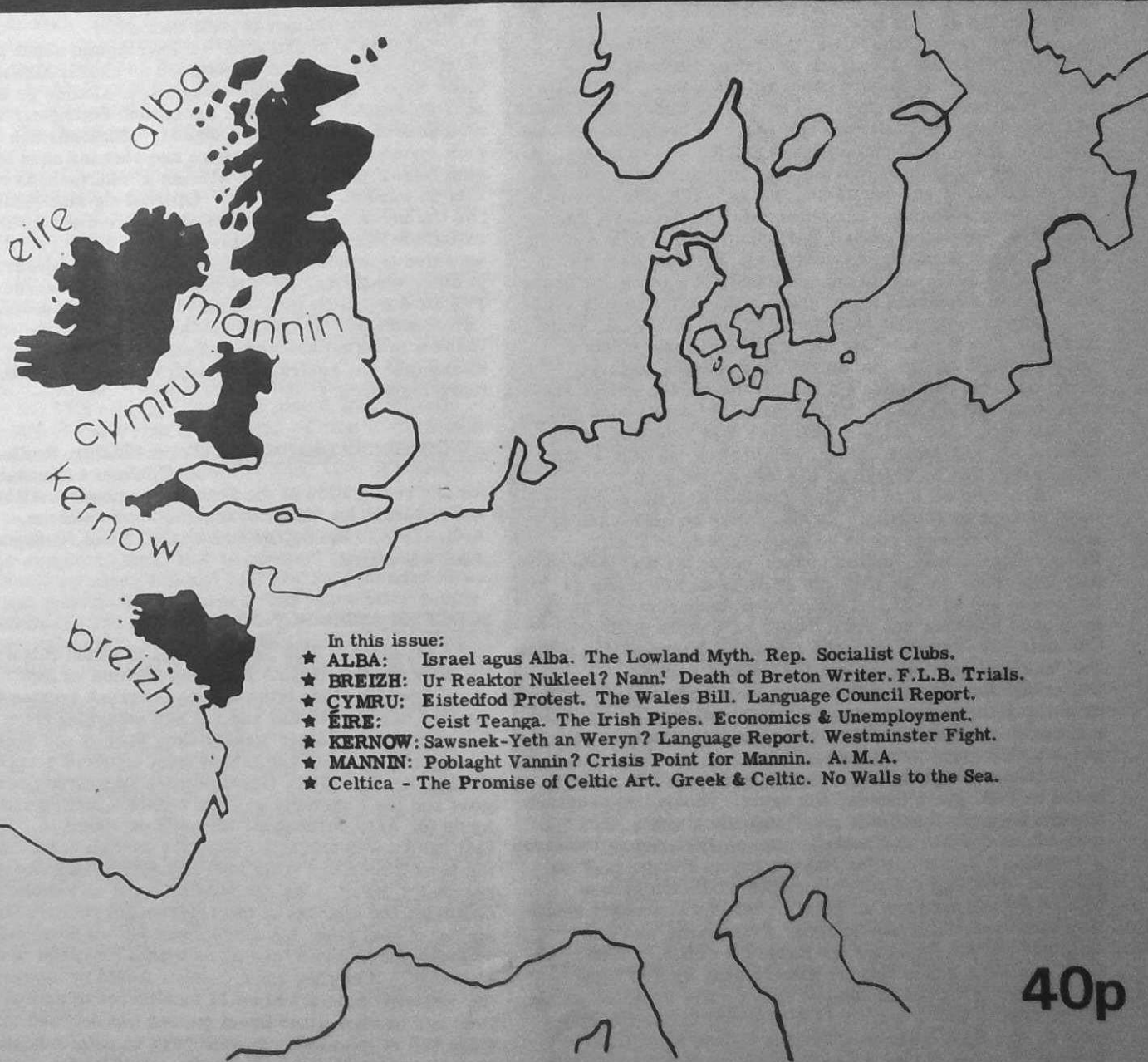


# coypu

AUTUMN  
1978

No. 23

## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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40p

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

# ALBA

## ISRAEL AGUS ALBA

Ged a tha a' chànain Eabhra a nìod cho seasmach uile-chumisteach ann an Israel an diugh eba robb i daonna mar sin. Thàinig agsolair bochd, tinn le caithreamh (T. B.), le fiasag agus speùclair pince nas air, d'am b'ainm Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, air trè ann an Palestine ag ràdh, "An diugh tha sinn a' bruidhinn chànain chòimhich, ach am màireach bidh sinn a' bruidhinn na Eabhra". Ach aig an àm sin, detreidh 1880, cha robb duine ann t-saoghal ga bruidhinn mar chànain chumanta latha!

Nuair an do thogadh Israel air an 15mh latha de'n Chèitein 1948 dh'fhoillach am prìomhar Daibhidh Ben-Gurion gun robh an Eabhra bho'n àm sin a mach 'na cànan uile-chumhachdach feadh Israel an àite na Beurla Shasunnach, bha iomadh daoine nach robh comasach ga bruidhinn fhathast. Cha robb ach 1.1 million luchd-àiteachaidh ann an Israel. A nìod, ged a tha trè million duine ga bruidhinn mar chànain chumanta latha aca bha 15mh latha de'n Chèitein 1948 na's cudromach dhuinn, oir stiuireadh lagh troimh'n Pharlaimaid Shasunnach a gabhail Parlaimaid air ais do'n Albainn (d'am b'ainm "Scottish Assembly") air detreidh de'n Iochair a' bhliadhna seo. Ghaidh iad, sa chlàid dol a mach, ar seann Pharlaimaid Albainn ann a' cheud latha de'n Chèitein 1977.

Ach is aleanamh leac doras an tigh-mhòir ud, seann Ard Sgoil Dun Eideann, far am bi an Parlaimaid nuadh a cruinneachadh oir tha roidh ri dhanamh fhathast. Feumaidh sinn referendòm a thogail thairis air 40% an ath-bhliadhna, bidh sinn a' dol timcheall air corra-biodh gun an t-àim seo. Mùr eil sin buadhach 'san referendòm aig 40% cha bhì Parlaimaid againn, ach bho'n a tha sinn a' cur ar n-eòrba ann an slugh na h-Albainn, chì sinn.

Ach chan eil e ro thrè a' ghàbhail beachd no dhà air adhartachadh na Gàidhlig. Is eimpeir ro mhath ann an Israel e. Rinn agus nochd an gsolair beag le T. B., Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, moran nìthean eadar air dha theachd do'n Phalaistine ann an 1880 gus an do chaochail e ann an Jerusalem ann an 1922. Thuit iomadh tachartasan a mach feadh nam bhliadhnaich sin a thòobh na Eabhra cùideachd. Chunnac Ben-Yehuda gun robh e feumail a theagasg a h-uile càil 'na gcoilean uile ga leir tre Eabhra a mhàin. Dh'fhoillich e paipear-naidheachd d'am b'ainm Ha-Bavatzlet ag gairm Eabhra mar an aon mheadhon-teagasg. Chunnac e gun robh e feumail ri dhanamh ginealach-comasach a ghàbhail Eabhra fada a' bheastha aca.

Ann an 1883 bha easan a' theagasg ach dh'fhàs e cho bochd le T. B. gun b'fheadar dha a' cur. Bha e cho bronnach a' smaointean de thachdadh ris a' chànain a nìod. Ach thionndaidh Cùbheil an Fhoras; ann an 1888 bha an tìdsearan a' theagasg a h-uile càil 'na Eabhra ann an Rishon-le-Zion. (Màrth Achd Pharlaimaid Shasunnach a' Ghàidhlig 'na gcoilean Albannach ann an 1872.) 1892 dh'fhoillach a h-uile maighstir-sgoil agus bun-sgoilear a theagasg 'na bun-sgoilean ann an Palestine tre Eabhra a mhàin. 1906 theagasg iad a h-uile càil tre Eabhra ann an Ard Sgoil Iaffa. 1906 rinn iad an aon rud ann an Ard Sgoil Jerusalem. (Còine a' bhios iad 'na theagasg a h-uile càil tre na Gàidhlig ann an Ard Sgoil Glaschu agus ann an Ard Sgoil Dun Eideann?) Chan eil sin aonach, nach eil iad 'na theagasg a h-uile càil tre na Grèigis anns a' Ghrèig agus a h-uile roid

tre Gearmailteis 'sa Ghearmailt?  
1913 rinn comann Gearmailteach-luchdach (Hilfsverein) an dhoibh a theagasg a h-uile cuspair tre Gearmailteis 'san Ard Sgoil Ealain Haifa ach bha iad ro anmoch. Chaidh a h-uile maighstir-sgoile agus a h-uile bun-sgoilear air stailic agus dh'fhàs iad na gcoilean aca air feadh na fire agus theagasg iad 'san taobh-a-muigh gus an d'rimnadh Eabhra meadhon-teagasg ann an Haifa cùideachd.

Fhuair Eliezer Ben-Yehuda gun robh chànain nan sgoil, nan colatèadan agus nan oilthighean daonna bunadhbhor mu dheireadh thall thar chànain an tìghe. Cha robb e dona a bhì comasach a leugh agus a sgròibh chànain chòimhich mar Bheurla no mar Fhraincis ach feumaidh duine a' bhì a' bruidhinn a' chànain bhunadhbhor aca. ('S fheadar dhuine a theagasg chànain chòimhich tre na Cànan againn fhìn.)

1921 nochd na Sasunnach trè chànain ann am Palestine, Beurla (a' chànain aca), Eabhra agus Arabais. Leis a sin fhuair Eabhra comhthrom na Fèinne 'san Sheir-bhì Shìobhail 'san Oilig a' Fhuist agus aitean eile mar sin ann am Palestine. (Ach cha d'fhuair ar cànan comhthrom na Fèinne mar sin ann an Alba fhathast!)

Bidhinn a' chumhachd 'sa Pharlaimaid nuadh againn a dh'aiseig agus a dh'ath-bheothach ar cànan Albannach nam biodh sinn a' brosnachadh slugh na h-Albainn gu eifeideach agus gu ceart. Aig an aon àm bidhinn eimpeir aiseirigh nam marbhan ann an Eabhra dhuinn. Dh'ionnsaich na Cuirnich iomadh cleas o'n spairn se cheanna agus is docha gum bidhinn Gàidheil na h-Albainn a' ionnsachadh rud no dha mar an ceudna. Gillesbuig Mac Mhairich.

[As the necessary legislation to devolve a Scottish legislature called the Scottish Assembly has been passed it is a relevant exercise to examine successful revival of national languages in other countries, as it is hoped that the referendum with a 40% hurdle will be over-come to enable the Assembly to come into operation. In this issue the example of the revival of Hebrew in Israel has been examined. Next CARN it is hoped to examine the revival of English in England and the methods there employed.]

**AN COMUNN ALBANNACH:** For a Gàidhlig Scotland. Join An Comunn Albannach and work for the restoration of the Scottish language. All enquiries and requests for information, etc. are welcome. Write to A.C.A., c/o Busby, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow G15 7JJ, Alba - Scotland.

**SCOTTISH ASSEMBLY BILL**  
On Monday 31st July 1978 the Scotland Bill went on to the Westminster Statute Book and became an Act. It was a close thing with the current session of parliament nearing its end and the Bill emerging from the House of Lords rather weaker than when it had gone there. As a result of their Lordships most efficient scrutiny of the Bill certain of the Government's suggested powers have gone and the Assembly will not debate - betting and gambling, funds for Arts purchases, forestry or abortion. That the last named was extracted from the overall health area and the penultimate one from land and agriculture seems a recipe for farce. As speculation about an autumn election continues the chances of the referendum recedes till the spring of next year (an amendment having been passed that no referendum could take place within 3 months of a general election). 3 months after October would be January and as the electoral role would be 11 months out of date at that time and another amendment passed has decreed that to be valid 40% of the electorate will have to vote in favour, it is almost certain that late February would be the earliest date. M.D.

## THE LOWLAND MYTH IN SCOTLAND - 1

The Myth is the idea that Scotland is not a Celtic country, because:

- 1) The people in the Lowlands and Southern Uplands of Scotland never spoke Gaelic. This is the Crude Version of the Myth and, if you disagree it, its supporters will fall back on the Sophisticated Version, which is:
- 2) If the Lowlands ever did speak Gaelic, English was established throughout the area in the 12th century, or at latest the 13th, the English-speaking Lowlanders were a new race not related to the Gaelic-speakers, and these English-speakers are responsible for everything Scotland has achieved since the Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297), if not before.

The Myth is partly the result of accident: the only two chronicles written in Scottish monasteries during the High Middle Age which survived, are the Melrose Chronicle and the Holyrood Chronicle, and both were written in areas which were Anglicized very early and present the point of view of that area. But the main reason for the Myth lies, as we shall see, in the circumstances of the Reformation and the effort to promote the Union of Scotland with England (1603-1707), and the Myth still has its political implications today. That is why Celts should take an interest in it, and not just the Scots, for there are very similar myths in Irish and Breton history.

Historical research published in the last ten years has largely demolished the Lowland Myth in both its versions. It is surprising that it lasted so long for the "evidence" used to support it was often meaningless, or even dishonest, but the Anglo-Scottish historians argued like this:

- 1) "In the Lowlands in the 13th century most people whose names are recorded had English or French names, the townspeople were mostly of English or Flemish origin, and the aristocracy were mostly non-Gaelic-speaking, therefore the Gaelic language was dead, in that area." If these arguments are valid, the Welsh language has been dead since the end of the 17th century, at which date it was actually talked by 90% of the Welsh population. Come to think of it, I had two great-grandfathers with the completely non-Celtic names, John Jones and Maurice Thomas, both of whom spoke little but Welsh.
- 2) "The earliest English place-name in an area shows the date at which it became English speaking." If it were as simple as that, Mon (Anglesey) would have been English-speaking since Edward I (1272-1307) founded Newborough and Beaumaris, but nearly 700 years later people around Nidwrick and Bwymars carry on talking Welsh. Much more relevant is the date of the latest Gaelic name, but few Anglo-Scottish historians knew enough Gaelic to find out.
- 3) "All reports that Gaelic was spoken in parts of the Lowlands in the Low Middle Age, e.g. along the road between Stirling and Perth just before the Reformation, were mistaken, and the people involved must have been speaking a Scottish dialect of English which the listener failed to understand." Oh! It is hard to argue with "historians" who don't accept evidence they don't agree with. I am writing these articles to make the recent research and the truth it reveals about the history of Gaelic in Scotland better known, and, since that truth is still fragmentary, to encourage those with an interest in Scottish history to seek for more evidence. In this number I shall show how false the Crude Version of the Myth is: in later numbers I shall compare the Sophisticated Version with the reality of Scottish history.

**Gaelic in the Lowlands and Southern Uplands**  
The small scale map in my atlas is enough to show that

Gaelic was spoken throughout the Lowlands. Every county has place-names which show it, e.g. Arryshire (Ardrossan, Kilmarlock, Auchincloch and many others) or Fife (Kincairdie, Inverkeithing, Auchterderran, Kilsrenny and more). The only question are how did Gaelic come to be spoken in the Lowlands and how far did it spread through the Southern Uplands?

Scotland is the creation of Kenneth Mac Alpin, who in 848 united the Scots of the Western Highlands with the Picts of the Lowlands north of the Forth, and of his descendants who drove the English out of Lothian in the early 10th century (1), and then absorbed Welsh Strathclyde. His last Welsh king, Owain ap Dyfnal, died in 1016, though by that time Gaelicisation may have been far advanced: Strathclyde was almost encircled by Gaelic speakers in Galloway, Dumfries and Lothian by the time of Constantine II, King of Scotland (900-943), who disposed of the succession to Strathclyde between 910-920, possibly in favour of his brother and then his nephew.

The Scots did not exterminate the Picts or the Welsh. (There is much evidence for the continuity of the laws and other institutions of Strathclyde in medieval Scotland.) Both these peoples spoke P-Celtic languages which, a thousand years ago, were not as different from the Q-Celtic Gaelic of the Scots as Welsh seems today, and they appear to have taken to speaking Gaelic very quickly.

In the Southern Uplands a distinction has to be drawn between the west which had been part of Strathclyde, where Gaelic certainly became general, and the east which had been part of Northumbria (2). There are Gaelic place-names even in the eastern region as far as the modern English border, e.g. Kilbusho (Pebbles) from "cell" = church in Gaelic, Ballyncroft (East Lothian) from "balle" = village or hamlet. But it can be argued that these show the settlements of a Gaelic-speaking aristocracy in the 10th and 11th centuries, and that the peasants of the Tweed basin went on speaking Anglo-Saxon. There are names derived from "schadh" = field in Gaelic, which, it is thought, must indicate that the peasants spoke Gaelic too. These are to be found in West Lothian (Auchincloch), Midlothian (Auchendunny, Auchencorth), Lanark (Auchengray, Auchentiber, Auchenaugh) and Dumfries (Auchencraig, Auchengyle), and their eastern limit roughly corresponds to the eastern limit of dense Gaelic placenames.

This limit, up to which Gaelic was definitely spoken between the 10th and 12th centuries, runs from the Forth at Inverack (itself a Gaelic name) east of Edinburgh, up the valley of the North Esk, along the watershed between Clyde and Tweed and down Annandale to the Solway Firth near Gretna. At least 90% of the area of modern Scotland was then Gaelic-speaking.

**Notes:** I only intend to give references on those points which may cause most surprise to those brought up on Anglo-Scottish histories of the old school, so that they can see that my assertions do not lack foundation.

- (1) G. W. S. Barrow "The Kingdom of the Scots" (1973) pp. 139-155.
- (2) W. F. H. Nicolaisen "Gaelic Placenames in Southern Scotland" Studia Celtica V (1970).

"The Gaelic Language" - I am using this term throughout these articles. During most of the Middle Ages it was called Scottish, but that did not mean it was a separate language from Irish, for the Irish were then called Scots and were indeed the original Scots. The Book of Deer shows that in the 12th century people in the Aberdeen area spoke more or less standard Middle Irish. When Robert I and his brother Edward Bruce made their bungled effort to liberate Ireland from English rule (1315-18), Robert sent a letter: "our people and yours, free from long ago, have

grown from one national seed and a common language moves us to mutual love". Ironically it was during the 15th and 16th centuries, when Scottish Gaelic was beginning to diverge markedly from Irish, that the Lowlanders, who now wanted the word "Scottish" for their own dialect of English and also to encourage the idea that Highlanders were undesirable aliens, began to call Scottish Gaelic Irish or Erse. It is true however that the literature of the Highlands continued to be written in standard Irish until the time of Niall Mac Mhuirich, the last Scottish Irish writer, in the early 18th century, and the first notable writer in Scottish Gaelic seems to have been Alexander Macdonald, the poet of the '45.

Ian Lloyd.



A section of the parade at the Bannockburn rally in June.

#### BANNOCKBURN... 564 years on

Six hundred and sixty four years to the day, the modern freedom fighters of Scotland marched defiantly, once again to that honoured ground where their forefathers tasted the sweetness of the victory that won their independence.

Neither the recent voting trends nor the heavy rain could dissuade the ten thousand stalwarts from missing the annual pilgrimage to the Borestone.

However, the weather took a turn for the better and the speeches brought rapturous applause from the crowds. Guest speakers included: Jordi Pujol, Secretary General of the Democratic Coalition of Catalonia (C.D.C.) and member of the Spanish Cortes, Paul Unterberg, Executive Member in charge of External Relations, (Parti Quebecois) and John Dixon, (Plaid Cymru). Continuing on a theme of internationalism, Mr. Dixon said that despite the posturings of the Labour-Tory politicians, real change in the structure of Europe could only be brought about by the nationalist parties.

SNP chairman, Billy Wolfe, stated that the internationalism of his party was reflected in the presence of the distinguished politicians from some of the most successful self-government movements in the world today, in attendance at the rally.

Mr. Donald Stewart, SNP member of parliament for the Western Isles described Scotland as the, "sacrificial lamb" of the Labour Party. "The Labour Government of Wilson and Callaghan, like no other, has exploited the resources, land and people of Scotland and given grants in return. They have taken plenty out of Scotland, but what, in all honesty, have they put back into the country?"

In the general mass of people, banners and flags, an interesting flag which was held aloft, higher than any other, provoked a great deal of curiosity since normally only SNP banners and the usual Scottish flags are allowed on the parade. The flag, three-quarters red, with the St. Andrew's cross in the other quarter, was that of the Scottish Republican Socialist Clubs and reliable information advises that up until the union of 1707, that flag was used by the Scottish Navy and was subsequently banned from public use.

The organisers of the rally are to be thanked for allowing the flag to be flown in the parade. John Graham.

#### ON THE GAELIC FRONT

Je Frang MacThomais

For many years it has been the wish of those who have been involved in the fight for Gaelic to get public bodies in Scotland accept some degree of recognition for Gaelic. But there was always a deeply-entrenched reaction to this and little or no progress was made, except, perhaps, with the Postal Services in Scotland who now have issued bilingual air-mail letters and have bilingual signs on some of their mail vans. In particular, the most negative reaction came from the Scottish Tourist Board, who could not be convinced that tourist in Scotland also took in the Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands and that those areas offered an extra dimension of interest to the tourist in that he could become involved in a two-language situation.

Now the miracle has occurred. In a recent Report, the Scottish Tourist Board has said that the 'culturally sympathetic' tourist should be encouraged to see the Western Isles. The Report was the result of research carried out on Skye, where it was found that tourists showed a strong interest towards the culture and history of the Western Highlands, and to Gaelic in particular. "Culture and history, along with scenery", says the Report, "are the major attractions of the Highlands as a whole".

Notice of the success of the Gaelic College at Sleat, in Skye, is reported, in particular the way the College has attracted hundreds of students to the Gaelic language Courses which it offers.

Another national body recently came out in support of Gaelic. This time the Educational Institute of Scotland called for compulsory Gaelic education, in response to a member of the Institute who wanted to see Gaelic on the same footing as English in certain areas. The Institute's Annual Conference agreed that in bilingual areas Gaelic should be placed on the list of compulsory subjects, on the same level as English or mathematics.

Gaelic has increasingly come to the fore in recent times. Comhairle nan Eilean led the way when it adopted its bilingual policy and recently The Highland Regional Council's Education Committee agreed to an experiment where Gaelic would have equal status with English in six primary schools in Skye. A Report indicated that there was a preference amongst parents for Gaelic to be taught in schools. At Portree High School more pupils have been presented for the Higher Gaelic Paper than for Higher French.

Now a pilot scheme is to be given the go-ahead, based on the results of a questionnaire sent to all parents in Skye. Some 500 homes and 800 pupils were involved in the survey and while 77% of the parents questioned said they wanted their children to have instruction in Gaelic, more than 65% were against bilingual schooling. The Gaelic-speaking numbers in Skye have been falling in recent years and this new move will, it is hoped, reverse the trend.

While not directly associated with Gaelic, there have been many changes in the crofting scene in the Highlands and Islands. Recently the Crofters Commission reported that the number of young people remaining in, and returning to the crofting areas is increasing. While in some communities a vacant croft attracted little or no interest a few years ago, now there is a healthy demand from young people regarded as suitable crofting tenants.

From the language viewpoint, this is a healthy sign, for it means that crofting communities offer a good stable base for the language and with the new enlightened attitudes towards the use of Gaelic in schools, it means that children will be encouraged to use Gaelic in the home, at play, and, later, in their work in the community. The fact that young people are involved in this trend of going back to the croft is important, for it is the youth who will carry the language

and its traditions into the future.

So the fight still goes on, with small but significant gains being made. The haul to gain final statutory recognition will be a long one but the progress made on the Gaelic Front in the past decade or so is encouraging and those who have been involved in 'the Cause' for so long cannot but take fresh heart that at last the future for Gaelic is steadily being pushed farther into the next century.

#### SCOTTISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST CLUBS

Hon. Pres: Hugh MacDiarmid; Nan Milton.

#### AIMS & OBJECTS:

- 1) To support the Movement for a Scottish Socialist Republic within a Socialist International.
- 2) To promote specific interest in Scottish working class affairs at all levels: i.e. Cultural, Political, Socio-Economic and Historical.
- 3) To encourage discussions with all left-wing groups, particularly those with interest in Scottish affairs.
- 4) To encourage a discussion with the Left-Wing of the Scottish Independence Movement and similar progressive forces.
- 5) To look at the position of women in Scottish cultural terms and encourage action in the fight for independence and equality of women.
- 6) To support the right of the working class everywhere to gain control of the production and distribution of the earth's resources; to be enjoyed by all mankind in a Socialist International.
- 7) Membership is open to individuals of all political Parties who cannot express their socialism in the Westminster orientated groups. The Club is a forum for dialectical debate on the Scottish and socialist question and a venue for joint activity on agreed matters.

The Republics Club was formed in 1973. As can be deduced from the preceding aims & objects, it is not a Party. Rather, it is a cross-party organisation, with the express purpose of creating the concept of a Scottish Socialist Republic. The SNP, at the moment, serves as the Scottish vehicle towards obtaining a Scottish Parliament and its broad base encompasses those of the left, right and centre in a united electoral front. This may be fine for electoral reasons, since the SNP's aim is to achieve independence by winning a majority of the 71, Scottish seats in the English Parliament and then act as a caretaker Government until the first free elections in Scotland, when many of its members will return to their specific political allegiance and 'Home Rule'. Some members claim they will continue as a party. But, some there has been little demand for coalition demand politics outside of a crisis in any nation then it reasonable to look ahead.

The demand for a Scottish Socialist Republic is almost bound to take some form given the nature and history of the Scottish electorate. To form a specific party on that base, as has been attempted before, would be to pre-empt the situation and it would almost certainly be bogged down in the sectarianism of the modern left world-wide. Since events generally outpace manifestos, however well meaning, the Club has sought not to be too specific in its definition of socialism. Rather than be divisive over the merits and demerits of the latter-day socialist axioms such as Trotsky, Stalin, Mao-Tse Tung, etc., we decided to concentrate on the specific arguments of John Maclean and James Connolly. Not that we considered the other arguments to be irrelevant or unimportant but that we found good socialists from all these denominations becoming entrenched in dogma and forgetting their high areas of agreement. Often they would waste time manufacturing differences (unconsciously) in

order to justify their own organisation's existence and their positions would be so entrenched towards each other that the main ideals and dialectic would take second place to sectarian argument. This is understandable and not meant to be an attack on having organisations with specific aims and objects. In our case we felt that there was a strong need to bridge a gap in order to provide the spadework proving that Socialism and the Nationalism of anti-imperialism need not be two different ideals: but one and the same. The two objects are certainly not contradictory and are only made to appear that way by the Great British Nationalist Propaganda of our imperialist masters and their dupes of the left and right. Internationalism to them means a London Parliament that they will somehow make benevolent. The conscious elements of the Celtic colonies know what that means. It is for this reason that we carry our struggle right into the camps of the Great British Chauvinism of the Left. Most of these groups have their headquarters and their thinking in London and see the solution to the Irish "problem" etc. in those terms, i.e., "Troops into Ireland", "Tory Troops out of Ireland", "End Tory Prices", "Tory Pay Freezers", etc. And "Vote Labour", with illusions, without illusion, without the social con-trick, with socialist politics or to "expose" them. Do they believe that the Labour government cares what reasons these British agents choose for returning them to office. For, when the rhetoric dies down that is the only political function these groups have achieved, thus helping to further oppress the Celtic colonies, thus, helping to oppress the English working class and falling to throw off their imperialist past.

It is by joining individual members of these groups that we can take the National question into the enemy camp as well as socialism to individuals of the Scottish Independence movement. We welcome support and membership from socialists of other oppressed nationalities, including the English working class who have the most psychological chains to throw off.

Donald Anderson, Organiser, 5 Kelvinside Terr. West, Glasgow G20 6DA. Telephone: 041-945-8481.

#### SOCIALIST SCOTLAND - ALBA SOISIALACH

Socialist Scotland, a new Marxist journal, will appear for the first time in September. Advance publicity states that in seeking to fill a long-vacant gap in Scottish politics, it will argue for a Scottish Workers' Republic, and attempt to establish this again as the guiding principle of the Labour movement in Scotland. It will also seek to convince those in the nationalist movement that Scotland's only hope of nationalist freedom lies via socialism. The first issue will contain amongst other things, articles on the Relevance of John Maclean, the Referendum, the Gàidhlig language, the SLP, theoretical articles on the nation-state, the class struggle, and reviews of some recent books.

Subscription for 6 issues £2 (£2.50 overseas) from Socialist Scotland, Box 5, 45 Niddry St., Edinburgh, EH1 1LG, Scotland.

Crann-Tara, Scotland's Radical Quarterly. Nationalist, socialist, independent. Annual subscription £1.80. Crann-Tara Publications, c/o N. Easton, 4 Trinity Trinity Lane, Aberdeen, Alba - Scotland.

CELTIC LEAGUE BADGE - the symbol of Celtic Unity, the Celtic Knot. Metal badge with knot in silver, ringed in black on a green background. Available from National Secretaries (addresses p.24). Price 75p, postage free, but 10p extra air-mail U.S.A.



novels, short stories, poems, plays, essays, and gathered around Gwalarn other talented writers. He published translations of world known authors (Shakespeare, Cervantes . . .), and of famous Irish and Welsh tales. Thanks mainly to his efforts, Breton literature could compare with those of many other European peoples. During the war, he also published the bilingual **ARVOR** and the high-level magazine **STERENN**, took charge of the Breton language radio programmes which the removal of French control had made possible, presided over the **Framm Keltiek** (Breton Institute). For having thus carried on his task, he was jailed in 1945, but thanks to a campaign in his favour in **CYMRU** and to the intervention of the Irish president Douglas de l'ide he was released after a year. Deprived of his livelihood in Brittany, he came to Ireland where he was offered a post in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Several works of his have been published by the Institute and to take part again in the struggle in spite of the handicap of exile. For 16 years he edited the monthly **Ar Bed Keltiek**, and completed a monumental Historical Dictionary of the Breton Language, the publication of which is almost finished. In **CARN 24** we shall give a detailed review of the outstanding service he gave to the national language of Brittany. A. H.

**THE BRETON DEMOCRATIC UNION (U.D.B.)**

(Laurent le Page, a member of the UDB's Political Bureau, answers questions put to him on behalf of **CARN**.)

1. Why was the UDB set up fifteen years ago?  
**L.P.** Three kinds of developments in the years immediately prior to 1964 contributed to making it necessary for the Left-minded people in the Breton movement to set up the party. (a) the evolution of the Breton problem itself; (b) the evolution of the Breton movement; (c) the experience of some young Bretons.  
 By 1960 the Breton problem appears more clearly as being specific to Brittany as well as concerning all aspects of Breton life. The magnitude of the economic lag has become obvious, with its social consequences (low wages, unemployment); the Breton politicians denounce it although they often refuse to see its deeper causes; workers and farmers organise mass demonstrations to draw attention to it. The idea gradually gains ground that it is not merely a problem of administration, of language, of culture, but that all the aspects are bound together, calling for a specific and all-embracing solution.  
 The second factor was the failure of what could be called the traditional Breton movement to evolve. This movement, represented in the early sixties by the MOB, failed to assume its responsibility when confronted with the problem and the beginning of popular awareness. It stuck to apologetic attitudes, so that it could not recognise the true causes of the problem and place the struggle on the right ground; it relied on the other hand to endow itself with a strongly structured organisation which could have stood up for the workers' interests. Instead of that, the MOB fostered the illusion of a large following. Something else was needed.  
 Finally, a number of young people who had joined the Breton movement had been affected in their political evolution by the struggles of other peoples against imperialism in the post-war period, particularly in Algeria. Whether they were aware or not of being a vanguard, they perceived the Breton problem in a different way from those working in the cultural field or those with a reformist-technocratic turn of mind. It led them to a new analysis, a new strategy and to forming a new party with all its implications.

2. What are the UDB's short and long-term objectives as regards Breton autonomy? Within which framework do you see this possible?  
**L.P.** The UDB stands for autonomy, right. That is not a rigidly defined aim. What we want is to enable the Breton people to take charge of their own destiny, to exercise self-government in a broad sense. We don't exercise self-government in this autonomy, the exact attributions of the Breton institutions, nor the framework (French or European) within which it will be exercised. We can't therefore answer as regard the long-term: it would be illusory and dangerous to do so. Who could say whether the struggle of the nationalities in the French State is the struggle of the Breton people? Or can one be sure that the struggle will be above all that of the peripheral peoples who are disadvantaged in Europe and that it is with them that we should look for a solution? No, we must wait, keeping an open mind as to possibilities, in theory as in practice. Which does not mean remaining idle.  
 We shall make a better choice when things will have progressed and when the Breton people will be in a position to say what they want.  
 As for the short term, we are not seeking self-government unless we consider a large measure of decentralisation as already being autonomy. Our short term demands are those which could be satisfied by a French government more receptive to our way of thinking or to the "regime" which corresponds to the framework of the Breton people, large powers be granted to a democratically elected Breton Assembly, endowed with financial means and capable of putting into effect a plan for the economic development of Brittany; that means made available too for the promotion of the Breton language and culture. All this is expounded in the Breton Democratic Programme adopted by the UDB in November 1977 and available from Sez Broadel an UDB, 18 ru A. Kervern, 29200 Brest. (5 Fr. - Postage).

3. What kind of socialism do you subscribe to?  
 How do you visualise a socialist society in Brittany? If possible, compare with other Leftist parties' ideologies.  
**L.P.** These questions are often asked by intellectuals. We don't answer them, not because we want to sidestep the problem but because we want to be serious. What is the point at this stage in asking such questions in Brittany where most people - though less and less - still vote for Rightists, leave matters in the hands of nobilities if not of local squires, where many cringe to the rich? If one form of socialism were advocated, a different one would immediately be proposed, then another and we should soon have a sterile debate, divorced from popular reality, revolving on itself. The UDB prefers to open a way which the Breton workers could take and to wait till later to define its option. The UDB is a party of union; anyone who agrees with our analysis of the Breton situation, be it from a Marxist, a Christian or simply a humanistic viewpoint, is welcome to join in our struggle. Socialism is not a thing to be imposed a priori, but to be built up. It must be stated however that the gravity of the Breton economic situation makes it necessary to break with capitalism and that on achieving autonomy priority must be given to the economic problem.

4. What methods does the UDB propose to use for achieving its aim?  
**L.P.** We have first the party itself: it is important that it exists, that it be developed and improved. But before talking of methods we should be clear about the task. Our purpose for the moment is not to achieve power, on that count we differ from other organisations. We must first inform, make our analysis known, spread our ideas, always keeping in mind the political reality in Brittany. We must not engage in adventures or provocations towards our people, not run far ahead of them but endeavour to get the largest number possible to walk side by side with us. We therefore reject terrorism and the activism of the "gauchistes" ["people with leftist ideas, claiming to speak on behalf of the people but using methods without popular support (Editor)]. We prefer the slow, patient, deep-reaching work of informing the workers so as to root our party solidly everywhere in Brittany. We have established the UDB's right to speak on television ["The UDB was allowed once to speak on television for a 4 hour . . . (Editor)"]; we have shown our will to take part in the political struggle (elections) and to occupy posts of responsibility in public life (such as municipal councils). It is only a start. The UDB is now better known, the mass media can no longer ignore us. We decide democratically which methods are to be used, according to our means and to circumstances.

5. Why did you make an alliance with the French Left, in particular in the 1977 municipal elections? Will this alliance last?  
**L.P.** Recent UDB congresses committed the UDB to a strategy of unity with the forces of the Left - not only the parties and not only for elections. Generally speaking we have every reason to be satisfied with that, it has helped the UDB, and it has resulted in a wider acceptance of its ideas among the organisations of the Left. Let me point out that: (a) this unity is natural: the UDB as a party of the Left must work to reinforce support for the ideas of the Left in Brittany. This can only be to the advantage of the Breton people. Our attitude is not dictated by tactical considerations alone; (b) in this unity, the UDB loses nothing of its autonomy, of its freedom of action and of analysis. There is nothing to stop it from underlining how it differs from the French Left on either particular or fundamental points; (c) the congresses which decided on this strategy did not say that it was to be permanent; nor did they say that it should be discontinued. Our future course will be determined by the way the parties of the French Left evolve; by circumstances; and by the democratic working of our organisation.

6. Has the UDB a definite policy regarding the Breton language? Has it put proposals concerning it before the municipal councils on which it is represented?  
**L.P.** The UDB is not a language or cultural organisation. We are concerned with the Breton problem in all its aspects. That includes the language as an important element in our national consciousness, now in a difficult position. But many associations make it their special concern, concentrating their action on its defense and promotion. We don't need to substitute ourselves for them for the present, particularly as some of them are progressive in mind (Ar Falz, Skol an Emsav). We help them, give them space in our publications; and our own members take part in their activities.  
 The UDB endeavours to promote simultaneously cultural action and cultural creation (we have organised musical and theatre shows on a big scale); we were closely involved in the great language campaign in the years 1969-71 organised by GALV. To-day we intervene

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**CYMRU**



Wayne Williams, leader of the British Rail protest at the Eisteddfod, being arrested.

Yn dilyn protest gan Gymdeithas yr Iaith ym mhabell y Rheilffyrdd Prydeinig ddydd Llun y Steddfod (lle'r awlydd rhab o aelodau'r Gymdeithas a philsymal apeliodd Dafydd Wigley, A.S. Arfon, ar l'r heddlu beidio â thrin aelodau'r Gymdeithas fel hlliganiaid gemau peldreod.  
 Ond condemniodd Syr Alun Talfan Davies, Llywydd yr Eisteddfod, y weithred fel un a wnaid ddrwg i'r Eisteddfod. Dywedodd Mr. Emyr Jenkins, Cyfarwyddwr yr Eisteddfod, iddo o a swyddogion eraill ymweld a phabell y Rheilffyrdd a'u rhybuddio y dylen arddangos y Gymraeg amlyca. Ond wnaent, meddai, byddai'n rhaid iddynt ystyried eu hanfon o'r maes.  
 Readd hys ar 21 i swyddogion y Gymdeithas gwyno with Swyddfa'r Eisteddfod bod arwyddion Saesneg yn dal i gael y lle amlyca ym mhabell y Rheilffyrdd Prydeinig pan all - agorodd ganol dydd Ddydd Mawrth.

**NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD**

This year's Eisteddfod at Cardiff was described by one journalist as 'Cymdeithas yr Iaith's Eisteddfod' and they were certainly in the news for most of the week.  
 On the first day of the Eisteddfod the British Rail exhibition was completely demolished as a protest against their anti-Welsh attitude in general and the lack of prominence given to the Welsh language in the exhibition itself. It was described by one English language TV reporter as a 'vicious Anti-English attack'.  
 One arrest was made and protesters were treated so roughly by police that Dafydd Wigley, MP, made an appeal the following day saying that demonstrators of this kind should not be treated as soccer hooligans.  
 British Rail were warned by Eisteddfod officials that they would have to close down if they refused to obey the Welsh language rules. There was a further demonstration on Wednesday when the Secretary of State's speech was interrupted by shouts of 'Amodau teg i'r aiane!' [fair conditions for the channel].  
 The Eisteddfod itself was a success and is likely to break even although total costs will amount to around £600,000. Despite the recent £275,000 Government grant,

finance still causes a major headache. There has been talk of a permanent site. A company of accountants will be paid £7,000 to make a thorough investigation into the various possibilities. Next year's Eisteddfod will be at Caernarfon.

**NEW CENTRE FOR LEARNERS**

A deserted village in a remote part of the Llyn peninsula has been bought by a local Trust and is to be converted into a new centre for Welsh learners.

The village of Nant Gwrtheyrn was bought for £25,000 from Amey Roadstone Ltd. The company have already contributed £5,000 towards the £300,000 appeal which has been launched. This is the estimated cost of renovating the buildings.

The chairman of the Trust will be Dr. Carl Clowes, of Llanabhaearn, founder of the first village co-operative of its kind in Wales.

It is hoped that part of the work will have been completed by next summer.

Porter J. Maxwell, 4926, 12th Avenue South, Gulfport, Florida 33707, U.S.A., who is learning Irish would like to contact a fluent Irish speaker who is willing to exchange cassette tapes.

Dedicated Welsh Nationalist, male, 21 years old, would like to correspond with other Nationalists, Eire, Breish, etc. Write to Ioan Roberts, 7 Ffordd Beaconsfield, Shotton, Glanrafon Dyfrdwy, Clwyd, Cymru.

**JURY FAIL TO AGREE**

The jury failed to agree at the end of the Camarthen conspiracy trial against two Cymdeithas yr Iaith officials, Rhodri Williams and Wynford James (July 10-14).

Both were released on bail and a further trial will now take place in November.

They faced two charges of conspiracy to destroy broadcasting equipment, following a raid on the Blaen Plwyf TV mast near Aberystwyth in January 1977. At the time all 30 members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith's Senate took joint responsibility, but only two officials were charged.

The trial took five days and at the beginning of the trial one of the defendants, Rhodri Williams, failed to turn up. 60 well known public figures in Wales signed a statement saying that they had prevented him from appearing as a protest against the political nature of the trial, and the continuous delay regarding the promised fourth TV channel.

At a rally before the trial, two MPs expressed their support - Dafydd Ellis Thomas (Plaid Cymru, Meirionnydd) and Tom Ellis (Labour, Wrecsam).

**SIANEL GYMRAEG**

The long-awaited decision on the future of the fourth TV channel in Wales has at last been made. The Welsh-language channel will be on the air in 1982 (ahead of the rest of Britain) and will broadcast 21 hours a week.

The channel will be run by a 'Welsh Language Television Council' consisting of representatives from HTV, BBC Wales and the OBA (Open Broadcasting Authority).

The Government White Paper was hailed as a victory by members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, hundreds of whom have been fined and imprisoned during the ten year campaign. Nevertheless the decision was not given an unqualified welcome and the campaign will continue.

- 1) The period of preparation has been extended by one year, from three years as envisaged by the Siberry Committee, to four years.
- 2) The financial responsibility has been placed in the hands of the broadcasting authorities rather than on the Government,

and the costs estimated by the Siberry Committee have been drastically reduced.

3) The number of hours originally accepted as practicable, have also been reduced, from 25 hours to 21 hours a week.

These factors have raised many doubts about the decision which otherwise has been welcomed throughout Wales.

**LANGUAGE COUNCIL FINAL REPORT**

The Welsh Language Council has presented its final report to the Secretary of State for Wales, Mr. John Morris.

The Council was set up originally in 1973 as an advisory body to the Secretary of State, and it set about publishing four reports: on broadcasting, nursery education, publications for children and teaching Welsh to adults. The council was then asked to draw up a report containing recommendations for a comprehensive policy for the Welsh language.

The report itself is the most comprehensive ever presented to the Government and covers most aspects concerned with the battle for the language - publicity, education, broadcasting, publishing, planning, the environment, etc. The report also contains a number of recommendations which would greatly enhance the prospects of the language is implemented.

However, the history of the Welsh Language Council from its beginning has been one of presenting the Secretary of State with endless recommendations only to be ignored and left to gather dust in the Welsh Office.

The Council has also been criticized for forming a buffer between language campaigners and the government. Any complaints or protests concerning the Welsh Language have invariably been referred to the Council who are completely powerless to act in any way.

Nevertheless, Mr. John Morris cannot refer the present report back to anyone as the Council is no longer in existence. The ball is firmly in his court and Wales awaits his verdict.

The conclusions and main recommendations of the report are as follows:-

- 1) The Welsh language is in a state of crisis. The Government should take the lead and announce a positive policy of effective bilingualism in Wales.
- 2) The Secretary of State should publicly announce the setting up as soon as possible of a permanent body to replace the Council for the Welsh Language. That body should have responsibility for promoting the Welsh language and administering grant-aid, other than that channelled through the local authorities and the Welsh Arts Council. In the meantime a special section should be established within the Welsh Office to assume those duties for the time being.
- 3) We recommend that the Government should allocate the sum of £1.5m immediately towards helping to save the Welsh language from extinction. From such a modest beginning, and in the confident expectation that the economic climate of the country will have improved considerably within the next two years, we recommend that from no later than the start of the financial year 1980/81 the Government should make available each year in support of the language an amount of the order of £18m at current prices (£8m for bilingual education; £9m for maintaining the fourth television channel, and a further £1m to be at the disposal of our successor body). Such a sum would represent less than 0.04 per cent of the identifiable public expenditure in the United Kingdom.
- 4) The Government should take immediate steps to mount a sustained campaign in support of the Welsh lan-

guage. The aims and objectives of the campaign should be to inform, enlighten and re-assure the people of Wales, especially young mothers, on fundamental aspects of the language question.

5) Education is crucial to the continued well-being of Welsh as a living language. We recommend that the Government should take steps to enable local education authorities in Wales to establish throughout their areas a continuing provision of bilingual education which, in due course, should become the norm throughout Wales. The immediate first steps should be to make effective bilingual nursery provision, in the voluntary and maintained sectors, more generally available within Wales and to ensure that there is continuity of practice throughout the period of compulsory education.

6) The Government should find ways and means of giving financial assistance to local education authorities in Wales towards the additional costs which they have to meet in implementing policies of bilingual education. Amending Section 100(1)(b) of the Education Act 1944 is crucial in this respect.

7) The home is also crucial where language is concerned; it and the school should complement each other. In the case of Welsh, the most powerful external influence affecting the home at present is broadcasting. Additional funds should be made available for children's programmes. We also recommend that the Government, in the very near future, should make funds available to enable the fourth television channel in Wales to be established and maintained. Such a channel should carry most, but by no means all, the necessary Welsh-language programmes.

8) We recommend that the Government should make available for 1978/79 the additional sum of £20,000 to increase and improve the supply in that year of appropriate reading material in Welsh, especially for young mothers and their children.

9) The Government should strengthen its present policies of providing bilingual forms and other documents, as well as bilingual traffic signs, in Wales.

10) The Welsh language should receive special consideration in all planning matters within Wales.

11) Adequate provision should be made for all adults wishing to improve their command of Welsh as well as for those wishing to learn the language.

**THE WALES BILL - NOW ENACTED**

On the evening of Monday 31st July 1978, the Queen gave her assent to the Wales Act (and also to the Scotland Act). Not that she did it in person; ever since Henry VIII found it embarrassing to assent personally to statutes to chop his wives' heads off, the monarch has not usually turned up at these ceremonies. She was away in Canada, where she made some remarks about Quebec which made one doubt whether she agreed with the words about to be pronounced in her name on the Wales Act: "La Reine le veult". What matters now however is whether the people of Wales "le veult".

Prospects of the Act being put into effect seem brighter after an opinion poll published in May showed that Tory support in Wales had slumped compared with a year ago (though it is still high compared with their vote in the last general election), for they are the only party committed to oppose the Act in the referendum.

	General Election		Poll	
	October 1974	Mar. '77	Mar. '77	May 1978
Labour	49.5%	37.8%	50.7%	50.7%
Conservative	23.9%	41.6%	33.9%	33.9%
Plaid Cymru	10.8%	12.9%	11.2%	11.2%
Liberal	15.8%	7.2%	3.8%	3.8%

(+ things are not as bad as they might seem for Plaid Cymru since opinion polls regularly underestimate their support, partly because of greater enthusiasm at election time so their voters do not stay at home, and Plaid might reasonably expect 13% of the vote if an election were held now.)

The Labour Party must (however reluctantly) support its own devolution act, though there is a group of noisy, but not very influential MPs, who will oppose it. A thorough analysis of more detailed poll findings by Roger Tanner in "Welsh Nation" (July 1978) shows that it will not be impossible to get the required 40% of the whole electorate to vote in favour of setting up the Welsh Assembly in the old Coal Exchange by the docks in Caerdydd, provided the campaign is well organised.

I don't understand the gloom of M.D. in CARN 22 about the 40% barrier in Scotland. There they have the advantage of Conservative dissidents, who are in favour of the Act. Nothing but such stupidity as that of Ally Macleod's football team off to Argentina to fetch back the World Cup, or Hamish Watt boasting that the SNP would win the majority of the Scottish seats at the next general election, could bring failure. Announcing the victory beforehand will always bring misfortune, as it did at Cordoba and Hamilton, because it encourages one's own side to relax their efforts and one's opponents to increase theirs to avoid utter humiliation.

Tory party leaders are already scared of the coming battle, which may detach numbers of their supporters from the party, and a humiliating result just before a general election could cause irretrievable damage. (The referendum cannot be held just after a general election, but it can be held immediately before one, and from the point of view of the Labour Party that might be the best time.) Francis Pym, for instance, has argued that the devolution acts should be opposed only because they might prejudice the creation of a thorough going federal system of government for Britain, (the last thing the Tories want to see in fact, but they dare not admit it). There is no incompatibility, as supporters of the Welsh Assembly must point out: it could be the first stage of setting up a federal system.

It is almost inevitable that, if the Scottish and Welsh Assemblies are set up, either a federal Britain or further Scottish and Welsh home-rule will develop, because of what is called the "West Lothian" question (named after the constituency of the MP who first raised the problem). This is that after the Assemblies start working, an MP elected to the Westminster Parliament for a Scottish seat such as West Lothian, will decide many matters for Englishmen concerning housing, education, etc. by his vote, but he will not be responsible for deciding such matters for his own constituents, who are Scotsmen. No-one minded about such illogicality, which went on for fifty years while Ulster was ruled by Stormont, but there are only 13 Ulster MPs; it is more significant with 71 Scottish MPs and 36 Welsh ones. It can be solved either by establishing an English Assembly to deal with England's domestic affairs, or by limiting the attendance of Welsh and Scottish MPs at Westminster. There can be no doubt how Celts who would like to see their attendance ended would like to see things develop, but they should not quarrel with the federalists just yet.

One event, which could destroy all prospect of a Welsh Assembly, (and perhaps even of a Scottish one), would be a general election coming before the referendum, which returned a Tory government with an over-all majority. There is no doubt that the administration disposes of a lot of prestige and power, which it can use to influence the result of a referendum. (One remembers all the free



the pitch is usually a tone, sometimes more, below concert pitch. Among players such pipes are known as 'flat sets'. The bottom or fundamental note of the chanter is called 'D', irrespective of its pitch. This custom of calling the bottom note of their instruments 'D', irrespective of the actual pitch, is also common among flute and whistle players.

Piping was at its heyday in pre-Famine Ireland. Thereafter the old dances began to give way to the various sets and half-sets based on the quadrilles and the pipes were superseded by the melodeon and concertina. Towards the end of that century it seemed as if the Irish pipes were fated to follow the Irish harp into oblivion. Fortunately, when the national revival, initiated by the Gaelic League, got under way in 1893, all aspects of the native culture began once more to be cultivated. Pipers' clubs were founded in Cork (1898) and in Dublin (1900). Competitions for the instrument were organised by the newly founded Fels Ceoil and the Oireachtas and the old surviving pipers were assisted to attend and compete at these events.

Genuine traditional players were engaged to teach beginners and in this way the art of piping was passed to a new generation without any break in the tradition. While the succession was secured, the pipers' clubs did not long survive the first flush of enthusiasm and once more the future of the instrument was in jeopardy. Occasional surges of interest occurred but public reaction to the music was one of disdain and the difficulty of obtaining pipes in tune and easily sounded disheartened youngsters attracted to the instrument.

The establishment in 1968 of Na Píobairí Uilleann, the Uilleann Pipers, may well prove to be the factor which will ensure the survival of the pipes in Ireland. Founded by musicians who had ties with the first pipers' clubs in Dublin and restricted to practitioners, this society possesses firm links with the past, and these are further strengthened by the discovery of old cylinder recordings (made over seventy years ago) of pipers who were then old men. Live tuition and the study of those old recordings have resulted in a line of young players whose progress towards a mastery of the instrument continues to astound the older players. The rediscovery of the pipes, at an international level, is reflected in the number of aspiring pipers from America and Continental Europe who visit Ireland each year to learn the instrument. The progress made by some of these visitors is astounding.

The surge of interest in piping has generated other activities. Numerous records of piping have been issued by recording companies, specialist collections of the dance music have been published as well as a tutor for the instrument and a manual of pipemaking.

Active membership of An Píobairí Uilleann now exceeds 280 and is spread throughout Ireland, England, Scotland, Continental Europe, North America and Australia. The most heartening aspect of all this activity is that it is rooted firmly in tradition.

\*\* Cumann na bPíobairí Uilleann on the occasion of their tenth anniversary organised with the National Museum of Ireland, an exhibition of pipes and associated material in the Museum. Luncheon piping concerts were given each day from 1.45-2.45. The above account of the pipes, prepared for the occasion, is printed with the kind permission of Brendán Breathnach.

#### ECONOMIC AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Economic and related matters have been to the fore in Ireland in the last few months. The Government of the Republic, having delivered on some of their election promises\*\*, such as the abolition of rates on private dwellings, the replacement of car tax by a flat registration

fee of £5 and the increase of first time housing grants to £1000 (rapidly eroded by price increases - second hand house prices soared by 13.5% in the first four months of this year for example), published their controversial Green Paper on the Economy in June. The Paper proposed strict control of Government spending to reduce borrowing and schemes of work-sharing or 'residual job creation' to help produce full employment by 1983. The control of public spending, aimed at meeting the Government's target of a reduction in borrowing from 13% of Gross National Product this year to 10½% in 1979, would have its most severe impact on the areas of social spending, which as a percentage of GNP would fall from 20.7 this year to 18.9 next and 17.9 in 1980 if the Government's expectations were to be fulfilled. This could mean, as outlined in the Paper, the phasing out of food subsidies (£63 million in 1978), higher rents for local authority houses, increased fees and the introduction of a loan scheme in third level education, reduced dole for farmers and believe it or not the possibility of a tax on children's allowances!

The Green Paper continues to insist on wage restraint and proposed work-sharing and what it calls a further programme of Government induced job creation to eliminate the unemployment figure of 55,000 which, according to present estimates, would remain in 1983. Work-sharing would mean restricted overtime working, reductions in the working week or year and early retirements. It is difficult indeed to see real prospects of full or near full employment in the near future with this kind of outline but it would seem clear that we can expect fairly lean years in 1979 and 1980.

The quarterly report of the Economic and Social Research Institute, published at the end of July states that the slowdown in consumer prices has come to an end and expects inflation to reach an annual rate of 12% next year with the rate of GNP growth falling from 5½% in 1978 to 3½%. The forecast presumes next year's budget will implement the Green Paper targets of reducing borrowing and slowing down the rise in public spending. The ESRÍ says incomes will rise by 14% (farmers earnings by 15%) but these increases will mean a rise in real incomes of only slightly more than 2% after inflation has taken its toll - compared with this year's estimated rise of 9%. Companies profits, however, we are told, should rise by 13½% next year, well above this year's expected increase of 9%!

One of the causes of the rising inflation rate is the expected further weakening of the pound sterling to which the Irish pound is linked. There has been speculation in recent months that the link with sterling may be broken. This could occur if Britain decides not to join the proposed European Monetary System but could also occur eventually even if Britain does join, as the value of the Irish pound would be decided by a 'basket' of currencies weighted in a particular manner. However definite decisions on this would depend on the final shape of the EMS and on decisions arrived at by the European Head of States meeting in Brussels in December.

It is indeed ironic that the prospect of a break with sterling arises in the context of European Monetary Union. Breaking the link with sterling was often advocated as a means of strengthening independence in a (desired) United Ireland while the detrimental effects of Monetary Union on peripheral regions were outlined by the Common Market Study Group during the anti-EEC campaign in 1972. Breaking with sterling in the context of the 26 county state is, of course, a different matter. The Republic's Finance Minister stated that the position of the North of Ireland would influence any decision and he recalled that on the introduction of decimalisation the factor which influenced the adoption of the 100p pound, as in Britain, instead of the more common-sense 50p unit, was the danger of producing a further

division between North and South.

Direct Rule is certainly not bringing any economic miracle to the North. Unemployment figures for July revealed that 13.4% of the total workforce in the North were on the dole. This was the highest level reached since 1938 and must surely rank the highest of any country or region under Westminster control. The Chairman of the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions called for additional powers for the State-funded development agency to enable it to save firms threatened with redundancies. The outlook was not brightened by figures which showed only 1,713 vacancies on their books, a decrease of 228 on last month's figures and of 281 on last year's. (It might be mentioned for comparison that the unemployment figure for the Republic at that time could be calculated to have been about 8.5%.)

\*\* One election promise on which the Fianna Fail government certainly did not deliver was that relating to Ground Rents. (The Ground Rent system and its inequities were outlined in two articles in CARN 8 & 9.) In fact it could be said that they conned the electorate on this issue. Their election literature stated that they would introduce a system which would lead to the abolition of Ground Rents. This was taken to mean, of course, that Ground Rents would be abolished, but not - playing on the words 'a system which would lead to' they have merely introduced a simplified method of buying out ground rent with much reduced legal costs, and put an end to eviction for non-payment. The householder still has to pay the capital which if invested would give the landlord the same annual return as the yearly Ground Rent! (that is unless by various tactics landlords can be persuaded to compromise and settle for less). No doubt the Association of Combined Residents Associations who have waged a ten year long battle against this feudal remnant, involving withholding of rents, hundreds of court cases and many threatened evictions will recall this confidence trick at the next general election.

#### ANTI-NUCLEAR FESTIVAL

An anti-nuclear festival organised by an ad hoc committee consisting mainly of members of the Wexford based Nuclear Safety Association and Friends of the Earth was held adjacent to the site for the proposed nuclear reactor at Carnsore Point, Co. Wexford, on the weekend the 18th - 20th August. The festival proved to be a major triumph for the organisers and was attended by over 7000 people over the weekend. It was held on the lands of Mr. Martin Ronan, a farmer and member of the Nuclear Safety Assoc. but spilled over onto the proposed site. A fleet of special buses and trains were organised from many points of the country and apart from the weather everything went off without a hitch.

The crowd was entertained with concerts of traditional and pop music, with many leading performers partaking and on the Sat. a mass meeting was held on the nuclear question and was addressed by a succession of speakers. Mr. John Carroll, Vice-President of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, called for a massive investment in alternative energy sources. Professor Roger Blackthorn of Trinity College, Dublin, author of 'The Power that Corrupts' stressed the cancer risk from nuclear power and said that people who had worked in a number of nuclear installations, mainly in the US, were now developing cancer at a rate higher than average. He accused the Electricity Supply Board of playing down the dangers of background radiation.

Declan Lyons, of Friends of the Earth, stated that there was a real need for more information to be spread on the nuclear question to counteract the 'insipid and con-

tinuous propaganda' from the Government and the ESB in favour of it. Sean Dublin Bay Lotus called for the nuclear issue to be turned into a political issue in the local elections and European Parliament elections next June. Calls were made for volunteers from every county to co-ordinate anti-nuclear activity at a county level through-out the country. The need for organised strictly non-violent opposition to the nuclear proposal was made by speaker after speaker but none did not rule out acts of pacifist civil disobedience.

The rally ended on Sun. when those remaining waited in silence to the tip of Carnsore Point where they laid stone upon stone in a symbolic cairn to commemorate those who have died through the misuse of atomic power. Let us hope that the wishes expressed in the speeches for a nationwide organisation are put into action by those who attended and that they will progress to achieve their aim.

#### LANGUAGE NEWS

The fight for rights for Irish speakers in the Courts continues. On the 7th July, Proinsias Ó Mianáin of Cnoc Fola, in the Donegal Gaeltacht (Irish speaking area) attempted to have his case heard in Irish when appearing in Letterkenny District Court in an appeal relating to an earlier civil case in a lower court. Judge Sheehy while requiring an interpreter admitted that the man sworn in to interpret was not capable of doing so satisfactorily! When Proinsias Ó Mianáin continued to object and demand that his case be heard in Irish the Judge committed him to Mountjoy Prison for contempt, there to remain until he purged his contempt by apologising.

Conradh na Gaeilge mounted pickets on the prison and in a statement said the case emphasised the need for bilingual judges. In the meantime however the Government should ensure that Judges appointed to Courts under which Gaeltacht areas fall had fluent Irish. On July 24th Mr. Justice Hamilton made an order in the High Court directing Judge Sheehy to show cause why the order made by him committing Proinsias to prison should not be quashed. He stated that it appeared to him the order was bad on its face as it sentenced Ó Mianáin to indefinite detention. The proper order should have been that he be sentenced for a specified time! Bail was granted but was not availed of by Proinsias as he objected to signing bail bonds in English and to the fact that all the Court rules were available only in English. He remained in prison then until the legal process of quashing the Circuit Court order was completed.

In the TV licence 'refusal to pay' campaign the law took a more lenient line. When Cill Bean Uí Chatháin appeared in court a second time appealing against a second fine or imprisonment for having no television licence (passed due to the appallingly small amount of Irish on RTE) the Probation Act was again applied by the Judge, as occurred in her first court case. It is most unusual for Judges to give 'offenders' the benefit of the Probation Act a second time while on probation already for the same 'offence'.

On the positive side a long awaited event occurred when the new Irish-English dictionary finally appeared in July. Edited by Niall Ó Donohú the dictionary took almost twenty years to compile and complements the English-Irish dictionary of De Bhaldraithe which appeared in 1959 (published also as Technological Additions and Corrections to the latter). The new dictionary was warmly welcomed and received good publicity. At £5 it is cheap at the price and may be obtained from An Bopa Leabhar, 6 Bialla Phiaracháin, B.A.C. 2.

Pearse Hutchinson, noted poet (in Irish, English and Catalan) and translator and presenter of the RTE Radio programme (Sun. 7.30 p.m.) *Óró Dúshuagh*, which has featured many interesting items, has been awarded a major Arts Council bursary.

# KERNOW

## SAWNEK - YETH AN WERYN!

26ves mys Methaven a'n vledhen-ma, y fu genys map dhe Grystan Fudge (myrgh Len Truran nep yn Scryvnyas Meybon Kernow) a vu hynwys Perran. Yh esa wians dhe Vy Truran gorra notyan a'n genys y'n paperyow a'n le hag of a assays gorra neppyt y'n "West Briton". Mes an paper a'n naghas ha sconya a bryntya travyt y'gan yeth Kernowek.

"Y tegoth dhyn degemeress Sawnek avel yeth an pow", yn meth an "West Briton".

Lemmayn, deryzadow an dra re bu danvonyss dhe'n Race Relations Board ha dhe'n FUEN mes ny won mar pyth dhe les an gwynans-ma. Y tegoth dhe bup lennor nep a gar an yeth Kernowek sconya a brena an "West Briton" er na vo chanjyess brys an penscryter. Mar redyough-why paperyow erel yn Kernow y hyllyr calos Kernowek yuna pup seythenn - ytho, prag na y'n an "West Briton" aga sewya.

Yma lennoryon Kernowek owh ennessya pup bledhen hag y tegoth dhe'n "West Briton" degemeress hemma.

[Summary: The local Cornish newspaper, The West Briton, appears to be following a deliberate policy of refusing to publish anything in the Cornish language.] Tony Casey.



There were not many outright nationalists among them but when these Cornish tin miners travelled to London to demonstrate over the closure of their mines (see CARN 21 & 22) they chose to take the St. Piran's Banner as a symbol of their Cornishness. [Photo by John Peck]

## LANGUAGE REPORT

Seventy four years ago one of the most prominent personalities of the language revival, Henry Jenner, said, "Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish? The question is a fair one, the answer is simple. Because they are Cornishmen." The significant work in that quote is simple. Applying the word simple to the learning of the language we find that many people are attempting to obtain a fundamental grasp of Kernowek (the Cornish language) just because they are Cornish or nationalists or both, but generally they are not finding the task simple. Some people will say the extra effort needed, because of the present teaching methods, will make the end goal more worthwhile and anyone really serious about the language will overcome all odds to learn it. No doubt those who say that are correct and in another 50 years Kernow will still only possess a dozen or so fanatical work perfect Cornish speaking bookworms. It can be imagined that many potential Cornish speakers have and are picking up beginners books only to have their eyes bludgeoned by the

English language in its most horrifying state with lessons talking about the 3rd person singular of the preterite tense and the 3rd person sing. of the appropriate tense of the aux. verb 'gu!' followed by the infinitive of the principle verb . . . straight down where they found it and Kernowek will be the loser. This is why books such as the newly published "Cornish is Fun" from Y Lolfa by Richard Gendall is so welcome on our book stalls. Edited by Tim Saunders it teaches the basic Cornish phrases through cartoons like its counterpart in the Welsh language. Criticisms of this new booklet have been about the spelling but as it was printed in Wales many of the mistakes (?) could have been due to the printers, used to printing Welsh issues, making simple errors such as, cadair for cadar. A more important criticism has come from several language teachers, concerning the basic grammar in the book, but as some of these teachers themselves do not agree on the subject it does not diminish the importance of the book as a valuable introduction to Kernowek.

Another important step has been taken recently in the language struggle: Paul Johns and Julian Holmes of Liskeard with John King of Carnkie nr. Redruth initiated a scheme for a paper in Kernowek for next summer's C.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education) examination. They at first had difficulty in persuading a school to submit a scheme. However Redruth School, where John King has been taking a lunchtime sixth-form class and a group of the fourth-form in Kernowek, is offering two 1 1/2 hour written papers and a 15-20 minute oral test. It is hoped now that pupils from other schools can take the examination at Redruth.

An indirect help to the Cornish movement as a whole is the erection of bilingual Cornwall-Kernow (the latter beneath) on border roads into Kernow. The only major crossings to be without them will be the Tamar Road Bridge and the Torpoint Ferry crossing. The authorities have turned down a request for a sign to be erected on the Cornish side of the bridge because another sign in addition to the direction signs already present would be confusing to the motorist. All the bilingual signs have been paid for by voluntary donations and it is unlikely to be long before one is erected near to the Ferry landing point.

The only weekly newspaper circulated in Kernow that has refused to accept bilingual Cornish/English adverts is being taken to the European Court of Human Rights and the Race Relations Board. No militant action has yet been taken against the offices of the paper, "The West Briton", but if Meybon Kernow's complaint to the Euro. Court and Race Board fail to make an impression on the newspaper a different approach may be necessary. It seems that the opposition to Cornish being printed comes from the Business manager, the Editor himself seems to be indifferent to Kernowek. J.A.T.

## WESTMINSTER FIGHT

Nationalist prospective parliamentary candidates for the Westminster seats are working towards an October election. There have been several changes to the Meybon Kernow line up with Len Truran switching from the St. Ives constituency (roughly the West Penwith and Lizard peninsular) to Falmouth-Camborne constituency, within which he lives, to take the place of Richard Jenkin who wished to step down as candidate. Colin Murley has stepped into the St. Ives vacancy where he lives and works and is fortunate in having a young and active group of helpers. Colin Murley was once an official M.K. Cornwall "County" Councillor. M.K.'s 3rd candidate is Roger Holmes, in the Bodmin Constituency, who now has opposition from the

National Front as well as from the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties. Roger Holmes is at present an M.K. District Councillor. Dr. James Whetter will be contesting the Truro seat for the Cornish Nationalist Party. The present M.P. for Truro is the Liberal David Penhaligon who has a small majority of 164 against the Tory. Dr. Whetter has twice fought the Truro seat but as an M.K. which originally had a C.N.P. candidate but very little has been heard from Dr. Peter Flanagan. This seat is to be contested by the other of the two National Front candidates in Kernow. I.T.W.

**THE CORNISH BANNER:** organ of the Cornish National Party, quarterly, 40pp. Price 40p Subscription £1.50p (Overseas £2.00). Treliapan, Gorran, St. Austell Cornwall. Articles outlining the Party's policies, about life in Cornwall, book reviews, letters etc.

## ASSOCIATION FOR LEGAL JUSTICE END 7-DAY DETENTION

The Association for Legal Justice is sponsoring a campaign against the inhuman interrogation methods at Castlecreagh, where totally innocent persons can be held, cooped up in a cell for SEVEN DAYS, deprived of every amenity, forbidden visits by anxious relatives, and even worse, denied any advice whatsoever from their lawyers.

In this campaign, the ALJ confidently appeals for widespread support to abolish Section 12 of the Act which allows all this. We appeal to all concerned persons, political parties, clubs and associations, to show they care and sign and gather signatures, to the below.

## CAMPAIGN TO ABOLISH SECTION 12

We, the undersigned, consider that to hold a Person under interrogation conditions such as obtain at Castlecreagh Interrogation Centre, and others, for SEVEN DAYS is inhuman and seriously detrimental both to his Legal Rights and to his Health and overall Personality.

We, therefore, call upon the Secretary of State, Mr. Roy Mason, to cease using Section 12 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act immediately, and to take the necessary steps in Parliament to have it REPEALED.

We demand this in the name of Justice and Humanity.

Please forward signatures to: The ALJ, Ard Scollie, 25 Divis St., Belfast. [Tel. 616424]

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

New pamphlets include "Labour Record on Scotland" by the late Douglas Young (25p) with a detailed story of the Labour Party's pledges to Scots in favour of Home Rule. These promises were for a status equal to Canada or Australia, as in Rev. James Barr's Bill introduced on behalf of the Scottish home-rulers in May 1927.

Brother Zabdell: A Plea for Ecumenism and Nationalism (925p) is a study of the conflict between undeveloped and overdeveloped countries.

Scotland and War: International Policy of Self-Government (80p), by Archie Lamont, explains why small nations should refuse to be treated as pawns in the struggle for power by large countries who have out-run their resources.

Among other works available is A Bibliography of the Scottish Nationalist Movement (1844-1973), by K.C. Ffarr of St. Andrew's University. It contains nearly 800 references, and is invaluable to all home-rulers and cultural revivalists at the modest price of 75p.

All the above are sent post free with list of other 18 publications from The Scots Secretariat, Jena Cottage, Carlops, by Pentric, Midlothian, EH34 8NP, Scotland.

# MANNIN

## POBLAGHT VANNIN?

A Manx Republic? Since it is the present position that all Acts passed in Tywald must receive the Royal Assent (and be promulgated at Tywald on 5th July) before passing into law permanently, this necessitates the over-seeing of such Acts by the Privy Council on which there are no Manx members; that is to say, that all Acts of Tywald are overseen by an 'authority' in which the Isle of Man is not represented. Since this procedure is inextricably tied up with the function of the English monarch in his/her capacity as Lord of Man - not King/Queen - then the removal of this procedure would necessarily result in the removal of the office of the Lord of Man.

Tamain er chlashtyn ram mychione yn clat-veih (birch) ayns ny shiahteyn ram chaie, dy vel ram deiney ayns Mannin gaccan dy vel yn ymiran red v'oe dy chammal shee ayns yn Eilan goll sheene y Swans. Agh ayns firtynas, myr ta fys ec dy choollay pheagh niah, shoh aght da ny Sostnee dy gheddyn greome glenn er gloon er yn Eilan. Ec y traa t'ayn, maidjey rish dagh Aght t'er ngoll trood Tyn-yaal, shegin da Chlarn Vannin dagh Aght shoh y llaak roish my vod eh coondit myr Aght leigholl ayns yn Eilan, as er y fa dy shegin da dagh Aght shoh goll fo noollay yn Choomal kiartys ec ny Americaneis dy yeaghtyn harrish dagh red ta ny Mannineis son jannoo. Foddee dy beagh sileh ayns cordalyss rish shoh myr she ayra jeh Reeriaght Unnanyssit va Eilan Vannin, kiartys ec ny Americaneis dy yeaghtyn harrish dagh red ta ny Sostnee son jannoo. Myr she yn choish va red shen, by ghiall dy bee ny Sostnee gaccan dy lajer no echee. Siktart eh dy ghra dy re Chlarn Vannin Ben-Rein ny Sostnee, as myr t'eh ymmyrchagh son coondell dy ve ayn, blisagh eh ve er ny jannoo seose jesh Mannineis. Agh er y fa magh re shea yn choosha, as managh vel dy llooar sileh ayns Mannin jeant magh jesh y staid shoh, myr tamain gearree geddyn reh rish poyr ny Sostnee dy reallly arrey orrin yn aght shoh, shegin ny kianglitys shoh y vrishe. Red elley, is poyr ec ny Sostnee dy caroo leighyn son ny Mannineis, er dy jannoo ny Mannineis korcheenagh roo, as t'ad aghi shoh y jannoo trood yn kianglitys ta edjyr Mannin as yn Cheroon Hant-nagh. Tamain coontey dy re nee-ghemocratalagh yn red shoh dy vel ny Sostnee aghi jannoo shoh er y fa magh vel olley ny peagh erbee ayns reilitys Hoslyn dy loayrt ayns ayn leih. Cha nod y theid va ayn er ny orr dy vel reilitys ayn hene

ny reilitys ayn as dy huiltym atagh leah ny Sostnee, ny bi dy vrisheh ercooyl vey airt ny Sostnee dy bollagh, as myr tamain laccal geddyn vey rish yn aght ta ny Sostnee jeral red dy jannoo shen jeanlagh, ta shen dy ghra, oit Chlarn Vannin as dy chur er bun poblaght vese ayns seunplaghagh (independence) vey roil ny Sostnee. Ta shen chaisys busraghtagh ec ny Mannineis dy roil ere erbee peagh t'ad laccal dy reil harystoo, as ta'n carra ec manys blagh peagh erbee, ny ree erbee, reil ayns Mannin goll coondalys ny Mannineis. T'eh orrin niak dy chrisaghtey ny Mannineis er y raad shoh. Er y fa dy vel ny Mannineis corree rish ny Sostnee niah maidjey rish y clat-veih, as dy vel dy llooar sileh ny reilitys ny theidyn ta kianglitys Mannin as blaghtagh ny dy vrisheh ny theidyn ta kianglitys Mannin as Sostnee, shen yn chlad chomrad er y raad. She orraghty jey Glaysaght Phoblachtagh Vannin (The Manx Republic)

(Movement) dy vrasnaghey as dy ghréesaghey cieghyn ayns y pobble dy cheau ersooy leighalysar erbes oc' rish y chroola (sheer job vocar) as dy chooney hien Poblacht Vannin y chur er bun. 55C.

#### CRISIS POINT FOR MANNIN

Kippers, tailless cats, and a queer object with three legs but no body and no head - these are the mental images which are most likely to flash into the mind when Mannin is mentioned - which in fact it almost never is, because that name, in common with others by which it has been known throughout its history, would only be recognizable to a tiny proportion of its present population. Now it's the Isle of Man, not even with the traditional double "n"; just a humanoid version of the Isle of Dogs in the Thames at London. Come to think of it, if our little dump ever came to be re-named, the latter label would be singularly appropriate: it would be difficult to imagine anything more lawning and spaniel-like than the cringing subserviency of the whole community, politicians and public alike, when confronted in recent years with the imminent loss of their traditional homeland. No, no, they weren't hunted and shot to extermination like the Tasmanian aborigines; they weren't even beaten by force of arms like the American Indians. Such extreme measures weren't called for. They just lay down and died.

To some nationalists, extremist fanatics if you like, the end-result of the Manx Government's policy of stimulating a flagging economy by encouraging the immigration of wealthy new residents, was at least vaguely disturbing. And events have justified them. Mannin has always been subjected to the constant drip-drip of small-scale immigration, and it was right and proper that it should be so. Stagnant pools are unwholesome; in the end they stink. The incoming adventurers did us a lot of good; they roused the natives from their laziness and torpidity; they opened our windows on a wider world.

It was only later that it was realized that the newly-opened and newly-cleaned windows seemed somehow to be fitted with bars. To drop metaphor and come to hard facts, it soon became obvious that this was a very different kettle of fish to the individual immigrant of earlier times, stepping diffidently ashore and vanishing quietly into some crack in the brickwork - many of them like my late friend Mr. George Clementson, to emerge later more Manx than the Manx themselves. These new arrivals were here to stay, to buy, to take over, to rule, - and how!

This is a rather long-winded background to the fundamental change in the demographic structure of the island's population, particularly in the vital respect of land-ownership. Manx land-tenants have always been mobile, but on the whole over the centuries the land has remained in local hands. Now all that has changed; we've sold out, and the initiative has passed out of our hands.

Mac Vannin has never really succeeded in mounting an effective campaign against a policy which it quite rightly regards as a serious threat to our survival as a community. And recently its troubles were compounded and intensified by the sudden and totally unexpected breakaway of a substantial section of the Executive to form a rival organisation, the Manx National Party. (MacVannin's sub-title was "The Manx Nationalist Organisation".) So where we formerly had one slender straw we now have two twice as thin. How this manoeuvre is expected to strengthen the nationalist leverage on our government I wouldn't know.

I'm open to admit that I can't make head or tail of the reason for this storm, which blew up at an Executive meeting out of a clear sky, and simmered for a whole summer before it burst. It concerned the involvement of some

of its western members in the AMA (Anti-Militarist Alliance) an organisation which opposed the use of Celtic territories as training grounds for the British Army. Well, fair enough as a nationalist gesture, but not really a very urgent priority for a movement which so far has not succeeded in putting the skids under a single fat-bellied speculator, let alone an armed soldier. But it stirred up an astonishing row, and tore the movement apart. I can't help feeling that it was in some way a put-up job, an excuse to relieve some personal antipathies and temperamental clashes which had developed in the membership. Certainly I see practically no difference in the policies of the two factions.

The only reasonable explanation I can see is that the breakaway party is attempting to placate the growing uneasiness of the native Manx by the presence that a more reasonable approach is more likely to achieve at least something. But that won't wash. The steady frittering away of our resources, with the newcomers digging in and strengthening their position day by day, precludes any such facile solution to what is surely to become a national emergency for the island's people. L. V. Crellin.

#### MANX LANGUAGE SOCIETY

Beginners courses in spoken Manx (with cassettes), records of native Manx speakers, grammars, dictionaries, calendars and various other books. Price List on request. All available from the Sec., Mrs. Audrey Ainsworth, 3 Glenorchery Road, Douglas, Mannin.

#### ANTI-MILITARIST ALLIANCE

The incidents of some time ago involving British and NATO forces exercising on the Hebridean Island of Harris, (reported in the Guardian) give credence to the Anti-Militarist Alliance attitude that the British Ministry of Defence regard the Celtic countries as their personal exercise playground.

In the incidents reported on Harris cars were stopped and residents were ordered about at gun-point. Last year similar incidents took place in Mann and of course nothing was said about it.

In the Western Isles it appears the Civil administration are not so timid as our own and intend taking action, reports having been prepared by the local police and passed on to the Procurator Fiscal.

The Anti-Militarist Alliance has already had reports this year of incidents involving the U.K. military in Mann and it is important for any residents involved to report these so as to embarrass Mann's neo-colonial administration into taking action.

Anti-Militarist Alliance notes that assurance given recently, about the operation of helicopters in the Jurby area have already been broken, a situation which must make it quite clear that such assurances are worthless.

The activities of the U.K., and the French military, seem to infringe more and more on the freedom of the Celtic Nations. The time is surely come for a strong campaign against this by, not only the League, but the differing national and cultural movements throughout the Celtic world. J. B. Moffatt, Sec.

**FILM SHOW:** The Manx Branch of the League organised the showing of three films on Ireland in July in Peel. The films made by Gael Linn some years ago were "Mise Éire", a historical film on the cultural and national revival in Ireland covering from the 1890's to the 1917 General Election, "An Tine Bheo" about the 1916 Rebellion, and "Dubliners - Sean and Nua" contrasting modern and old Dublin. The attendance although small appeared to enjoy the show and found the films interesting.

#### CELTECA, THE PROMISE OF CELTIC ART

Celteca represents my first triptych to illustrate a new means and revolutionary direction in adapting Celtic Art to the fine arts medium of painting, using the analytical and synthetic process of Celtic coinage and its later Cubist exemplars. Triads in traditional Celtic formulation being consistent with Celtic style, the triptych format is not without precedent.

In the first stage, a relatively realistic rendition of the most mundane of subject matter, deliberately chosen for its "down to earth quality", one notes a simple 12 x 18 inch ink illustration of Cornish mining, or any mining for that matter. Excessive details have been eliminated, with an emphasis on dark and light pattern and shape with movement. Note the grid system indicating the photo to drawing transfer. The second, or middle panel, shows how this first panel could be translated into a Celtic style.

Rendering the second panel is the key, for the process involves primarily an analysis of the top drawing into traditional Celtic shapes of a curvilinear nature, a light (dominant), medium, and dark pattern being established with attention to a centre of interest. Border band elements derive from Hallstatt geometry. This panel has been reversed, left to right, for contrast, india ink and mechanical drawing instruments and tone adhering paper completing the job.

In the last panel, or bottom synthetic stage, complementary colours would be added, using the casein or opaque water colour medium, with orange being dominant, on the canvas board. More curvilinear elements were added to help the design where needed.

The process is capable of excellent results employing two-stage painting on photo paper: first a black and white enlargement (photo) is made of the ink drawing; then acrylic or tempera is used on a laquer coating of the photo enlargement; finally oil may be then used as a second or over-painting layer. Next a dulling or matte finish spray is added, followed by the taking of a 35mm. slide for later reproduction such as colour xerox or prints.

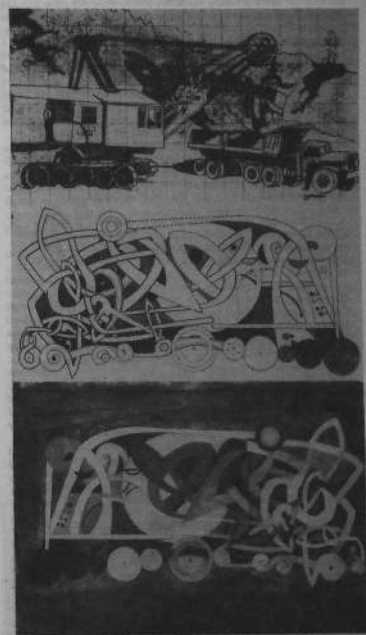
The content symbolized includes the idea of the "union of opposites", cosmic creation as self-generating, linear schema, and incidentally the natural shape models (e.g., entomological of mining machinery, not to mention an echo of Celtic transfiguration mythology. Ian Bân.

#### CARN 21 - A SPECIAL ISSUE

The 21st issue of CARN contains 9 pages of poetry in all the Celtic languages with accompanying translations into English. It also contains reviews of the national situation in each of the Celtic countries viewed over the last 10 to 15 years. These should be useful for all those seeking knowledge on the Celtic countries as they provide a synopsis of how the national movement stands in each country. Copies are still available at 30p, plus postage, from any of the secretaries listed on the back page.

#### Irish Classes in Toronto:

Since last fall, the Irish Canadian Aid & Cultural Society of Toronto has been holding weekly Irish language classes, using the first booklet of the Bunús Cainte series (published by Gael-Linn) as a text. The teacher is Nuala Lynch, a native speaker of Irish from Baile Bhaire in the West Cork Gaeltacht. The classes have been so successful that they will be continued in the fall and there will likely be a second class for beginners as well. Readers of CARN in the Toronto area who are interested in the classes should contact the Society at 699 Lansdowne Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada M6H 3Y9. Peter Flosznik.



CELTECA

by Ian Bân.

**INDEX TO 'CARN' ISSUES 1-20** is now available. The index is ordered according to the Celtic country the material pertains to with subheads for each country of Political, Cultural, and General. Material applying to two or more countries or of an overall or general is similarly listed in a General Section. We feel sure this will be useful to our members and readers, to libraries, and to all interested in following Celtic and inter-Celtic affairs. Available from General or National Secretaries (see p.24 for addresses) at 20p, postage free.

● Help to cover the expenses of the preliminary hearing of the International Tribunal on Britain's presence in Ireland by buying tickets (books of 10 at 10p each - available from C.L. general secretary) for a Draw (£100 worth of books or record tokens) due to take place on 28-9-'78 at 182 Upper Street, London N1.

### EIRE AGUS MANAINN

Manannán Mac Lir  
Dia na mara  
ag teacht thar sáile  
ar chosa in airde;  
i dtráib an ghlaisir,  
in aimsir Fhionn  
Mhic Cumbail in Almhain,  
chun Gaell a shaothradh  
ó oile is náire,  
ó Chaoil an Iarainn  
Mac Rí Theasáile  
Tús a gceangail -  
Eire is Manainn;  
Gara fada buan é  
nase an dChais.

### EIRE AND MANNEN

Manannan Mac Lir  
God of the Sea  
coming over the waves  
galloping,  
In the time of trouble,  
in the time of Fionn  
Mac Cumhail in Almhain;  
to save the Irish  
from evil and shame,  
from Caol an Iarainn  
the son of the King of Thessaly.  
The beginning of their bond -  
Eire and Mannin;  
Long may it last  
the tie of culture.

Tá an dán seo bunaithe ar an seánseál "Bodach an Chóta Lachtna". Sa seánseál seo, bagraíonn Caol an Iarainn go gceangailfí Eire is íosl chois muna bífuil domhann ann a sháróidh é mar reathaf. Tagann Manannán agus beirann sé an bus ar Chaoil.  
(Based on the story "Bodach an Chóta Lachtna". Manannán, in the guise of a "man of the roads" defeats Caol in a race. Caol has threatened to subjugate the country if he wins.)  
Seán Ó Duinn.

**GREEK AND CELTIC**, by Brian O'Connell. Vantage Press Inc., 516 W 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001. \$8.95. 160 pages.

This newly published book deals with the kinship between the ancient Greeks and Celts. For a long time scholars have maintained that among the Indo-European languages there was a special relationship between the Baltic and the Celtic ones. This theory was advocated a.o. by the French linguist A. Meillet and accepted by Arzel Even in his very detailed Breton language History of the Celtic Languages. Others like Leo Weisgerber and C.J.S. Marstrand strongly contested its validity. We Bretons who resented the way the Roman civilisation was extolled in the French education system in its drive to suppress our culture felt that it contributed to tie our country more firmly to France. It is therefore of great interest to us to examine how convincingly B. O'Connell has presented his case for a much closer Greek-Celtic relationship.

He has gathered a wealth of evidence which covers 90 pages, contrasting numerically the similarities between the Greek and Celtic languages on one hand and those between the Baltic and Celtic languages on the other. For readers who are not familiar with comparative linguistics and with the Greek alphabet, that section is rather arduous, but if one is interested in knowing the concepts hidden in the roots of ordinary words the comparison of the numerous Greek and Celtic terms listed is very instructive. The author does not rely on linguistics alone for his demonstration. After dealing with the question of how near geographically the two ancient peoples might have been in prehistoric times, he enumerates many resemblances in their recorded racial characteristics, festivals, manners, political systems. From their literatures he draws striking parallels and even establishes correspondences in their histories, while showing contrasts with the culture and history of the Romans and the English. Some of the points are sketched and the impression remains that the material was too hastily edited. The scarcity of references to Welsh traditions is surprising. A greater use of Brittonic terms could also have been made in illustrating the kinship in vocabulary. O'Connell is obviously

more at home with the Gaelic sources. The multiplicity of his evidence is overwhelming. And even if one is not sufficiently erudite to check it, his book will be very well worth reading for those who want to go to the roots of our nationalities. The wealth and depth of Irish culture (shown also in Vivian Mercier's "The Irish Comic Tradition") can make the other Celtic nations envy Ireland, but it is also dismaying to know how superficially this prestigious heritage is presented to secondary school and university students. A.H.

### PAN GAELIC ? OR.....

It is good to see that an issue of such importance and urgency has been re-introduced into the pages of CARN. I am referring to the renewed plea for a common language among the Gaelic-speaking people voiced by Seán Ó Duinn in CARN 22. As regards a "Pan-Gaelic" language, or as I will refer to it here, as "Standard Spoken Gaelic", its necessity, importance and desirability cannot be overestimated. Toward this goal I think that Mr. Ó Duinn's suggestion for a simplified colloquial form of Irish is excellent. However, as he himself indicated, there already exists a simple, colloquial form of Irish, or more accurately, several simple colloquial forms, if we bear in mind that the Gaelic spoken in Gaeltacht-Choice (i.e. in Connemara) and in the Gaeltacht of Gaeltacht-Choice (i.e. in Connemara) are substantially different from each other. And both of these are at variance with the historical literary language cultivated and preserved up through the flowering of the Munster poets of the 17th century, as that language had been growing steadily apart from the colloquial Irish of the common people from as early as the time of Cormac MacCuilcannan's Glossary in the late 8th century.

Concerning Mr. Ó Duinn's specific suggestions, I agree totally with his opinion that English be permitted to exert a greater influence upon the above-mentioned "Standard Spoken Gaelic". I would like, however, to add the following amendments: First, that Gaelic should not be afraid to borrow English words where no suitable native Gaelic word exists. Borrowing an established English word that is intelligible to all is certainly preferable to coining a new Gaelic word that means nothing to anyone save the academics who invented it. Secondly, if one of the other Gaelic dialects has an equivalent, it should be borrowed and given preference to the English word; e.g. Scottish writers should use either *minn* or *oid* instead of the Gaelicized *tidsear*.

In response to Mr. Ó Duinn's suggestion of taking the "simplest and most direct forms" of the language I again find myself in complete agreement, but in this case I disagree with the methodology indicated by his example concerning the prefixing of *an*-: *an*-*í* vs. *an*, *an*, in which he favours the second form where the prefix *t* is eliminated, and he cites Manx usage to substantiate his choice. It seems to me that since there are three main dialects of Gaelic we would do better to develop any sort of standard spoken Gaelic using a majority or "two against one" approach, i.e. since both the Irish and Scottish dialects have preserved the prefixing of *t* this represents the majority of the Gaelic speakers and therefore retention of the *an*- form should be the prescribed course. On the other hand, the negative form *cha* would be preferred over *ní* because *cha* is found in Scottish, Manx and Donegal Irish, the southern Irish dialect being clearly in the minority in this case.

The next point deals with the elimination of the genitive case, which is in reality merely the tip of a wider declension system iceberg. The suggestion that the special form of the genitive be eliminated and that irregularly declined nouns such as *bean* be declined regularly is very good, and I believe should be extended to eliminate the declension system from any standardised form altogether. This would not be as radical or destructive as it may sound, since the old Celtic declension system once operant in Welsh broke down

centuries ago, and the Welsh language gets along just fine without it, and besides that, the declension system only survives vestigially in Scottish Gaelic anyway.

Another highly commendable suggestion was that of using auxiliary verbs with verbal nouns, in other words, making use of periphrastic tenses as opposed to inflected verb conjugations. This is already the rule in colloquial Welsh and Scottish Gaelic has developed strongly in this direction as well.

As regards Mr. Ó Duinn's recommendation for separable forms of the prepositional pronouns, however, I must say that I strongly disagree with it. To tamper with the prepositional pronouns would be to sabotage the heart and soul of Gaelic, indeed Celtic idiom generally, since the prepositional pronouns are a vital and universal feature of all of the Celtic languages, and play an integral part in many of their most characteristic idioms.

In addition to the above comments I would like to make the following recommendations which I feel would aid in the creation of a workable "Standard Spoken (and written) Gaelic" language:

- 1) The establishment of a task force composed of Irish, Scottish, and Manx members whose job would be to work out a "Standard Spoken Gaelic" using the above-mentioned "two-against-one" principle to decide matters of grammar, vocabulary, idiom, and usage.
- 2) Develop a single series of instructional materials based upon the resolved-upon language structure and work toward the establishment of a universally co-ordinated Gaelic education program in Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man, which would utilise the "Standard Spoken Gaelic" material as its primary teaching tool.
- 3) The compilation and publication of a universal Gaelic dictionary. This would not be a Gaelic-English dictionary, but a dictionary of Gaelic words drawn from all dialects and explained in simple, straight-forward Gaelic of a kind that would permit mutual intelligibility.
- 4) A unified, simple, and most importantly, sensible spelling system should be developed. There is no reason why most of the words in the various dialects could not be spelled in the same way; e.g. *uisce*, *uisge*, and *uishtey* could all be spelled *uisge*. The Manx speakers could still retain their own colloquial pronunciation reflected in their spelling, but in writing would employ the standard literary form. This would be analogous to the wide dialect variation that exists in English - here in the States a Bostonian says *car* but writes *car*; a New Yorker says *terlet* but writes *toilet* just the same; and midwesterners write *wash* but say *wörsh*.
- 5) The establishment of an international Radio Gaeltacht that would broadcast using the "Standard Spoken Gaelic" as its primary medium. Individual features could be broadcast using the individual dialects as well, however. This would enable the separate dialects to retain their integrity and individuality, while still encouraging the development of the "Standard Spoken" language.

I realise that there would be many obstacles to be overcome in the implementation of these recommendations. But whether these suggestions or better ones are resolved upon, I feel certain that "Standard Spoken Gaelic" can cease to be a hypothetical dream and become a most welcome reality.

Gerard Patrick Jones.

### PERHAPS PAN CELTIC ?

In his article Mr. Ó Duinn writes: "At the moment, I see no possibility at all of providing a Celtic Esperanto derived from the six existing forms. However, it seems quite possible to provide a basic Gaelic language which would provide a lingua franca for the "Q-Celtic" group and

no doubt the same is possible for the "P-Celtic" areas".

For the last three months, I happen to have been playing with the idea of the possible structure for an auxiliary pan-Celtic language based on very simplified grammatical forms, of the type suggested by Mr. Ó Duinn. I should mention also that I have taught foreign languages in one College and one University in this Country, and have been, for more than twenty years, technical and legal translator in a number of languages for a Scientific Research Institute of over 6000 staff members (2,500 of whom are in this town - Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.). I have some working knowledge of the Celtic languages, Manx excepted.

Mr. Ó Duinn must have excellent reasons to state that at the moment he sees no possibility at all of providing a Celtic Esperanto derived from the six existing forms, and also to suggest the development of two different simplified languages, one for each one of the two linguistic Groups. Being unaware of these reasons, I would take the liberty to advance the following suggestions, leaving them to his and your judgement:

Since the need for a common Celtic language is so acute, why not seize the bull by the horns, and construct a grammatically simplified, yet versatile, language containing Q-Celtic as well as P-Celtic elements. Pronunciation and spelling should be simple, clear and easy for all those concerned. The grammar would retain enough of the fundamental flavour of the Celtic languages and manner of speech, and since the original languages offer a sufficient number of prefixes and suffixes, to be judiciously borrowed, a rich and moderately adapted vocabulary could very well be developed, and periodically increased according to the needs. Of course, as Mr. Ó Duinn remarks "it is not as easy as it seems", but the very purpose of designing a handy, unified and unifying implement - if a measure of unification is really desired - would justify the streamlined shape of the instrument.

For the purpose of developing a glossary or dictionary beyond the range of the basic grammar, a consensus should be reached as to the suitable roots to be selected from the different Celtic languages spoken and written today. Roots equivalent, or nearly equivalent, in the six languages, should be chosen first, and be given the spelling and pronunciation suitable for the Pan-Celtic language. Then the selection would continue by extracting further needed roots from the six languages, possible in proportion to the size of the population of the respective Celtic Areas, and also with due regard to the simplicity and adaptability of the roots thus further selected.

Tentatively, some of the Pan-Celtic sentences might read and sound as drafted further below:

Pronunciation: a = tap    á = ball    c = k  
e = bet    é = say    ch = lock  
i = tin    í = alien    s = gall  
o = stop    ó = rise    sh = ss  
u = pun    ú = pool    sh = sh

Verb endings: Tár = to give, Imperative singular = tár,  
plural = tárta. (Only the pronouns indicate the person.)  
Present: tár    Past: tár as    Future: táród  
Conditional: tárin    Present participle: o tár (or before a vowel: og obur = working)    Past participle: tárú

Text:  
To a man were two sons.    And the younger said to his father:  
BEAS EG FER DÁ MAB.    HAG ADURTAS AN ÓGA DE HE TAD  
Father, give to me the goods which must be my part.  
Á TAD, TÁR DE MÉ AN MADE A    TLE BE MO LOD.

And the father divided the goods between them (the two sons)  
HAG ROAS AN TAD    AN MADE EIDER    IED (AN DÁ MAB

and a few days afterwards, the son younger gathered  
HAG NEBUD DEZE IAD. DASTUMAS AN MAB OGA  
his goods, and departed to a country far, and he  
HE MADE, HAG IMHACHTAS SE GO TIR PEL, HAG  
wasted his share of goods, living with dissipation.  
SCEPAS SE HE LOD MADE, O BEV LE RAGERN.  
Changing the first line of the above text into the future,  
AN OGA DE HE TAD. . .

A conditional sentence like "I would write you a letter, if  
it were possible" would read: ME SCREVIN LITIR DE SIV,  
MAR BEIN E FEDIR; and a singular imperative: Speak Pan-  
Celtic with me: LAVARU EDERKELTIC LE ME, and in the  
plural: LAVARU EDERKELTIC LE SIN.  
He was working in the garden, while mother was teaching in  
school - BEAS SE OG OBUR IN AN GARD ENFAD BEAS  
MADUR O KELEN IN AN SKOL.

Naturally, you need to arm yourself with a measure of  
benevolence to read what might sound simply barbarous at  
first, but PAN-CELTIC, developed along these or similar  
lines, might prove to become an easy and pleasant bridge for  
all those of good will. The above, of course, is very sketchy.  
Yours sincerely, Daniel K. Dreyer, U.S.A.

#### Other Comments on Pan Gaelic

I think that a Pan-Gaelic & Celtic Language would  
indeed help those who cannot master the pure Gaelic lan-  
guages because of idioms and exceptions in Grammar. A  
good book I find for comparing Manx, Irish and Scots is  
"Basic Manx, Irish and Scots Gaelic", by T. P. Healy,  
Graduate Press. J.A. Christie, Strathclyde, Alba.

I am writing to tell you how warmly I agree with the  
proposal put forward in the Summer 1978 number of CARN  
by Sean O Duinn for a basic Pan-Gaelic language. I think  
his is a most encouraging idea and deserves to be followed  
up by all Gaelic linguists. It is for some now to settle down  
to working out such a koine. I feel sure that it will be  
immediately taken up by thousands, that CARN might well  
promote it, even with special editions, as he suggests, and  
that records or tapes should be prepared for teaching it.  
It would encourage rather than discourage study of the  
particular Gaelic tongues. Firmin O'Sullivan [Rome]

Bhf m'fheuin in Albain. Chath m' traimhse gearr sa  
nGaeilteach ann agus t'is aithe agam ar dhaoine go leor a  
bhfuil Gaidhlig na h-Alban acu. Is Gaeilge Eireannach is no  
a labhair me leis na h-Albanach a casadh orm agus thug muid  
a chéile mair a labhair muid go mall.

Ach rud apaisiúil a thug m' faoi deara, tuigeanann  
Albanach Gaeilge i bhfad níos tuisce má labhraítear fíle blas  
Gaeilge seachas le blas Ghaeilge "Bhíle Chliath". D'fear-  
fainn nach dtuigfeadh ceachtar acu a chéile sa bPan-Ghaeilge,  
muran Gaeilge Gaeilge. Seán O'Cuinn (Longhairt)

I would like to express my wholehearted agreement  
with the brilliant proposal of Sean O Duinn for a simplified  
form for the language. I have laboured for 10 years to  
teach myself Irish (without the benefit of a teacher) and it  
has been the most frustrating experience imaginable. I am  
a registered professional nurse and 5 years ago did post-  
graduate work at the Medical University to become a Nurse  
Practitioner (which is like the old time country doctor -  
to work in rural areas that have no medical care). I have  
a good grasp of medical Latin - medical German and spoke  
Spanish well enough to work in the emergency room in a  
New York Hospital in a Spanish-speaking area. Yet - with  
all of my concentrated study - I have only the most rudimentary

grasp of Irish.

I do hope that Mr. Sean O Duinn's suggestion will be  
taken seriously and acted upon - soon! I too, would never  
wish to interfere with the existing literary form, but would  
also like to be able to hope - to read, write and carry on a  
simple conversation in Irish some-day! Mrs. E. Grier.  
\*\* A Welsh correspondent in the course of a letter states  
his annoyance at Welsh (and the other languages) being  
referred to as a dialect. He also finds the idea of a lan-  
guage separate from any one of the existing Celtic cultures  
disturbing.

#### "NO WALLS ON THE SEA"

J. Nolan  
Tim Severin's 'Brendan' Expedition, by reaching New-  
foundland on 26th June, 1977, after an epic season  
under the traditions of Seafaring Prehistory in Western  
Europe. Nothing can be quite the same, ever again.  
Some new things have been shown to be possible fact.

In the past Century few have disputed the existence  
of evidence for an extensive scattering prehistoric past for  
the Celtic peoples, and their predecessors. What could  
be done though, through lack of hard evidence was to  
ignore it all, because certainty was so difficult to find,  
and other reasons existed.

The archaeological record, for sea or land, is not  
complete, but for those who choose to look, what a pro-  
cession can pass in review. On land the Larnian people,  
The Bell Brakers, The Urnfielders, The Hallstatt, The  
La Tenees.

From estuary mud, bog or lakelands, come the  
dugout canoes, the Kentmere and Hedsby boat remains,  
the Golden Brougher Curragh, the Nydam, the Sutton Hoo,  
Osberg and other "ships", many alas only fragmentary  
remains.

They do not concern us here, let us leave them  
reverently aside to be argued over by "The Blues" and  
"The Greens" of archaeology, each convinced, convinc-  
ing, but very impatient of each other at times, and  
totally averse to lay "muddling".  
The work of Thom and others is underlining more  
and more, how far the achievements of those early men  
were superior to what they have been given credit for in  
the past.

Neither does folk-lore square completely with  
archaeological fact, and the curious tales from "The Book  
of Invasions", of Cicala's people, native to Ireland, being  
overcome by Partholan, his people by the followers of  
Nemed, of the same race, whose successors The Firbolgs,  
yielded to the magic of the Tuath-de-Dananns, then under  
Bregon's son, Bh (better known as Miles) came the last  
infux, the scoti or gael. It was to be a long time to the  
Northmen or the Normans, the Rome's Caesars stood in  
between, but never ventured on Irish soil. Why? Why not?

There is one modern (1978/9) voyage to come,  
the Spanish group, from Santiago University in Galicia, will  
sail the "Broogam" replica to Ireland. If successful it  
will support the tales of the "Book of Invasions". We wish  
every success to it, as it will help afresh in dispelling the  
fog of neglect, and in creating a new wave of investigation.

The time scale we have glanced at is rather long and  
much is uncertain. This is why, in the past, scholars  
have taken it in segments and tried to examine one period  
or epoch in more detail. That is where one law lies. The  
whole period and span of events now has an emerging unity.  
An overview is now called for.

Carthage, Rome and Greece, beloved of classicists,  
had their early, middle and late periods. So also it is now  
clear, had the events of Western Europe, in the "Glin-  
Boat Culture Province". It need not concern us just now

how and by what stages a dugout type canoe evolves to a  
"long ship", if it even did, or how the possible parallel  
line of development proceeds from a Boyne Coracle to a  
Dingle Curragh. Important though they be, side roads  
also are the debates on whether the Brougher Curragh had  
a skin, or was a "shell" planked vessel; and did the wood  
and skin traditions of construction merge, or for how long,  
if they even did; as is also the composite-construction  
argument. They were all, likely, contemporaries.

By 54 B.C. Julius Caesar's testimony indicates a  
long history for Western Coast seafaring. He defeated  
the fleet capable Veneti at Sea, in a day long battle. Their  
survivors withdrew to the Northward, we don't know the  
number of such ships, for ships they were. Caesar said  
so. A change of wind defeated them. They could not  
disengage in time. We have only those details Caesar  
gave of the ships of the Veneti of Brittany, but before him,  
they were the Sea Lords of the Atlantic Coast, their near  
neighbours were based in Southern Spain and/or Portugal.  
In the Med., were faced the Carthaginians and Massalia,  
in Southern France. The Phoenicians shrewd men, traded  
with them, after a few pioneering voyages to the "Tin  
Islands". The ships of the Veneti long anti-dated the  
Viking's clinker built masterpieces, the osberg and Gok-  
stad types. What matters is that those early vessels  
existed, in Brittany, around the Tagus, and that on the  
Irish Seas seafaring was done and an early type of sea  
power was floated on an "Atlantic" hull type which the  
"Brendan" and "Broogam" replicas strive to recreate and  
evaluate. They existed, after a long development, and  
the Veneti were defeated, fled north, and much occurred  
in consequence. A new chapter began in these Islands, a  
new sea power emerged in time and may have been one  
cause of the collapse of the Western Roman "Empire".

That is why this writer claims afresh the now all  
too seldom used 19th century privilege of the layman to  
put his idras on paper, because we laymen have allowed  
ourselves, bemused by all the scholarship about, to  
mately remain on the sidelines. It is time to look afresh,  
think anew, try for the overview and risk the bull, book  
and candle exorcisms of the specialists!

World History catalogues the actions of men, and  
their beliefs, true or false. Tom Darcey Magee wrote of  
"The Sea-Divided Gael". He was wrong in this encapsu-  
lated 19th century view of our history. The Sea united  
Gaeldom as much as it divided it, and on it was the road  
to refuge for the Defeated Veneti. They had kin and  
potential allies in Cornwall, Cymru, Mona, Mannin, Eire  
and Western Alba, and a cause to rally them to. They  
very probably went to Cornwall and spent some time plan-  
ning. Then they had to scatter. In the remaining ships  
small parties would seek a new place and friends. There  
they would wait, and hate. With the loss of command of  
the Bay of Biscay, went the trade and profits, as Europe  
and the Med., link were closed to them. In some, prob-  
ably small, fashion their new friends and kin would loose  
also. Their ships would be remarked upon, they would  
build anew, and in groups return to contact those forced  
to remain in Gaul. Rome had the Coastal Trade now, so the  
Veneti levied toll on it. It would be profitable for some,  
and their hosts would notice. They had the means to  
assist the Veneti. Each province King and the Hights (over-  
kings) would solve a perennial problem. They had a way  
to occupy and profit their young men. In those days the  
world beyond Rome's boundaries was a multi-cellular  
society alien to our own today. In the Celtic world the only  
status worth having was won in battle, battle was not easy  
to come by, but the exiled Veneti showed the way. A trend  
developed. When not engaged in the local politics, the

Fianna would seize every chance to raid the Roman shores  
of West Europe. [To be continued]

#### LETTER

I fear to bore Carn readers with discussions about  
socialism. Nevertheless, it seems as though some light  
is dimming through the clouds of ideological and sentimental  
commitments. That social justice in our countries is one  
of the main purposes of our fight will hardly be denied by  
anyone. But I maintain that even this ideal will grow  
nearer if we give a spiritual dimension to our exertions.

Personally I think, like N. Easton, that the best of  
the social features of ancient Celtia (see Old Irish and Old  
Welsh Laws) can be termed socialist - but this cannot  
mean that we just need to regain a lost paradise. I am  
wondering about N. Easton's logic "If we dismiss com-  
munistism... we automatically adhere ourselves to cap-  
italism". Now, where did he fetch such a dilemma?  
At least, in a sound Hegelian-Marxian dialectic he should  
conceive that a theses-antithesis blockage could be  
resolved by a synthesis. But there is no such dialectic,  
and ideological handling of the issues is simply confusing.

"What do they mean by communism?" is a good question.  
What is "communism" for N. Easton? Actually not that  
state-capitalism which enslaves East Europe under the  
nut of the red Moscovian tsars, and which welcomes as a  
hero a Col. Mengistu, red-handed with the fresh blood  
of 1200 (fascist) students. But Moscow holds the flag of  
communism, as well as the Red Khmers, who have killed  
about one-million people and destroyed a millenary cul-  
ture. Are not these anti-human regimes? I am sure  
that N. Easton does not intend to have us red-taped and  
shame-walled in an extended Goulag archipelago. Never-  
theless, he seems to hold "communism" as the positive  
theory underlying his socialist ideal. Anyway, at this  
stage, we have already 3 issues: the power-state com-  
munistism (which R. Green still sees through idealizing  
spectacles), the Anglo-Saxon and French capitalism,  
which keeps us in mercantile chains, and theoretical com-  
munistism, which N. Easton seems to advocate as the only  
alternative to capitalism. The overrating of K. Marx is  
funny. Dozens of other socialist and anarchist theoreticians  
deserve as much attention as this typical Teutonic  
ideologist. There are not 2, nor 3 issues, there are  
dozens of issues, and my point is that we have to develop  
our own way of living - as happy as possible - in our own  
communitarian system.

Please be sure, dear Norman, that this is no "out-  
burst" of whatever kind, nor a subjective prejudice, but  
a well-poised and tempered judgement. I personally took  
care not to reject "communism" because there are too  
many conceptions of it, and a communist ideal is highly  
respectable. K. Marx is an ideologist. This does not  
mean that HE is guilty for what "marxism", to-day, have  
retained of his ponderous work, but that they have made  
of it a dogmatic religion is a fact. If you are fond of  
historians, remember Trotsky, Zinoviev and the Congress  
in London (1903), and look at Georges Marchais' jugglery  
in France. So, don't wonder if you find that for so many  
people the word "communism" is discredited. However,  
this leaves R. Green's faith in his dogmatic religion  
unshaken.

It seems difficult to agree that capitalism could be  
termed a dogmatic religion. Basically, it appears as a  
matter of egoism, the frantic quest for one's own power  
and own pleasure, fitting line with Anglo-Saxon pragmatism  
but thriving also among the power-holding bureaucrats of  
state-capitalism. The opposite to capitalism is not com-  
munistism as actually experimented, it is the SENSE OF  
COMMUNITY (I think that is what N. Easton really calls

for). Nevertheless, there is a hidden dogma underlying the capitalist praxis: predestinarianism, clearly avowed by Calvinism, half-camouflaged in Roman-Catholic Augustinism. According to this dogma, the successful man is evidently blessed, God sides with him, and whatever ruthless means have brought this success, this proves that these means are blessed as well. This we owe to Augustine, the "saint" who bribed civil servants to condemn the Brython Pelagius. But replace "the will of God" with the dialectic "sense of history", and you explain bolshevik ruthlessness. The difference between Marxism on one side, and Roman-Catholicism and Puritanism on the other side is much slighter than generally publicized. All share the same ancestry.

We have to reconstruct our Celtic community. Alien standards, at whatever level, are fetters, hampering our struggle. Get to the ground of the question: we come back to **CELTIC** spirituality.

J. Derouet has well understood that by speaking at this level, I don't dismiss the social question. Anyway, some of our Breton readers may remember that, some eighteen years ago (in one of the first issues of AR VRO) I advocated that the Breton movement should concern itself with the worker movement (this was long before UDB, and I did not find a single contradictor among Breton nationalists).

A last remark about SLP commitments: I wonder about the "fight for a multi-racial Scotland". Personally,

I have too much respect and consideration for my coloured, Arab and Berber friends, their cultures and the nations they belong to, to ever invite them to enter a multi-racial Brittany.  
A. J. Raude.

**DAY TRIPS:** The Manx Language Society had a very successful day trip to Dublin in June. They were welcomed and entertained in Club an Chonradh by members of the Gaelic and Celtic Leagues. A later unofficial trip, if smaller, was equally enjoyable.

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[Continued from page 9]  
more frequently at local levels. Our members put forward the language demands through their trade unions; we support the DIWAN movement for nursery schools through the medium of Breton: our elected representatives press for road signs in Breton; in Brest a (UDB) deputy mayor has asked the council to give financial support to DIWAN; the UDB is affiliated to the Breton Cultural Progressive Front (together with the Socialist Party, the PSU, Ar Falz, Skol an Emsav). We don't rule out the possibility of launching a more systematic and wide-ranging action when the time is favourable. [To be continued.]

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**CARN** is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Áth Cliath 9, Éire, and printed by Blackrock Printers, Blackrock, Co. Dublin. The Editor is 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.