yn thellall.

Nagh aalin yn chormid-tonn
Nagh cramp yn smooingaghya t'ayn
Nagh glen yn seihl ta ry-gheeddyn
Ayns shamyrn Armageddon.

SHEE VANNIN

Brian Mac Stoyll.

Lhig da'n seihl chynada mygeayrt,
Dooyrt y ven dy daaney,
Frellimayd foast nyn giartys glen
Guillyn oik y chasteey.

Choud's ta shee dooin er ny reayil,
Dooyrt y dooinney herchagh,
Cha gaillimayd hene caa erbee
Argid mie y hymasgh.

Eemayd as tumayd, gowmayd arrane,
Dooyrt y fer vosh Poona,
Keayney mysh yn impiir shen
Nagh vel goll er skeayley.

Ga dy vel yn shee ain mooarit dooin,
Dooyrt yu ughtar Sostnagh,
Shaasym lesh yn ellan shoh
Screeu my skeealyn kinjagh.

Myr shoh veih noidin ta shin seyr,
Dooyrt y fer veih'n reiltys,
Argid, argid feiy yn laa
Er y raad gys maynrys.

AALLEAN

My ragh shu seose trooid Skyley Chreest,
Trooid Skyley Chairbre as Malew,
Gys buill ny moainee, freoate as rheeast;
Treigeil ny ballyn, seose da'n clieau,
Faagail ny raaidjyn mooarey thean

Dy hooyl ny bayryn cam as coon;
Yn hooyl ta'n ushag goaill arrane
Erskyn yn cloie as thalish y troosan,
Yn boayl ta bosan, luss as blaia
Nyn soaral millish skeayley thean.

Ny s'yrjey foast, ta'n aittin slaia
Lesh airhey-wuigh yn clane rheestane.
Chyndaa! As tasey 'goaill jeh'n reayrt
Ta sheepney magh gys foddid reir,
Lesh doaghyn nollis skeaylt mygeayrt
Er glen as magheryn, keays as speyr.

Cre'n asid, kiune as eunysseagh!
Roall mygeayrt er feiy'n laa,
Er-thiams dy beagh eh taitnyssaagh
Ayns shoh dy vaghey son dy bra!
Manninagh.

[Written in 1956 and published in the Manx Language Society's "Coraa Ghuilckagh" in Jan. 1957, the last issue of that little journal. The free translation was written in Jan. 1978.]

PHYSICISTS

Is Oak Ridge Auschwitz?

Are we not diligent, preparing nuclear death
Are we not careful, treasuring such mighty knowledge
Are we not mortal, nevertheless
And still the cairn of death goes up.

Is Aldermaston Dachau?

We are not putting people into camps
We are not killing them with gun and spade
We are not putting them in gas chambers
But we are preparing the end of the world.

How beautiful the wave equation is
How intricate the thoughts in it
How clean the world which is lived
In the rooms of Armageddon.

THE PEACE OF MAN

Let the world go round about,
Said the woman boldly,
We'll still keep our sacred right
To beat evil boys.

As long as our peace is preserved,
Said the rich man,
We'll lose no chance
To gather good money.

We'll eat and we'll drink, we'll sing,
Said the man from Poona,
Crying about that empire
That isn't being spread.

Although our peace is bridgedged us,
Said the English author,
I'll stand with this island,
Faithfully writing my stories.

And so we are free from enemies,
Said the man from the government,
Money, money all the day
On the road to heaven.

HALCYON DAYS

If up through Rushen you might go,
Through Arbery Parish or Malew,
To where the fern and heathers grow,
Forsaking farms for mountain view;

Leaving the busy wide high ways
to find some narrow twisting nook
Where skylarks trill their endless lays
High o'er the babbling murmuring brook.

To spots where herbs and flowers in bloom
Their sweet perfumes have scattered wide;
Then higher still where gorse and broom
Have splashed with gold the mountain side.

Turn round! and then admire the view
That reaches far as eye can spy.
A panoram' of multi-bus,
O'er glen and fields, o'er sea and sky.

What beauty! How serene and bright!
Roaming around here all the day,
Methinks it would be my delight
Here to abide and live for aye.
Manxman.

A Penscryfer ker,

Since the publication of my article "The Threat of Extremism" (Carn 17), a number of people have come forward with "corrections", some justified and some not so, notably Raonull Domhnullach Dubhglas in Carn 19. I would like to take this opportunity to reply to him and others, in order to correct any mis-understanding I may have caused.

There are three points I would like to make:

Firstly, on re-reading the original article in Carn 17, I do seem to have put forward a "Strange thesis about the course of Irish History", and perhaps I should clear this up. I did not intend to minimise the importance of the Easter Rising. I do think, however, that such a rising, without the groundswell of National feeling inherent in Ireland at the time, (as represented by the Nationalist M. P. 's), would have been merely an isolated incident without long-term results.

Secondly, as far as Scotland is concerned, I did not say that that country is independent, but that it will surely be so within 10 years. Furthermore, when talking about extreme views in Scotland and the 1320 Club particularly, I did not intend to infer that extreme views were a bad thing, or that the Club was anti-SNP. I think it is true, however, that the rise in popular support for Self-Government/Independence in Scotland has been largely through the

SNP, which often appears very moderate.

Thirdly, I should like to re-iterate my main point again; it is not through extreme methods that we in the Celtic countries are going to achieve freedom, although we must always put forward views that seem extreme to most uncommitted people. Our efforts must be directed through the "accepted" channels, i. e. the ballot box.
Dheugh-why yn lel, Peter Prior.

(Continued from page 22)

inability to feed itself, supply itself energy, or provide itself minerals. The ways this can be done are very, very diverse - and in no way become attractive only after a 1929-style crash.

The ways out include serious and systematic energy conservation and the development of sustainable, non-polluting renewable energy sources. They also include a de-emphasis of consumerism as the 20th century substitute for religion, an end to urbanisation, and a return to ways of using the environment, for organic resources production, that is sustainable, not destructive, and not energy intensive. But the possibility of these things happening is slim without the force of a great big crack in the glossy facade of urban-industrial growth and consumption. This crack is coming, and soon: we should do well to plan our responses.

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; \$6.00 (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: Gwyn ap Thomas, Tyn y Wern, Rhosygwalia, Y Bala, Gwynedd.
Breizh: Correspondence to Mikael Baudu, 1 Chemin Des Peupliers, Redon 35600.
Treasurer: Jakez Derouet, Hent Kemper, Bourc'h (Bourg)
Pluguffan, 29000 Kemper. (CCP 3264-47 Nantes).
Éire: Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath.
Kernow: Ian J. Williams, Crowshensy, Clifton Road, Park Bottom, Nr. Illogan.
Mannin: Miss Patricia Bridson, Bell Cottage, Derby Road, Peel.
London: Micheál Ó Laoire, 5 Belton Road, Berkhamsted, Herts.
Philadelphia: Eoghan Ballard, 504 So. 22nd St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19146, U.S.A.

General Secretary: Alan Heusaff, 9 Bóthar Cnoc Síon, 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-RESPONSES.

CARN is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Síon, Áth Cliath 9, Éire, and printed by Blackrock Printers, Blackrock, Co. Dublin. The Editor is Cathal Ó Luain, 37 Dún an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath. 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.