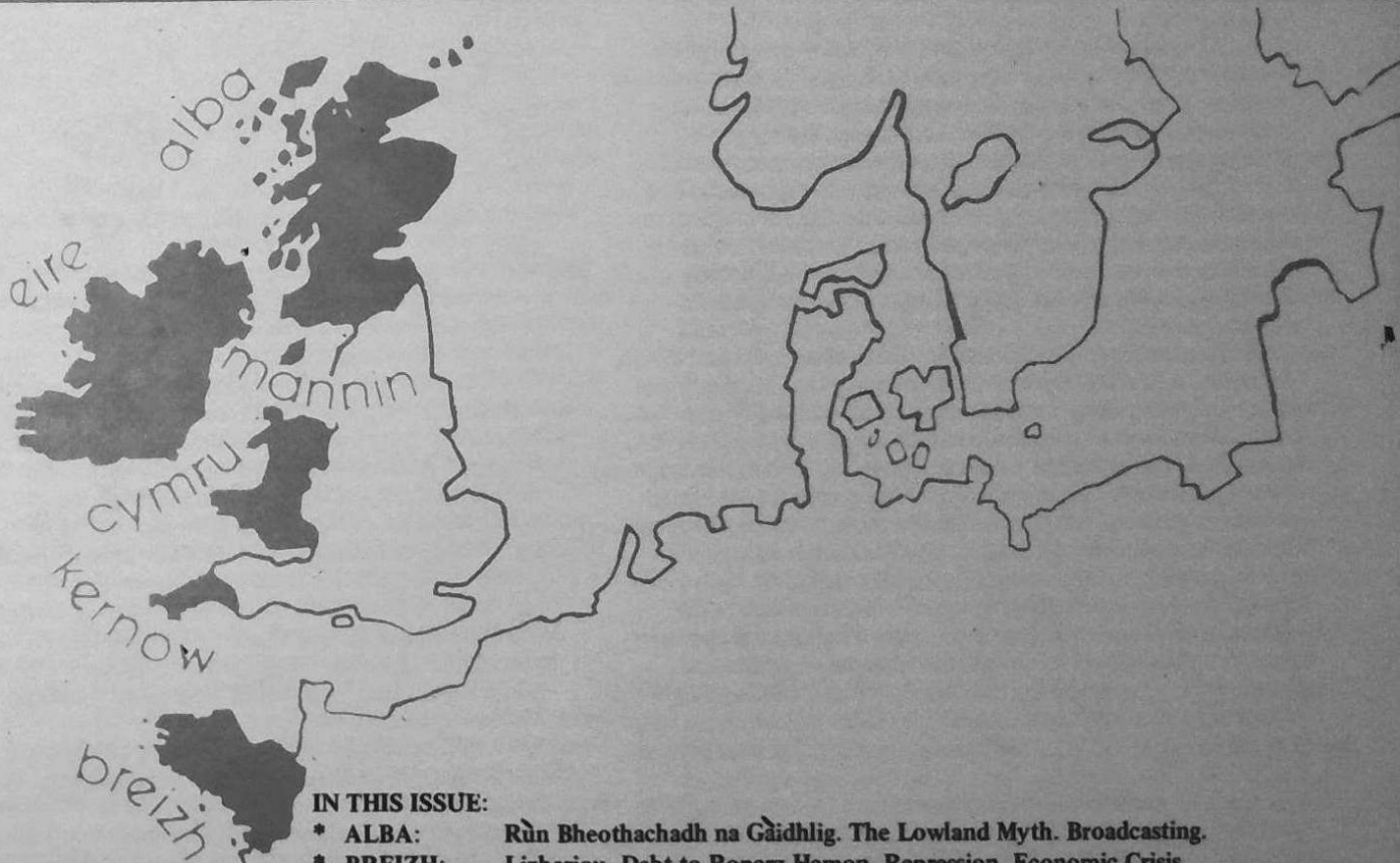


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SPRING
1979
No. 25

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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40p

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

EDITORIAL

DEVOLUTION REFERENDA

The results of the referendum on the proposals to set up a Scottish Assembly in Edinburgh must be seen as a gain for the Nationalist Movement in Scotland. The fact that an overall majority of those who voted voted in favour of the Assembly should under the normal rules of democracy mean that the Assembly, which was to have legislative powers in most areas as well as executive powers would follow immediately. However the requirement that 40% of the overall electorate must declare in favour means in effect that the issue is now back in the melting pot of Westminster politics. It should be remembered that Westminster Prime Minister Callaghan only embarked on Devolution in order to guard Labour seats in Scotland (and Wales) from nationalist inroads. It is possible still, therefore, if an early General Election is to be avoided that the Act setting up the Assembly will be allowed to remain in force.

That the 40% limit was not reached was no doubt a disappointment to those who saw an Assembly as a means of working towards full self determination. If however an Assembly is not forthcoming, the impetus for a full independence policy in the Nationalist movement must be strengthened. Commentators have often written off the Nationalist Party as having reached its peak, but there is no doubt that it can make more gains. Let us hope, whatever the ultimate outcome of the fate of the Assembly, that it will meet the challenge, and make further progress towards independence.

The outcome of the vote in Wales on a proposed Welsh Assembly in Cardiff ensures that such an Assembly will not be set up. The large majority against an Assembly may have come as a surprise to many in the Celtic countries. It would be a mistake however to take the result as a verdict on national feeling in Wales. The proposed Assembly for Wales was to have no legislative functions and was seen by many as a mere talking shop with an additional layer of bureaucrats. The lack of powers for the Assembly hardly aided the cause of the Welsh Nationalist Movement, and an Assembly with proper powers might in fact have gained considerably more support. That devolution from Westminster however is finished for years to come can hardly be doubted. The Welsh Nationalists have a longer and harder fight before them than their Scottish colleagues. We wish them well in that struggle.

In the next issue of CARN we would hope to include articles by Scottish and Welsh correspondents, giving a detailed analysis of the Referendum results and their implications and subsequent developments. The results of the referenda are given below.

ALBA: Total YES vote 1,230,927
Total Total NO vote 1,153,502
Overall "Yes" vote 57.6% of votes cast.
Overall "No" vote 48.4% of votes cast.
Overall "Yes" vote 32.9% of total electorate.
CYMRU: Total YES vote 243,048
Total NO vote 956,330
Overall "Yes" vote 20.3% of votes cast.
Overall "No" vote 79.7% of votes cast.
Overall "Yes" vote 11.9% of total electorate.

TO OUR MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS: please don't postpone further the renewal of your subscription to CARN (see p. 24 for present rates) for 1979.

ALBA

RÙN BHEOTHACHADH NA Gàidhlig

Dh'fhoillsich Pàrtilidh Nàiseanta na h-Alba Blueprint for the Survival of Gaelic a tha ri fhaighinn uapa 6 North Charlotte Street, Dun Eideann EH2 4JH, Alba.

Dh'fhoillsich Domhnull Sùbhart BP agus An t-Ollamh Ruairidh Mac Thòmais (ceann na Roinn Ceilteach ann an Oilthigh Ghlaschu) am Blueprint aca anns an Taigh Onda 'Caban Feidh', Steòrnabhagh, An t-Eilean Leòdhais, Alba, air an deicemh latha de'n Fhaoilleach a' bliadhna seo. Bheachdach Domhnull còir gun robh am program Gàidhlig aig a' Pharlamaid Shasunnach ann an Westminster fada, fada air ais. "Ach cò-dhùil" arsa ean, tha astar mòr ri dhòig gun am bi a' Ghàidhlig ha-hàite dligheach ann an Alba fhathast.

Gun teagamh, sin agad an Fhìrinn, ach chan eil Pàrtilidh sam bith eile de'nach ar canain a' chuideachadh, feumaidh sinn a bhith fìr thollichte leis a' Bhlueprint. "San dama àite faodaidh sinn toirt a' lù air na tha an Pàrtilidh Nàiseanta a' tairginn duinn. An deidh sin, 'san àite eile, chì sinn am bheil tuilleadh dhith oirnn o'n Bhlueprint."

Bhiodh am Pàrtilidh Nàiseanta a' àineadh program a' Bhlueprint thar deich bliadhnaich.

- 1) Bhiodh ar canain fada na's fhàis ri fhaighinn air son luchd-ionnsachaidh. Steidhicheadh colaistean mar Shabhal Mòr Ostaig a' theagas na Gàidhlig. Bho'n nach eil sgòltean a' teagas na Gàidhlig ach teac' teac' 'sa Ghàidhlig (agus teac' 'sa Ghàidhlig ach teac' teac' 'sa Ghàidhlig) bhithidh sinn tollichte a' chluinntinn gum bi an Pàrtilidh Nàiseanta 'ga tairginn ann iomadh sgòltean feadh na h-Alba gu léir. Tha teagas na Gàidhlig cho doirbh ri fhaighinn fhathast bho'n a bha an Rìghaltas namhaid do'n chànain fad iomadh linn ann an latha an duigh.
- 2) Bhiodh strèin reidid Gàidhlig ann, a' craobh-sgoileach feadh na h-Alba gu léir. Chan eil ach nàrr a' thèid a' h-uile latha air VHF/FM. Bhiodh VHF/FM Gàidhlig ionaidail ann fhathast mar an latha an duigh cuideachd. Bhiodh ionaidail a' thèid TV Gàidhlig a' h-uile seachdain. Ach mhòr gum bheil Gàidhlig air TV an dràs.
- 3) Bhiodh moid-lagha 'sa Ghàidhlig feadh na fìor Ghaidhealtachd. Thu iar 'sa Bheurla gu léir an dràs.
- 4) Ard Leabharann Gàidhlig 'sa Ghaidhealtachd.
- 5) Roinn Gàidhlig ann an Roinn an Fhoghlaim an chuidicheadh modhannan teagas na Gàidhlig.
- 6) Acadamaidh Gàidhlig mar a' tha ag na Frangais leis an Académie Française a' cumail na Frangais a' cumail na Frangais glan agus laud.
- 7) Gnothaichean an Rìghaltas agus am Margadh Cumanta, formichean, sanas agus a' h-uile cail mar sin 'sa Ghàidhlig cuideachd.
- 8) Bhiodh e comatach a' chur choireachan-sealbhaich, ban-banant, tomaidhean agus pàipearan mar sin air an chlàir-cumhne laghair (Legal Registers).

Is dacha gum bi na Pàrtilidhean eile ri "goid" a' Bhlueprint agus nam bhiodh Pàrtilidh (Assembly) agann an deidh an Referendum air a' chad latha de'n Mhàrt, cha bhì e cho doirbh ri fhaighinn am program seo mar lugh. Tha sinn an dacha gum bi sinn a' bruidhinn tuilleadh na dhùighinn na nìthan seo an ath-nàrr.

Gun teagamh tha a' Ghàidhlig daonnan a' dol am feobhas, 'san latha an duigh. Gillesbuig Mac Mhuirich.

(The recently published SNP 'Blueprint for the Survival of Gaelic' gives positive proposals for the benefit of the Scottish language.)

THE LOWLAND MYTH IN SCOTLAND - Part 3

How English Replaced Gaelic in the Lowlands and Southern Uplands (continued).

2. The English Invasions and the Black Death -

The 14th century seems to have been fateful for the Gaelic language in the Lowlands. As we have seen, at its beginning the majority of Lowlanders were Gaelic-speaking and so was the King of Scotland himself, Robert Bruce. At the beginning of the next century the King James I (1406-37) was a passable English poet. It is in the reign of David II (1329-71) that the first references nobody had troubled to make such a distinction before; previously the division was Scotia, Lothian and Galloway.

In 1384-7 John of Fordun wrote "the Scots use two languages, namely Scottish and Teutonic; those of the latter tongue possess the coastal and low-lying regions, whilst those of the Scottish tongue inhabit the mountains and outlying islands". What had happened to produce this momentous change?

No research has been done on this. (Any Celt reading these articles who is looking for a subject for a thesis will find a dozen possible fields to till.) So what I say is a hypothesis compatible with the fragmentary evidence which we have. The English invasions were appallingly destructive. They did not end with Bannockburn; their most resolute effort was made in 1333-37. The Gaels did most of the fighting, only partly because anglicised Lothian tended to be over-run at the first onrush after the Battles of Dunbar (1296) and Haldon Hill (1333), so they suffered the heaviest casualties. Whole regions were laid waste. At the Siege of Perth (1339) the area around was a desert; one, Cystytine Kiek, was kept alive by cannibalism. Bruce himself has been blamed for making Buchan English-speaking by the devastation he inflicted on this previously strongly Gaelic area after the Battle of Inverurie (1308).

Then in 1349-50 came the Black Death. Scottish chronicles do not get nearly as excited about this as those of most of Europe. No doubt after the horrors of the previous fifty years the death of one-third of the population in a single year was not such a surprise. But the Book of Mircarden, a monastery in Moray, tells us that the poor suffered much worse than the rich, which must also have been true during the famines caused by the invasions. As we have seen the rich tended to be English-speaking in the 13th century, so this may have shifted the language balance in many a community. The Irish Famine of 1845-49 reduced the proportion of Irish-speaking Irishmen approximately from about 38% to 28%, so such a development would not be unique.

Finally refugees from the English-speaking Southern Uplands may have moved into the empty spaces left by these catastrophes in the Gaelic population in Ayrshire and the northern Lowlands, for, after the English invasions were over, the almost incessant frontier war went on for the rest of the Middle Ages and turned much of the Borders into a desolation.

We must not exaggerate the extent of the destruction of Gaelic. Chronicles generalized. We can only be certain that the Gaelic-speakers were by 1400 in a minority in the

Lowlands. Gaelic was still spoken in Lennox, in part of Strathmore and doubtless elsewhere in places of which we have no information.

The social decline of Gaelic was resumed, since the kings had now taken to speaking English: David II spent 7 years of his 42 year reign in exile in France and 11 years in prison in England, which de-Gaelicised him, (it was he who moved the Court to Edinburgh in the English-speaking area about 1357), and James I spent 18 years of his 42 year reign imprisoned in England. The triple division in law and administration broke down, and in 1426 Celtic law was suppressed. All of us Celts must now know what happens when administration is centralized in an English (or French) speaking capital. The last Scottish king who could speak Gaelic seems to have been James IV (1488-1513), and Pedro de Ayala, who tells us this, calls it "the language of the savages, who live in some parts of Scotland and in the islands," which tells us how its social status had fallen.

Already about 1425 Winton refers to Forbes and Elgin being burnt in 1390 by the "wyld wykydd Helandmen" of those parts, which shows that to a Prior of Lochleven in Fife Gaels were not nice people. In the poem "Wallace" written about 1476 it is assumed that it would have been an insult to address the hero in Gaelic, though as we have seen he must have spoken it in fact. When William Dunbar (c. 1460-c. 1510) attacked his fellow-poet, Walter Kennedy, one of his objections to him was that he spoke Gaelic. (Not perhaps a wise accusation when the contemporary king could speak the language!) Interestingly Kennedy admitted the truth of the charge, which shows that a member of the leading family in Carrick would still speak Gaelic in 1500, even if he wrote his poetry in Lallans.

Probably by the early 16th century Gaelic had become the language of a minority in Scotland as a whole: roughly a quarter of the people lived in the Highlands and Islands, almost all being Gaelic-speakers; half lived in the Lowlands and perhaps a quarter of them spoke Gaelic; and the remainder lived in the Southern Uplands and a third of them would have been Gaels. Major's account of Scotland (1521) says "but most of us spoke Irish a short time ago", which shows how daft is the statement of one of the worse Anglo-Scottish historians of this period: "The Lowland Scots of Saxon stock with admixtures of Norman ... were keenly aware of the racial and linguistic difference between the Highland Scots and themselves". (1) It seems that the main difference of which they were keenly aware was the social difference. It was in the final stage that racial ideas were introduced.

3. The Reformation and the Union of the Crowns -

It has been the pride of the Protestant faith that it translated the Bible into the vernacular. Scotland had by the mid 16th century two vernaculars, Gaelic and Lallans, and the Protestants translated the Bible into neither. Why?

In many parts of Europe, Germany, the Netherlands, Southern England, for example, the Reformation had great popular support. In Scotland it did not: (2) only in Kyle and in the east coast towns between Stirling and Montrose and among the neighbouring lairds was Protestantism popular. Its success was obtained by timely English military help, the inept efforts of Mary of Guise (Regent, 1560-68) to turn Scotland into a French province, and the conduct of Queen Mary I (1542-67), which led the Pope to condemn her for immorality and irreligion, leaving Roman Catholicism leaderless and discredited. This left the Reformers with a serious manpower problem in establishing their faith even

among the Lallans-speaking population, and little effort to spare for Bible translations.

Their leader, John Knox, was determined to eliminate linguistic divisions between Scotland and England as far as possible, so as to promote the Union of the two countries, which he regarded as necessary to confirm the Reformation. He preferred England to Scotland and would rather have taken part in the Reformation there, but Elizabeth I prevented that by declaring him an undesirable alien. (3) He avoided using Lallans and was attacked for it by his colleagues: "Gif ze, throw curiositie of novationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quihk zour mother lerit zou, in tymes coming I sall wryit to zow my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht accquyitit with zour Sotherren". (4) Naturally he was even more opposed to Gaelic.

As there were virtually no Gaelic-speaking supporters of the Reformation, (though one of the few was the great George Buchanan, a Gael from Strathgairn), most of the Gaelic-speaking area was abandoned to Roman Catholicism. The first Protestant minister in the Hebrides was appointed in 1609, fifty years after the Reformation. The Church of Scotland opposed the translation of the Bible into Gaelic until 1766, when Samuel Johnson denounced this shameful policy.

In the Lowlands, where the lairds were Lallans-speaking even where the peasantry were Gaels, the new religion was preached in Lallans or English, and the same happened in three non-Lallans areas, Orkney (where most spoke Norn, a Scandinavian language), Caithness and Galloway, whose bishops came over to the Reformation with most of their clergy. The result in these areas was described by Sir Thomas Craig in 1605: "I myself remember the time when the inhabitants of the shires of Stirling and Dumbarton spoke pure Gaelic ... the ministers of God's word now use English in church and are well enough understood". (4) In other words, before the invention of compulsory education and television, there was nothing like compulsory church attendance for two-hour sermons and the catechism to destroy a Celtic language. Thus Gaelic was finally eliminated from the Lowlands, a small enclave of English was established in the far north, and Gaelic ceased to be spoken in the Southern Uplands, dying out in Carrick about 1650. (5)

One may sum up the decline of Gaelic in the Lowlands by saying: — it began with an English princess called Margaret who was the saint of one church: it ended with another English princess called Margaret and the saints of a different church. The second Margaret was the daughter of Henry VII of England whom James IV married in 1503. From that day the Scottish monarchs had their eyes on the prospect of inheriting the English throne when, as seemed very likely for nearly the whole of the next century, the Tudors died out, which duly occurred in 1603. John Knox did not agree with his successive sovereigns, James V (1513-43), Mary I or James VI (1567-1625) on religious matters, but they were in full agreement with him on linguistic policy. It was important to persuade Englishmen that Scots were only another kind of Englishman, or they might not accept one of them as their king: and it was important to persuade as many Scots as possible to love Englishmen and abandon any inconvenient languages or other habits which might upset the impression. After Flodden (1513) no Scottish monarch spoke Gaelic.

The Origin of the Lowland Myth

When and why the Lowland Myth originated should now be clear. While it was possible for Major to admit in

1521 that "most of us spoke Irish (i.e. Gaelic) a short time ago", this had become a state secret by the late 16th century with King and Kirk united to suppress it. Any Scotsmen who obstinately persisted in speaking their ancestral tongue had to be disavowed and labelled as Irish intruders lest they imperil the Union.

It will also be clear that the famous "Highland Line" from Nairn to Dumfries was not an eternal feature of Scottish history, but only came into existence about 1620 when the Lallans-Gaelic divide came to lie along it, and it should have no place in history before that date. In the 17th century it came to have enormous significance because it was not only a linguistic divide; it was also the religious frontier between the now solidly Presbyterian Lowlands and the mainly Roman Catholic Highlands (though some parts were becoming Presbyterian). It was not hard during the civil wars between Highlanders and Lowlanders (1644-1746), to persuade the Lowlanders, most of whose ancestors had been Gaels 300 years earlier and many of them only a century before, that the Highlanders were a different species altogether and should be treated as animals.

Other "national characteristics" apart from speaking Gaelic were then found in the Highlanders to show how different they were; for instance, they lived in clans. This in the Low Middle Ages meant no more than a group of people, bound by kinship, the feudal ties of landholding, voluntary clientship or less voluntary blackmail, and such groups flourished in any area where the government was weak and a man needed their protection to survive. In the 16th century such groups as the Armstrongs and the Johnstones, flourishing in the Lallans-speaking Border country, were described by the Gaelic word "clan", while on the other hand Gaels living in the Lowlands did not belong to clans. In the 17th century the "clan" became the special characteristic of the Gaelic-speaker, and the fake anthropology which has resulted is not dead yet.

Now that the religious wars are over and the royal house of Scotland has lost both the English and Scottish thrones to a German family, it is time for unprejudiced historians to accept that the Lowland Myth, in both its forms, is nonsense. But could it be that those I have called Anglo-Scottish historians have some other political purposes which require that they propagate lies in the face of the evidence? (6)

Notes

- (1) Caroline Bingham "James V of Scots" (1971) p.16.
- (2) Ian B. Cowan "Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation" Historical Association pamphlet (1978).
- (3) Gordon Donaldson "Scotland, James V to James VII" (1971) p. 92. Lest I be accused of being a prejudiced "Papist", I had better point out that no ideology is guiltless of the genocide of the Celtic nations: left-wing anti-clerical governments have been the fiercest persecutors of the Breton language and the Roman Catholic Church was virulently opposed to the Irish language. But Protestants must face the fact that, though in Wales the Protestant churches have defended our language, and its decline is associated with their decline, in the 16th century there was little popular support in any Celtic nation for the Reformation, which had disastrous consequences for their languages in Cornwall, Ireland and Scotland.
- (4) Marjory A. Bald "The Pioneers of Anglicised Speech in Scotland" and "Contemporary References to Scottish Speech of the 16th Century" Scottish Historical Review Vols. 24 and 25.

(5) W.L. Lorimer "The Persistence of Gaelic in Galloway and Carrick" Scottish Gaelic Studies 6 (1949) and 7 (1953), though it has been argued that it survived into the 18th century in a few isolated villages.

(6) For examples of what I am talking about, published by reputable historians who ought to know better, Middle Ages" (1974) and Peter McNeill and Ranald Nicholson "An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600" (1975), which purport to show the Gaelic-English divide c.1400. Sources are given to justify the line drawn, but when one reads these, one finds that not only do they not support the line but contradict it, e.g. by showing that Kingoldrum, in Strathmore, 8 miles west of Forfar, was probably Gaelic-speaking in 1540 while the maps show it well inside the English-speaking area of 1400. Further these maps even show as English-speaking in 1400 areas which E.G. Ravenstein found still speaking Gaelic in the 1870's! ("The Celtic languages of the British Isles" Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. 42, (1879), p.p. 579-636).

"Lallans" — I have used this word, derived from the English word "Lowlands", to describe the English dialect or language derived from Middle English which was spoken in southern and eastern Scotland between the 15th and 18th centuries, (without passing judgement on whether it was a dialect or a language). It would be a misuse of words to describe the dialect spoken until the 15th century, e.g. by the poet-king James I as anything other than English, and Yorkshire than that of Yorkshire to London. During the 15th century, as Middle English (the language of Chaucer), developed into Modern English (that of Cramer and Shakespeare), and became standardised on the London model, Lallans may be said to have become a separate language. It certainly would have established itself as one had the Bible been translated into it. But it has no right to be called the "Scottish language" or "Scots", though after the 15th century it is almost invariably Lallans which is meant when these terms are used, e.g. in the attack on John Knox quoted above. It was spoken in less than half of Scotland at its best, and even there for a much briefer period than Gaelic. Celts should, I feel, try to revive the usage up to the 15th century, when the "Scottish language" invariably meant Gaelic. Scots can hardly reject the whole of their Lallans heritage, e.g. the poetry from Robert Henryson to Robert Burns; but one may doubt the wisdom of trying to revive it.

Scotland was created by the Gaelic Kenneth Mac Alpin and his followers in the 9th and 10th centuries, re-created by the Gaelic-speaking Robert Bruce and his mainly Gaelic armies in the 14th century, and if she is to be again restored in the 20th and 21st centuries, in all her separate individuality, it is unlikely that the work will be fully consummated in any other language than Scottish Gaelic.

Ian Lloyd.

BROADCASTING IN SCOTLAND

The 30th November is a well known date in Scotland and beyond. Now there is another — the 23rd November, we will all long remember (for 1978 at least). On that date after much trumpeting and heralding the radio waves were re-ruled by Britannia and there arose from the foam of rather the froth a real we smasher "Radio Scotland". The future this created continues and has done much to give us

a new slant on the devolution question. However, a few points of information amid the avalanche of protest and criticism. The old Radio 4 was far from perfect but there was a certain standard in news, discussions, quotes from the press, book and theatre reviews — a glance through an old Radio Times would give an endless list.

In place of those we have endless non stop chat shows — phone-ins, pop music, and variegated rubbish. This has been variously described as "chat" and "chaff", "tartan kitchery and general gibberish" — "The Radio Kailyard", "drivole and Dross" and so on. No amount of such admittedly emotive slanging can really give anyone an idea of how bad it is — the first few days of suffering must have been similar to what a defenceless person feels receiving blow after blow until the final indignity — "Radio Bingo" came as the "coup de grace". We are told that there are "demanding" items but it would take a brave listener to find them out.

It was obvious from the press that this critical reaction was wide-spread but there were others who noted the situation with satisfaction and explained things to the rest of us. They could see that this was what Scotland produced when she got a little autonomy in broadcasting — what on earth would it be like if and when she got more? For Sir Andrew Gilmchrist it was obvious that he had spent his time in Eire well. He noted that many people there, rather than receive the poor stuff put out by their national network invested in tall aerials to receive the much better product of Mother England. For him two slippery slopes may be rolled into one, that to self-government and that to mediocre media performance.

Well perhaps Sir Andrew and his like need not fear for in the midst of all this, just before Christmas, Mr. Alastair Hetherington who three years ago had returned to Scotland as Controller of the BBC there (from the editorship of The Guardian) announced that he was giving up his post — "after one of the most spectacular conflicts in the history of the BBC". It seems that he had taken seriously his remit to "create conditions for MORE and BETTER broadcasting in and from Scotland, and to carry through some devolution of managerial authority". Mr. Hetherington though acknowledging a little progress thought the pace too slow and so he had to go. Scottish autonomy? Another ironic facet of it. It was noted by some that the gentleman who was appointed about a year ago to the post of Head of Radio Scotland, a Mr. John Pickles, came fresh from his "experience" in — guess what — local radio — guess where — England. We are disabused now of any idea that he may have a commitment to nourish any Scottish interest whatsoever, — cultural, political or social. He has informed us that Radio Scotland is not a substitute but an alternative to Radio 4. The latter is the "national" channel, Radio Scotland is for the Region Scotland and since it may be subdivided they will ensure that all your quaint local accents will be heard and your requests granted.

Weird and wonderful explanations are given for the channel allocations, but by their manipulation of them the authorities have created another little "divide and rule" situation. Some have already suggested that the VHF channels should be given to the areas of highest population density. What then would happen to Radios Highland, Aberdeen, Orkney, and Shetland, etc.? — and here it must be noted that the Gaelic output from Inverness on Radio Highland has been greatly increased and it is to be hoped that there would be an outcry at any reversal of this.

Some other solution to the technical problem could surely be found as it seems that out of their meagre (compared with England) allowance, Radio Scotland are prodigally wasting many broadcasting hours each day by having Radio Scotland duplicating on its VHF frequency programmes already going out on one of the other VHF channels.

What about finances - well now that we have all these wonderful things we get no more money until 1983. £2.4 million will be spent in England on improvements and more local stations and another £2.5 million will be spent acquiring the rights to show "The Sound of Music" - for the next 10 years. No comment. Just come to Scotland for your holidays this year and share our pleasure - the Loch Ness monster has a rival in one of the disc jockeys - self styled - "the tartan terror".

P.S. By the middle of January improvements were made. "The World At One" was restored to the medium wave, and it was promised that there would be concerts and plays on Monday and Thursday evenings when Radio Scotland will make use of the VHF facility instead of wasting it on a duplication of Radio 2. Mr. Pickles has had to make these adjustments because of the technical inadequacies of the system, it still remains to get some response on the content of the remaining programmes and the general policy.

M.D.

S.N.P. CONFERENCE

Despite bad weather and difficult travelling the SNP conference in Perth on Sat. 20th Jan. called to approve and amend the party's policies for the Assembly was well attended.

They propose a Scottish Executive of ten departments plus a cabinet office for the first secretary. Each department would have a standing committee, and in addition there would be a public appointments committee to control government patronage, a matter of some importance in view of the proliferation of such bodies recently. The system would be more similar to the Scandinavian one - bills beginning in committees which would thereafter have the right to question ministers and civil servants. There would be a Bill of Rights and the SNP would introduce a Freedom of Information Bill giving citizens the right of access to all information except where confidentiality is required by the law.

With local government one tier will go, in most places the regional one. Until fiscal powers are obtained the basic powers to change land ownership and use are wanting. The party want a land commission which would carry out a land survey and identify lands not being used for the benefit of the community, urban as well as rural. Enlightened and practical proposals were presented on housing (tenants co-operatives), health (removal of one of the tiers of bureaucracy), transport (the different methods co-ordinated and funds provided for remote areas), education (limit of school size as well as class size, - "It is to be hoped that churches and parents will one day come together with the education authorities and agree to the phasing out of denominational education"), and industry, (where a nine point task is proposed for the Sec. for Industry till such time as the Assembly will have much more meaningful powers in that area). The Crofting Act of 1976 will be strengthened on behalf of the crofters and imaginative proposals are suggested for the arts in Scotland. Gaelic will be recognised as an official language in which litigants may testify - not only in the Gaeltacht but, as

an amendment from the Scottish Union of Students proposed, for the whole of Scotland. (The support for this amendment and the minute opposition showed how much the support for Gaelic has increased in the last few years.) A ten year programme would subsidise and encourage Gaelic education, arts and broadcasting. Agriculture, fishing, social welfare, tourism, the environment and its protection were all covered, and the party are completely opposed to the dumping of non-Scottish nuclear waste in Scotland. Mr. Donald Stewart closed the conference and as his words were well reported in the press no one in Scotland can possibly claim the SNP intends to wreck the Assembly.

The Referendum: The Referendum result will be known by the time Carn 25 reaches readers so speculation would be unprofitable. The "Yes" and "No" campaigns have formed up as one would have expected from what has been reported previously in Carn. At the moment the "NO" people have managed to hold up the broadcasting campaign by demanding equal time and the last word. Most of their propaganda is so wild as to be a positive help for the "YES".

ON THE GAELIC FRONT

The Scottish National Party have issued their "blueprint for the survival of Gaelic." The policy document states: "We recognise that English has become the chief official language of the country, but for reasons of equity and history we recommend that Gaelic, Scots and English should all three be recognised as official languages in Scotland. This should be the cornerstone of language policy in the new Scotland."

"It is not suggested that compulsion should be used in this process, and we do not envisage a return to any romantic past involving an all-Scots or all-Gaelic Scotland."

In education, Gaelic and/or Gaelic studies should be made available widely throughout Scotland's schools, a network of schools being in the first instance designated for this purpose. A Gaelic national library should be established in the Gaelic area. A wing of the Ministry of Education should be concerned specifically with matters such as curriculum development, and the place of Gaelic in the pre-school and post-school context.

Of the development of the language generally the document says that consideration should be given to the setting up of a Gaelic Academy "to control the coinage and validation of Gaelic vocabulary, and to make periodic surveys of such matters as Gaelic orthography and usage."

The document states: "We hope that both the practicality and the justice of the recommendations will appeal to the Scots widely."

Professor Derrick Thomson, of the chair of Celtic at Glasgow University and convener of the SNP's Gaelic policy committee, told the press conference: "The policy is designed to give Gaelic an assured place in Scottish life. It covers the use of Gaelic in government and public business, advocating the setting up of a Gaelic secretariat as part of Parliament to deal with government business." In the law the SNP would press for the use of Gaelic in

island courts.

Prof. Thomson added: "An all-Scotland Gaelic radio channel, several hours of Gaelic on TV a week plus local Gaelic radio and TV are necessities if the language is to have any relevance in the modern age."

Recent years have seen an increase in the commitment of the Scottish Arts Council towards Gaelic. To date it has supported such ventures as Fr-Chlis, the Gaelic-based professional drama group and the Writer in Residence at Sabhal Mòr, Ostiaig, in Skye. It has also over the years supported the Gaelic Books Council. The amount of cash involved is many tens of thousands of pounds. This is more than lip service and it makes a change to be able to highlight this kind of concern, backed up with aid in cash: an oasis in the midst of the arid desert of intolerance which exists in Scotland towards Gaelic.

Self-help, it seems, is the only way to progress a language. Recent writings in this column have highlighted the bilingual policy of the Western Isles Islands Council. Stemming from this there is an unusual body, Cinema Sgìre, now flourishing in the Western Isles. It is supported by various bodies and was started out of an approach by the Scottish Film Council to every Local Authority in Scotland. Only the Western Isles Council took up the challenge to get Cinema Sgìre off the ground. This body provides a 'community cinema' for the islands of North and South Uist, Benbecula, Barra and their associated smaller inhabited islands. Based in Benbecula it has provided an excellent element for social cohesion in these islands. Much of the work done in Video Production is in Gaelic and the body is now producing local material which will fit into the loose definition of oral culture. The educational aspect is not being forgotten and this pioneering body will no doubt be studied with interest by those concerned for the fate of other minority linguistic communities. Details are available from: Mike Russell, Cinema Sgìre, Balivanich, Benbecula.



Oil over acrylic paint, 19" x 19", traditional Celtic interlace design of eternity; each crossing a nexus of meeting and/or experience: the circularity of composition represents life as an organic whole as per Nature, a biospheroid; the fib-like shapes abstractly recall the salmon of knowledge; the interlocking friendship through knowledge; the complementary lines depict the union of opposites, as in Nature.

Ian Rife, California.

BREIZH

LIZHERIOU

"Laouen e oan o kavout ar baperenn-se "Where Responsibility lies" a-zivout ar Vretoned gac'harriet. Ret din avat lavarout na gredan ket e oa skiantek o ober. En eil brezel bras e tiskouezhas bezañ reizh pe ober bennek (n'eus forzh peseurt argad?) gant ma temle do drez h'indenn bremañ e weler koulikoude e oa ur fazi an amañdem war Z-Bredenn. Pa nac'h ez eo an holl dud! Hag oc'h amañhañ Venailles o deus glac'harret (fouket) n'eo ket hepken ar gouarnamant gac, met ivez an holl dud gac, a zo ken grevus (potevus) o mignoniezh er stourm. Met pa'z, eur die'hoanag Ar gwir a zo gant ar baperenn. Me a gompren" D.B.G. Bro-Saoz (un tamnig kempenn hepken zo bet graet d'ar brezhoneg). Versailles: same error as in Dresden?"

"Tu am eus da dennañ evezh amañ war Vreizh hag ar gudenn etrezi hag ar Stad c'hall. Dalc'het e vo ur vodadenn eus Skourr Lec'hel ar Strollad Komunour amañ a-benn diad hag emañ oc'h aozañ un disklêriadur a-zivout Breizh. Peseurt emzalc'h a zo d'ar Strollad Komunour Gall e Breizh? Hag eñ ez eus levrioù pe gac'hgeladennoù e saozneg pe gembraeg diwar-benn an dra-se? Emañ S.K. Breizh-Veur o kas kaout titour. Ad displegiñ a rin ar pezh a zo disklêriet ar baperenn-se gant ar "Poellgor da harpañ ar hironidi Vreizhat". - (diwar ar c'hembraeg.)

D. LL. (Bro-Saoz) - (diwar ar c'hembraeg.) What is the French Communist Party's attitude towards the Breton problem? Questions being asked in England.

"Tugarez bras deoc'h evit ho lizher hag arouez ar C'Hevre Keltiek. Labourat a ran bremañ gant ur Breizhad yaouank hag a zo mestri-skol er ge-mañ evit dek miz. Komz a ra brezhoneg mat-te.

Kreskin a ra niver an dud hag a zo dedennet gant kudennoù Breizh. Etreget an abadennoù-somerezh vat-te gant Glemmor ez eus bet unan gant Gilles Servat en ur sal vras-membrbet. Ne oa ket deut ur bern tud rak S. zo koula ha d'ianav amañ, met ar zo deut n'eo deus ket bet keuz! Evit ar re na ouient ket galleg e oa trodigezhioù, hag ar c'hanennoù brezhonek e oa displeget ivez....

En eil kanol Skinwel Alam e tiskouez bremañ ur rummad programoù diwar-benn kudennoù ar "Gumunerezh Europat". Tud ar Skinwel Gall eo o deus roet ar se da ober an dra-se e pep bro-ezel. Da bep hini o oa dibout peseurt doareoù eus ar vuhez er "Gumunerezh" diskouet, hag ar film(oh)-se a oa da vezañ diskouezet da gentañ e bro ar ser-se-oc'h, ha goude er broioù all.

Kloarvat n'eo ket bet gwel entanet ar C'Halloued gant an hini kentañ. Diwar-benn broioù bihan diennet (Breizh, Kembra, Okitania, Bavaria) hag o c'hudennoù-yezh e oa. Pep lodenn a oa berrik a-walc'h met seul nezhuzoc'h. Evezse e voe diskouezet e lodenn vrezhat, skrudennou o temañ da z-D'WAN, ar skolioù, -hanv, ar c'hlaou, abardes, ha buzetellet obererezh an Talbenn-Direbilit. Souezhet e voe-gant gant ar skolas ma voe lavaret ma oa ket tud met trooù hag a vez taget gant an TD ha kementse peogwir e seblant d'e izañ n'eo ket tu da gant netra 'mod all. Me n'oue dare hag e vo adkennet euzie gant ar Skinwel gall!

(penn kentañ al lizher a oa e brezhoneg.) R.H. (Alam) German T.V. highlights the problem of European nations without States.

Abaoe ur pennad ez eus kalz tud 'tro amañ o kas gouzout hiroc'h diwar-benn ar broioù keltiek, o istor, o yezhoù, o c'horolloù. N'eo ket diases diskoachañ tud gouzout da zeskññ dezho ar c'horolloù, met evit ar yezhoù hag an istor ez eo un afer all! Arsa! J. Duran zo kroget da reññ kentelezh werzhoneg (da 30 den) ha skoes (da 5 den) en e di, hag etrezomp hon-daou e rannomp bremañ ivez kentelezh istor, lennegzh, sevenadur en hon tiez pe em skol. Padal, anaevet omp hon-daou evit ar perzh oberiant a gomeromp e buhez ar strolladoù iwerzhonat e San Francisco. Gant se n'eo ket aes skoulmañ darempredoù gant ar c'hevredigezhioù a orin Keltiek all. Ar spered a gengred etrekeltiek a ya goustad war greñvaat, met poan hon eus bet, ha skollhoù a chom, evit trec'hift d'an diarannoù sot a zo bet savet etre ar Gelted.

Karout a rafemp lakaat ar c'hevredigezhioù hag an adrolladoù a bep seurt da geññ e framm ar C'hevre Keltiek, ha pa ne vete nemet da ober anaoudegezh an eil re gant ar re all; hag ivez lakaat kentelezh yezhoù Keltiek, abadennoù sonerezh, prezegennoù a-zivout hon istor, h.a. dindan baeronezh pe war anv ar C'hevre. Laouen e vimp o kaout alioù, rak kizidig e vez darn eus ar Gelted all pa glasker o atizañ da zarempredin iwerzhoniz. L. O'K.F., San Francisco.

San Francisco C.L. members active in fostering contacts between Celto-oriented groups.

literature: it could boast a few excellent poems by Kalloch, and the spirited "gwerzioù" of the Barzaz Breizh, but there was hardly anything in it to show that Bretons also had problems of an earthly nature. The language was still spoken by well over one million people but it was ill equipped to escape the death to which a French minister of education sentenced it so bluntly in 1925: "for the sake of French unity, Breton must disappear".

Defiantly Roparz Hemon, who had already started contributing to the nationalist *Breizh Atao*, issued his "first and last manifesto in French". He founded GWALARN, meaning North-West, to provide Breton writers with an outlet and thus an incentive. (Breton writers, that is writing in Breton.) For his living, he taught English in a Brest lycée, but all his spare time was devoted to creative work, preparing handbooks for learners, and the day-to-day care of Gwalarn. He gathered around him several talented writers who shared his ambition to raise our literature above the French-oriented provincialism of the late 19th century "bards" with their praiseworthy ad nauseum of the lace-patterned church spires, the Breton women's coiffes and the blooming heather and gorse. His revolutionary ideas were expressed in a series of essays which were later published under the title "Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh" (A Breton rediscovers Brittany). He urged his contributors to turn away from the French models and acquaint themselves with the literatures of other peoples. They should express in a well polished language what they deeply experienced: that would be enough to qualify it as Breton literature. By 1944 he had published eight plays, three novels, a collection of short stories, an anthology of poems of his own, not mentioning numerous translations. Recurrent themes in his work were the incommunicability of mind, the interpenetration of reality and dream in our life, the determination to carry out a great task, if need be, alone. His shunning of beaten tracks awakened resentment and suspicion, he had to watch his subscribers' reactions lest GWALARN should go broke. As only a very small percentage of the native speakers could read Breton, he tried ways to encourage them to do so: he introduced a scheme to distribute books to school children, published a supplement in simple Breton: they failed through lack of money. Following the model of Basic English introduced by R. Ogden, he established a list of 1200 words which were sufficient to carry out an ordinary conversation — he used it for textbooks and short stories and novels which can be read even by learners, without having too often to consult the dictionary. Two such stories have just been published in SKOL Nr. 64 (available from Y. Charou, 16 rue Berlioz, 22000 Saint-Brieuc — 64pp. 12F). For two years GWALARN ran also a supplement in Esperanto: he was convinced that an artificial means of international communication was the best answer to the objection that Bretons could not do without French. He was opposed to bilingualism as a long term objective: most people, he believed, had no use for two languages in everyday life.

Drafted into the French army in 1939, he was taken prisoner in 1940 but released with other nationalists before Pétain concluded an agreement with the Germans. The latter however backed the claims of Breton to be taught in the schools and used on the radio which the French, beaten though they were, would still oppose. For taking charge of Radio-Rennes, R. Hemon was later to be arraigned for

collaboration, but he would not miss the chance: for the first time, news, stories, plays, could be broadcast in our language. He also immediately relaunched GWALARN, soon added a weekly, initially bilingual paper ARVOR to publicise the arguments in favour of Breton, and the monthly STERENN, which devoted each of its issues to one single work such as M.Glandou's long poem IMRAM, or the translation of Macbeth. He took a leading part in the 1941 agreement to unify the spelling of Breton, and in the setting up of a Breton Institute, of AR FRAMM KELTIEK (a confederation of the various cultural bodies), of the E. Ernod College of Celtic Studies.

In 1944, fearing a fate that had befallen many nationalists in recent months, he joined the more radical among them in their retreat to Germany. He returned in 1945 to face imprisonment. Protests were organised in the other Celtic countries. Finding nothing to substantiate their charges, the French sentenced him all the same to ten years of "national indignity". Good enough for a Breton who could not care for their honours! He left for Dublin and never returned while he lived.

In "Soñ an Lefn Chellich" he enjoyed enough security to carry on the struggle. His first post-war book was "La Langue Bretonne et ses Combats", giving all the essential information about the language. For 30 years he hardly left the area between Burlington Road and Ranelagh, having no time to spare from his work. He wrote half a dozen detective stories, five novels, two plays, two collections of short stories. These, as well as the many editions of his dictionaries and handbooks, were published in AL LIAMM. His chief didactic work however is the Historical Dictionary which is almost completely published by PREDER, covering about 30 volumes, it provides those who wish to check how any Breton word was used throughout the centuries with an invaluable tool. From 1951 till 1970, he edited the monthly AR BED KELTIEK (The Celtic World), giving a digest of news of what was happening throughout the World, articles on a great variety of topics, stories, songs, etc. Needless to say he was its main contributor, it enabled him to put his views across, and to continue exerting a restraining influence on the highly individualistic Bretons. However he encouraged other writers by publishing a course in journalism.

The research which he carried out for the Dublin School of Celtic Studies was published in five books in English. It has earned him international reputation. But what must be his greatest honour is that he dedicated himself wholly to the mundane task of equipping our language for living, excelling the more elderly F. Vallet and Meven Mordiern in fitting it for modern expression and giving it the stimulus to create a truly national literature. He strove for simplicity, knowing how dreadfully handicapped his potential readers were by not being taught Breton. His style is criticised for lacking in Breton colour or flavour, his characters are ordinary people, but most of his writing is accessible to those who have acquired an elementary knowledge of the language. He abhorred the wasting of energies and scarce money caused by the futile squabbling about the 1941 spelling. He deplored equally the excessive attention directed to dialectal variations and the excessive purism which wanted to replace by Celto-rooted neologisms all the words of French origin, however ancient their adoption.

Hope that his influence will remain strong enough to counter the anarchistic tendencies manifest in the

present day movement. That only a few hundreds attended his funeral in Brest if proof enough of the deep alienation of the Breton people. Yet warm appreciations of his service to our country were published, not only in the issues of AL LIAMM and AN TEODEG entirely devoted to him, but in numerous other publications, dailies and periodicals. Calls were raised that his name be given to streets and halls. That should be the least. The only important acknowledgement he would want is that an ever growing number of people would strive to speak Breton. He has provided them with plenty of means to learn it. A. Heusaff.

(16" x 24" photographs of Roparz Hemon, in black and white, are available from A. Heusaff (address p.24) at £1.20p each.)

REPRESSION

Lionel Chenevière and Patrick Mentauiroz, accused of having bombed a wing of the Versailles Palace on June 26, were each sentenced on December 1st to 15 years jail by the French State Security Court. They had refused to plead and even to appear at their trial on November 28, because they were not being tried with 16 other Bretons also charged with FLB activities. These came to testify that they all stood together. The State prosecutor, boasting that he would "defeat the enemy on his own ground", gave an analysis of the Breton history and public opinion which left out a number of primordial facts unfavourable to his thesis. To bolster his arguments, he insulted the defendants with such terms as "imbeciles" which betrayed the contempt for Bretons in general used for generations to bring them to conform. A statement issued later by the two men explained that the target they had chosen was a major symbol of French State oppression and cultural imperialism.

Since July, the French authorities are making it clear that they have decided on repression instead of dealing with the causes of the recurrent acts of Breton resistance. They are assisted by their virtual monopoly of the means of mass information, very few newspapers being willing or free enough to allow an occasional contributor to throw blame on the centralistic State. Following the arrests, numerous people involved solely in legal activities were subjected to police harassment with the aim of isolating them. Smeared of neo-nazism were banded about gratuitously; a detonator was "discovered" in the house of Youenn Gwernig, president of the association Radio Tele Brezhoneg, which is committed to non-violent civil disobedience; dynamite was "found" in the car of Yann Poulhaire, who had several times before been arrested and released in the absence of evidence. Many prisoners were black-mailed into making confessions (which they retracted later); the trial of those arrested in February was staged suddenly in July in order to take advantage of the press outcry against the Versailles attack, and pass severe sentences. Half a dozen prisoners were freed after several weeks without charge, but also without compensation! A statement was made at the July trial on behalf of the seven defendants, proclaiming they were not French, denying the court the right to judge them, denouncing the liquidation of the Breton economy and the uprooting of the Breton people, expressing their commitment to independence and socialism. This echoed the contents of a booklet "Emgann" put out several months before on behalf of three FLB groups. The chain of arrests



Roparz Hemon in Deilgint, Éire 1973. Published with the courtesy of Al Liamm.

BRITANNY'S DEBT TO ROPARZ HEMON

CARN Nr. 23 carried the news of the death of Roparz Hemon, the leading figure in the Breton language struggle for almost 50 years. If Brittany manages to survive as a nation, it will be primarily thanks to him: without his work our language could hardly have struck root in the younger generations. He lived for it, sub-ordinating everything else to his will to rehabilitate it.

Before he came on the scene anyone who had learned to read Breton found little rewarding in its

in the Summer seems to have confirmed that a connection existed indeed between them.

Anti-repression committees (CoBARS), were set up to counteract the official propaganda. They got support from several small political and cultural groups. The detention for five hours and finger printing of 23 persons who distributed CoBAR leaflets in Kemper, on July 23, provoked a strong protest, involving the local branches of several large parties and trade unions, against a denial of freedom of expression. A CoBAR concert due to take place in Paris on November 13, with the participation of Stivell, Servat and Glenmor, was prohibited at the last moment. The singers were detained for hours when they tried to sing outside the hall. 3000 people were expected to attend, the proceeds were to go to SKOAZELL VREIZH (c/o P. Roy, 29 rue Joseph Turmel, Rennes), to aid the prisoners and their families.

The severity of the recent sentences is undoubtedly a reaction to the Versailles heart blow, but it would not have been "divided" had the FLB enjoyed as much tacit approval as 7 or 10 years ago. Corsicans have recently been treated much more leniently for actions which resulted in the death of 2 policemen. Is it not because support for their methods is more widespread than in Brittany?

But, to return to the prisoners, whether their methods were judicious or not, they responded to the provocation of an immeasurable worse violence. They are suffering for their Breton convictions. They deserve to be helped, as much as possible, to bear the hardship of imprisonment. In case the readers of CARN feel like sending them cards, letters, paper cuttings, periodicals, they will find below their addresses, names and in 8 cases jail numbers. I hope many will be willing to do so. To facilitate an even distribution, a pencil mark will be made in each copy of CARN opposite one of the addresses recommended for attention. Donations to Skoazell Vreizh, will be gratefully acknowledged.

C.P. de Fleury-Merogis, Bat. D.S. 7 Av. des Peupliers, 91705, Ste. Geneviève-des-Bois, France;
A. Covaux (No. 77656); B. Dellaca-Minot (No. 77657); A. Furet (77658); D. Hamon (77659); E. Le Coadic (77660); J. Le Guellec (77661); A. Pellé (77663); C.P. de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Div. Leclerc, 94260 Fresnes, France; J. Denis, B. Le Fouest, M. Hellequin, M. Herjean, G. Prieuse, Y. Puillandre, M. Salomon. C.P. de la Santé, 42 rue de la Santé, 75014, Paris; L. Chenevière, F. Montanzer.

10 Quai de la Courtille.
77011 Melon-Cedex, France; J. Bernard, J.P. Daniel, G. Jouin, P. Keltz, J.M. Guillanton, S. Ropinsky, J.M. Villeneuve (these 7 were sentenced last July).

After each name, indicate: Détenu Politique Breton.

2000 copies of the 4 page statement "Where does Responsibility lie for violence in Brittany?" were distributed to newspapers, etc., by the Breton Prisoners' Solidarity Committee, 34 Garran Achaidh na Faiseige, 7th Cladh 6. Help to distribute further copies will be welcomed.

SEVERELY HIT BY ECONOMIC CRISIS

For several years now, the movement of decentralisation which in the '60's brought new industries to Brittany has been reversed. The building industry, second only

to food processing for the employment it provides, has lost 5000 workers over the last four years, as a result of credit restrictions and the postponement of projects of social interest. The threat to reduce by 5000 the number of workers in the French electronic industry is causing worry among the 15000 whom it employs in Brittany. Thousands demonstrated in Nantes on February 8th and 9th, because of the looming unemployment in the shipyards and in support of the demand for work in the region. There is hardly an issue of the monthly 'Peuple Breton' that does not list half a dozen firms going into liquidation, dismissing workers or threatened with closure!

The future of the Breton agriculture, which gives employment directly to a quarter and indirectly to half of the active population is causing acute concern. This was expressed since August in angry demonstrations which culminated in clashes with police when some 10,000 pig farmers mainly from the most Western departments, gathered in Pondivi on November 8th. Their grievance: they were selling for 7F what they pay 7F.50 to produce. One third of the "French" pigs are reared in Brittany. The protest was directed against a government which considers the Breton farmers as expendable and a nuisance to its EEC strategy, but also against the National French Farmers' Association (FNSEA), which stands only for the big ranchers, a small minority in our country. Signs are pointing to the adoption of a law which will allow a totally free rein to competition in the marketing of agricultural products: for a peripheral area, the resulting inequality of costs and sales prices will spell ruin, while the shift of productions towards more favourable situated regions will get more pronounced.

Already the farmers' incomes have dropped by about 13% in the past year. Many are broke, their cheques are no longer to be honoured, the "Credit Agricole" refuses loans to even medium sized farms (c.f. the hunger strike staged by J. Cadot, father of 6 young children, on the doorstep of the C.A. in Pannecé Loire Atlantique).

The Breton farmers are all united in demanding the total abolition of the M.C.M. (money compensation paid to farmers in countries with a strong currency). But they are not all equally determined to stand up to the treachery of the FNSEA. A Committee has been set up to co-ordinate the efforts of the Farmers' unions of three Breton départements (Finistère, Morbihan and Loire-Atlantique) but in the absence of an all-Breton federation, the situation risks continuing to deteriorate, particularly when negotiations start for the entry into the EEC of three new, vegetable producing, Mediterranean countries.

To influence decisions, writes F. Favereau in Le Peuple Breton (Dec. '78), a socialist Breton government would be needed. It alone could genuinely represent the farmers, act as a pole of resistance to unbridled EEC liberalism, promote peripheral development, insist on a plan to regionalise farm productions and related industries. Only such a policy could assure the Bretons of a livelihood in their own country, encourage family farming with collective use of services, control the land market, reasonably guarantee a regular income, and bring about a more active farmers' participation in the running of co-operatives.

The UDB is directing a major effort to a campaign for work in Brittany. A march is planned for February 24, in the streets of Lorient, to be followed by a big meeting. The party is to field 40-45 candidates in the forthcoming canton (district) elections.

CYMRU

YR WYL BAN-GELTAIDD — awgrym neu ddau

Roedd tipyn gwell trefn ar y rhagbroffon Cymreig ar gyfer yr Wyl Ban-Geltaidd eleni. An y tro cyntaf aeth y trefnwyr yng Nghymru ati i gynnal gŵyl Cymreig yn Aberystwyth er mwyn dewis cystadleuwyr i'n cynrychioli yng Nghlair Aine. Bradd yn ddi-drefn a gwasgarog fu'r rhagbroffon hyn yn y gorffennol — y BBC neu HTV yn noddi ambell i gystadleueth ambell i flwyddyn, a Chlwb y Triban, er parchus goffawriaeth, yn noddi cystadlaethau eraill.

Ym Mhafiliwn Corwen y cynhaliwyd rhagbrawf y canu gwerin on flwyddyn, ac roeddwn innau'n un o dri oeddi yn cystadlu, os cofdaf yn iawn. Tua dwain o gynulleidia oedd yno, a'r beirniad, Meredydd Evans, wedi gosod ei fwrdd yn dactyl yng nghanol y neuadd wag! Ond aeth y cystadiu yn ei flawn. Cafwyd beirniadaeth lawn ar y diwedd a recordiwyd y cyfan gan y BBC yn union fel petai'r lle yn llawn dop!

Ond roedd gwell siâp ar bellu o lawer yn Aberystwyth eleni, ac mae hyn yn siw o fod yn adlewyrchu twf a datblygiad cyson yr Wyl Ban-Geltaidd ers ei sefydlu. Mae lle i greu fod y datblygiad hwn — a threfn fy eifeithiol yn digwydd yn y gwledydd Celtaidd eraill hefyd. Mae'r Wyl bellach wedi cael ei thred 'dani ac yn prysur ennill ei phwy. Darllenwyr 'CARN' fyddai'r cyntal i lawenwpu oherwydd hynny a'r cynnal i ddyddymu flwyddiant yr Wyl yn y dyfodol.

Wedi dweud hynny rhaid ychwanegu fod yna rai agweddau o'r Wyl sy'n gwneud i rywun deimlo'n anhapus. Am yw reswm mae yna diffyg awyrgylch yno o'i gymharu â thau o'r gwyliau gwern eraill a gynhelir yng Ngoglewin Iwerddon. Oes, mae 'na awyrgylch i'w deimlo am ddau o'r gloch y bore yng Ngwesty Scotts, ond yn ystod y dydd yr argraff i geir yw fod pobol y dref yn mynd ymlae 2u. Yn fod popeth ar wasgar — mewn gwahanol neuaddau a gwestai a cheau. Pe gellid cael popeth efo'r gwydd mewn un lle — fel ein Heisteddfod ni, er enghraifft — byddai'r welliant garw. Ond y ffaiith amdan yw mai tref i dwriniaid yw Cll Aine, a gwyddom o brofiad sut awyrgylch sydd i'w felly. Byddai llawer o broblemau ymarferol erbyn hyn i ymudi i ardal fwy Gwydeleig ei naw, ond byddai'r Wyl ar ei hennill heb os nac onibai.

Peth arall sy'n artiffisial hollol yw'r gystadleueth 'Celtavision' ei hun. Fel mae'r enw yn ei awgrymu, dyma efyddiad sal o'r gystadleueth 'Eurovision' gyda'r prif nod o gynhyrchu rhaglen deledu i RTE. Wyr neb ar y ddaear pa fath o gân sydd ei hangen — dydi cân werin ddim yn gweiddu fal sydd wedi digwydd yn y gorffennol yn swm'n hollol chwethrinlyd mewn gŵyl 'Geltaidd'. Byddai'r lles mawr i'r Wyl ddileu'r gystadleueth hon yn llwyr a chanolbyntio ar hyrwyddoedd gwt draddodiadau sy'n perthyn i bob un o'r canhedloedd Celtaidd.

An awgrym bach arall. Pam na all yr Undeb Celtaidd ddefnyddio'r achlysur — fel mae mudiadau gwledyddol yn defnyddio'r Eisteddfod Genedlaethol — i gynnal cyfarfodydd mwy difrifol, gwledyddol eu naw, neu hyd yn oed gyfarfod blynyddol? Yn wahanol i'r Eisteddfod Genedlaethol mae digon o amser yn ystod y dydd gan mai ar y min nos y cynhelir y than fwyaf o'r gwestiogaeddau. A chynnal y cyfarfodydd yn rhywle heblaw Gwesty Scotts!

Arlon Gwilym.

(The organization of the Pan-Celtic Festival, in Wales at any rate, has improved tremendously. This year, for the first time, a Welsh Festival was held at Aberystwyth as a preliminary to the main festival at Cll Aine. The steady development of the festival over the years is to be warmly welcomed, but the writer feels that the festival lacks atmosphere, due perhaps to the location of the festival at a tourist orientated town and the artificial nature of the main 'Celtavision' contest.)

CYMEITHAS YR IAITH

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Rhodri Williams and Wynford James, will be released from Swansea prison on March 23rd, after serving four months of the six month sentence. They were both sentenced on November 24th at Carmarthen Crown Court after the jury had found them guilty of conspiracy to damage broadcasting equipment. Readers of 'CARN' will recall that the jury at a previous trial in July had failed to agree on a verdict. It seems that the authorities made sure the second time. There is a strong suspicion that the jury had been rigged in order to ensure that the majority were English people, or non-Welsh speakers at the very least. Two MPs — Dafydd Elis Thomas (Plaid Cymru) and Tom Ellis (Labour) immediately demanded an explanation why the first 12 names called out were all English. Andrews, Carlisle, Pringle, Hansen, Allen, Hinner, Birdwood, Adams, John, Day, Kirkwood and Brooks — in a 70% Welsh speaking area, where Jones, Evans, Davies are by far the most common names. This was more than a co-incidence.

During the trial itself there were frequent demonstrations, inside and outside the building, and several complaints of police brutality were handed in at the end of the trial. Five people were given a month's imprisonment for contempt of court. During the Christmas period members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith staged a hunger strike in support of the prisoners.

Meanwhile, the new slogan in the broadcasting campaign is 'Amodau Teg i'r Sianel' (Fair Conditions for the Channel). These are: 1. Legislation to set up the TV channel in the present parliamentary session. 2. Sufficient financial backing for the new channel. 3. The setting up of a Welsh Broadcasting Authority. 4. A minimum of 25 hours of Welsh language programmes each week. 5. A strict time-table for the channel's development, including a training programme for technicians and actors.

TROUBLE AT BANGOR

Events at University College, Bangor, have been hitting the headlines for several months now. By the beginning of February a total of eight Welsh students had been suspended from the college, including the Chairman of Undeb Mfyrwyr Cymreig Bangor (Union of Welsh Students), Alwyn Gouffydd (for two years), and one student, Ian Roberts, for life. The way in which these students, and the Welsh Union in general, have been treated, has outraged many people throughout Wales. Dafydd Wigley, MP for Carmarlon, has called for an independent enquiry into the way the college is run, and the Secretary of the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) in North Wales, Mr. Robert Skillicorn, has called for the resignation of the Principal, Sir Charles Evans.

The trouble stems from the fact that Welsh students and Welsh-speaking students in particular, are such a small

minority in the college (an estimated 300 out of 3,000 students). This is due mainly to the expansion policies which have been pursued over many years. The present conflict started as a protest against a plan by the college authorities for yet further expansion which would again weaken the Welsh element in the college. At the December meeting of the College Court a motion calling for a halt to the expansion plans was carried by a narrow majority, but there is no guarantee that the College Council and Senate will accept this decision.

A few weeks before Christmas, three students were suspended for letting off a smoke bomb in the college library. About a dozen students actually took part in the demonstration, but only three were recognized.

For a whole week before the end of term, their fellow students occupied the Arts building and administrative offices, and when they left they took 3,000 personal files containing information about every student in the college, saying they would be returned if their fellow students were re-instated. The college called in the police and a huge search was mounted. Around 500 of these files have so far been recovered.

Early in the new year a further five students were suspended for taking part in the occupation. Once again, the college had taken revenge on a small minority of those who had taken part. Only one of the students was an official of the Undeb and he was suspended for two years. Another student, Ian Roberts, who has never held any office within the Undeb, was suspended for life. The inconsistencies of these sentences are obvious to anyone, and there have been suggestions of taking the college to the High Court.

The students have boycotted lectures and have continued to organize demonstrations. At one demonstration, which was supported by three husbands of students from Aberystwyth, many were arrested and charged with obstruction and assault. Anyone present would have seen quite clearly who was guilty of assault.

The college authorities have consistently refused to meet the Undeb and have refused to recognize the Undeb officially. Until proper discussions can take place there is little hope of peace. But what will be the outcome of the affair, it is likely to leave a lot of bitterness in its wake - bitterness not only directed at the Principal and his henchmen, but also between the Welsh students and Welsh-language lecturers, who have often been critical of the students.

THE WORST EDUCATION IN EUROPE?

In 1790 Rev. W. Williams (Pantycelyn) wrote that about a third of the Welsh people were unable to read. As he was appealing for funds at the time in order to establish more schools, he is unlikely to have underestimated the number of illiterates. At that time, when the Welsh were almost entirely Welsh-speakers, their level of literacy was among the highest on earth, far higher than that of France, higher than that of England or the newly formed United States (if Negro slaves are taken into account); and surpassed only by Scotland and one or two other Northern European countries.

Today, though we concentrate in CARN on Welsh-language education, only 11 out of some 260 government maintained secondary schools in Wales are bilingual, and 90% of children are educated as English children with "ambell i lesson yn Welsh, chwarae teg, am fod Cymro bach oeddwn i" - Delydd Iwan (an occasional Welsh lesson as window-

dressing). Any illusions we might have had, that high Welsh education standards had survived for long after their translation into English, were demolished by statistics published in October, which showed that, while 16.5% of English children leave school without passing any subject at "O" level or C.S.E., the figure in Wales is 26.5%. Nor is this due to concentrating on the academic child, which used to be the complaint about education in Wales, for the results at "A" level are also deficient.

For those readers unacquainted with the English education system, which for these purposes includes Wales and Cornwall, I had better explain that "A" level (the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education - G.C.E.) is an exam. taken at about the age of 18, similar to the French Baccalaureat: a pass in three subjects gets one into university. "O" level (the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E.) is taken at about 16, as is the less academic G.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education), roughly equivalent to the French Brevet Elementaire du Premier Cycle. Those unable to pass a single subject at "O" level or G.S.E. are regarded by employers, including the government, as unfit for training in any skill. Thus the woeful education standards explain why, according to John Osmond in "Creating Conflict" (1977), the proportion of young people taking jobs requiring no training at all is 50% higher in Wales than the British average, and a quarter of overseas firms established in Wales have expressed disappointment at the quality of their work force or the difficulty of finding, in areas of high unemployment, adequate staff.

The Reasons

What is the explanation? Is it hat emigration owing to continuous economic neglect and depression since 1920 has removed those of superior intelligence to London or overseas, leaving large numbers of those genetically incapable of profiting from education? That is unlikely for the two English regions worst affected by depression don't have results much worse than their national average: Northumberland and Durham - 16.8% leaving without any "O" level or C.S.E. pass; Lancashire and Cheshire - 17%.

What is more, it is not rural Welsh-speaking Wales, which has suffered the worst emigration, which has the worst results. Five of the eight counties have results in the bracket 18.4% (Powys) to 23% (Gwynedd), not significantly worse than the average in the English West Midlands (19.5%) or London (19.2%). It is in the three counties of the South Welsh Coalfield, Wales's main industrial area containing half her population, that the educational standards are abysmal: in Gwent 27.9% leave without any certificate, in West Glamorgan 28.9% and in Mid Glamorgan 38%.

For more than fifty years this area of Wales has been ruled by the Labour Party, more or less as a one party state, and it has systematically used the education service for political corruption. As long ago as the summer of 1933, the poet-politician, W.J. Gruffydd, wrote in "Y Llenor": "Corruption is rampant in some councils"; and 42 years later the socialist magazine, Rebecca No. 6, stated "every one knows that the price of a headmastership is a year's wages". Every one who has lived in South Wales also knows that there are generous reductions on that price, if you happen to be an enthusiastic Labour Party militant or a relative of a councillor on the Education Committee, and that the same principles (or lack of them) apply in disposing of all other jobs, down to school caretaker.

The veil is not often lifted to reveal the putrid mass of incompetence, favouritism and dishonesty which has resulted; but anyone who wants detailed examples of the extraordin-

ary relations between Labour education administrators and teachers, and the utter demoralization of the many good teachers who remain in the system, should read Rebecca No. 8 (Corruption Supplement) on events at Trallwng Infants School, Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan and Greenfield Secondary School, Treceyn (Newbridge), Gwent in 1976. It reaches the point that the older pupils in a major secondary school in Abertawe (Swansea), West Glamorgan, imitating their elders and, supposedly, better, charge the younger ones protection money before allowing them to attend school (Western Mail 21 October 1978). Not surprisingly truancy is common; not everyone can afford these "school-fee". In January 1974 it was found that absenteeism in Welsh schools was 44% higher than in England (Absenteeism in the Schools of Wales - Welsh Education Office 1975).

The Consequences

One of the reasons for the enthusiasm for Welsh-language education and why, whenever parents have been given a free choice between English and Welsh language education for their children in Mid Glamorgan, the majority have chosen Welsh (in 1977 out of 160 primary-school entrants in Treocti, Y Rhondda, only ten chose the English school), must, to be frank, be the far superior standards of the Welsh schools. These have not been effected by the general corruption, and in consequence Labour M.P.'s like Neil Kinnock accuse them of being "elitist"! This is not the only reason for the demand for Welsh language education: in South Glamorgan too, which has two-party government and a tolerable education system (only 19.6% leaving school without a certificate), the majority of parents have been choosing Welsh schooling, when offered the choice: and there patriotism is certainly the main motive.

In case any readers think that England's own education is of a high standard, I must explain that it isn't: for instance, while over 20% of young French people attend the Grandes Ecoles or university, only 8% in Britain go to university; in U.S.A. 40% go to college, but in Britain only 13% get any further education; and whichever advanced industrial country comparisons are made, it turns out that England educates only a third or half as many to an equal professional and academic level, and it is even behind many Communist countries. This is at least consolation for us Celts, for it means that England's social and economic decline is more or less guaranteed to continue for the next twenty years, which period we should use to make our nations independent. But it means that the 90% of Welsh children taught in English are doubly disadvantaged: they are doing badly in an already inferior system. To answer the question which is the title of this article: no, Wales doesn't have quite the worst education in Europe, but between her and that dubious distinction stand only a few countries such as Portugal and two or three in the Near East, like Albania!

It is a gloomy contrast with the situation in Pantycelyn's day, when the Welsh were among the most educated and, in consequence, in the forefront of the Industrial Revolution: in 1809, between Abertawe and the Mumbles, the first passenger railway in the world was opened. It was horse-drawn, but already the Cornishman, Trevithick, had made the first experiments with a steam locomotive on rails at Merthyr Tudful in 1804. (George Stephenson's achievement was simply to put the two together.) South Wales was the obvious place for such developments: it was one of the only places on earth whose workmen could produce the necessary iron rails. Without them indeed the British Empire would not have lasted for long, since at Merthyr they cast the bulk

of the cannon for Nelson's fleet, Wellington's army and many of the continental armies which destroyed Napoleon.

Today we deceive ourselves that all is well with the English-speaking descendants of those Welsh-speaking workmen of 1800, when we argue that the value added per man employed in Wales is slightly higher than the English figure (leaving aside the great relative decline of English industry in the period). So it is; but that is only because capital investment in Wales has been much higher than in England, thanks to government grants and the tax concessions given to private companies investing in the "development areas" of which Wales is one. In terms of output per man per unit of capital employed, Wales is far behind, because of poor education and training.

It is a terrible comment on the supposed benefits to be gained by teaching in an "international language", which led to ramming the English language down the throats of Welsh children for 150 years; a policy, which has not only been a social and cultural tragedy, but is well on the way to producing an educational and economic catastrophe. Since England is unlikely to continue to subsidise investment in Welsh industry if we become independent, it is a matter of urgency that Welsh-language education, with its superior standards of competence and honesty, be expanded as fast as possible.

Ian Lloyd.

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS: France will distinguish herself by being the only EEC member State to have only one constituency. No regional representation will be possible.

STATUTES PROPOSED FOR AN ERE KELTIEK

- I. AN ERE KELTIEK aims to:
 - a) to safeguard and develop the personality, culture and vital right of the Breton people.
 - b) to struggle for a society founded on respect for man and nature which will give to all the means to participate actively in the affairs of their community, i.e. to control production, exchanges and services, as well as the exploitation of the national resources for the benefit of all.
- II. In order to secure these rights, AN ERE KELTIEK works together with other organisations to strengthen solidarity and co-operation between Brittany and the other Celtic countries in the cultural, social, economic and ecological fields.
- III. AN ERE KELTIEK will work for the application in Brittany and the other Celtic countries of the human rights and fundamental liberties, on the basis of a federal constitution for the European Community which will guarantee each ethnic group its autonomy and its originality.
- IV. These rights and liberties imply recognition of the principle that the existence of an ethnic community can neither be contested, nor can membership of it be repressed.

Prolonged postal strike Irish Republic expected to continue. Send urgent correspondence for Editor/Gen. Secretary/Sub-renewals to: c/o 8 Vancouver Drive, Béal Feirste (Belfast), Ireland, but inquire if strike ended.

NA CEANTAIR IMEALLACHA

Ba thráthúil mar a tharla go raibh seimeineár a reachtáil i mBaile Átha Cliath ar tionschar an Comhphobal Eorpach Eacnomúil ar theangacha míonlaigh na hEorpa, díreach agus mé ar d'an talt seo a scríobh ar tionschar níos leithne an CEE ar chultúr, ar pholaifíocht agus ar eacnamaíocht na dtíortha Gceiltí. Is i bpaimead le Riccardo Petrella "The Demands of the Periphery", agus a d'fhóisigh Ciste Comhoibrithe na hEorpa, is fear a deantar anailís ar an dtionschar leathan seo. Is consúl nath bhfuil anois bhaint díreach ag an gCiste leis an CEE. Eagrais neamhspleach idirnáisiúnta é Ciste Comhoibrithe na hEorpa (European Cooperation Fund) ag a bhfuil míonair naidheanna idéalaíochta, mar atá 1. cósaint cearta an duine 2. cósaint cearta míonlaigh 3. cósaint tomhaltóirí (consumers) 4. cósaint na timpeallachta - i gcoinne cumhaachta parliminte agus tionschair an thuinimh go háirithe 5. feabhas a chur ar teagasc teangacha 6. tionschar Eoraip aontaithe ar an gcuid eile den domhan a mhéas. Folláiríocht tuairisc bhliantúil chomh maith le tréachtas agus paimléid ar ghníomhaíochtaí áirithe den taighde agus den obair a dhéanann an Ciste. Is paimléad dá leithéid "The Demands of the Periphery" ina léirítear an fhorbairt éagthroim idir lár na hEorpa agus an imeall. Is é lár na hEorpa an fearsaid Réin-Lorraine agus síneadh idir Francfort-Rotterdam, siar i dtreo Londain agus iár tionsclaíochta Sasana, go dtí Páras agus an Eilbéis agus o dheas comh fada le Miolan, Turin-Geanoa; a bhfuil is a infhear on bhfearsaid seo is mó a shroictear imeall eacnamaíochta na hEorpa. Ní fí a fí go bhfuil na tíortha Ceilteacha uilig imeasc na ceantair imeallacha, agus siad na ceantair ina labhairtear teanga Cheilteach is fuidé umhgh ar fad. I. labhairt na hEirann, Iarthuaisceirt Cymru, Garbh Críoch na hAlban, Leon agus Morbihan na Briotáins.

Cé go bhfuil an fhorbairt éagthroim ag dul siar sa stair go dtí an léiv céad i gceannas aithe, ar dtús faoi na tíortha talún, ina ndiaidh sin ag na buirgíeigh agus an tionsclaíocht chaipíteil, is amháidh go bhfuil dlús curtha ag an réabhlóid teicneolaíoch le. Siad na saint-reithe a bhaineann leis na ceantair imeallacha easba tionsclaíoch teicneolaíochta agus scríbhí a ghabhann leo; gceannas lag cumarsáid agus cathrach; easba córaíocht díreachaigh sóisialta i gcúrsaí oideachais agus siáinte; an eacnamaíocht faoi amháid ag páirtithe seachtacha. Mar an ceannas leis an gcultúr. Is an larchumhacht a leagann síos an caighdeán, agus muna nglacann na pobail imeallacha leis é siad barbartha, neamhforbartha. Ba chuid den pholasáid faoi na cúlpa céad bliain anuas cur ina lár ar na pobail imeallacha gur cultúr (agus teanga dar ndóigh) uiríseal, mhífhábhaithe a bhí acu agus nach raibh sláint in ann dóibh muna nglacaidís leis an gcultúr agus an teanga a bhí i gcumhacht.

Ba chuid d'áidling Eoraip Aontaithe deirdeadh a chur leis an éagóir seo ach is é mhalairt atá ag tarbú. Cbhé fí a tháinig ar tréachtáid idir an lár agus an imeall, ní chun tairbhie an imill a ndeacha é; ar deontais agus ar síneadh láimhe is nío a bhíonn na pobail imeallacha ag brath. Anois siad na comhluachta móra idirnáisiúnta a rialaíonn tionscail san CEE, agus sáistear na tionscail sna ceantair is nío brabach, go bhíodh siad sa lár agus tógat na hualbrihte ó na ceantair imeallacha.

Cé go bhfuil cuid de na tionscail le infheistiú mór caipitil í solumh anois ar an imeall (na hardgeagais sa bhfásach mar a tugtar orthu) is beag baint atá acu leis an margadh logánta; tairgtear earraí iontu le cur ar an mhargadh idirnáisiúnta, agus is ón tásacht a thagann fúrnhoir na naimhábhair chomh maith. Ins na haiteacha a mbíonn teacht ar fhírise oibrithe ar phá íseal a cuirtear na tionscail seo.

Cé go luann Petrella Éire, Cymru, an Spáinn, an Ghréig agus an Turc ar na tíortha leis na coimníollacha fábharrach do na comhluachta - cfead dom go bhfuil an tuairim sin (fóisíodh an paimléad i 1977) as dáta cheana, cinnte comh fada is a bhaineann an scéal le Éire, Cymru agus fú an Spáinn dhó. Nuair a thagann feabhas níos tairbhí, go dtí tíortha bochta na hÁise faoi láthair mar shampla. Cuid eile den pholasáid is ea tionscail 'atáilacha' a chur ins na tíortha imeallacha sa dóigh nach mbéidh siad ag cur as do phobal reachmasach an lár. Tá neart samplaí den chineál sin againn sa tír seo. Raybestos Asahi, Oileán Faoidé, cam trécht ar na stáisiún eithneacha atá suite i ngach tír Cheilteach seachas Oileán Manainn agus Éire-go fóill. Lomóigh de roinnt caifairt fhíbhíochtaí ar chéarta an Atlantáigh, is mar ionaid saoire agus caitheamh aimire is mó atá forbairt in an do na tíortha ar an imeall, de reir pholasaithe roinnt an tsothair.

Cé go ndeir Petrella nach féidir an locht a chur ar an CEE faoin bhforbairt éagthroim atá ag tarbú laistigh dió, tá an Comhphobal ciontach sa mífid is nach bhfuil na pobail ar an imeall meallta ag an fómha d'Eoraip Aontaithe a cuireadh rompu le scór bliain anuas. I bhfianaise a bhfuil de ghluaiseachtaí fóirpialais imeasc na míonlaigh náisiúnta, é go measson údair áirithe gur gluaiseacht aontachta na hEorpa fé ndear an brogadh seo sna míonlaigh náisiúnta agus na gluaiseachtaí 'réigiúnda' sna náisiún stáit. Cé nach bhfeiceann an Dr. Petrella go bhfuil anois athrú mór a d'fheadadh córas níos cothroime a thionscnamh san Eoraip go ceann deich nó cúig bliana deag eile, pleann sé an straitéis bhí chun an chrothromóid churfa chur i bhfeidhm, agus deánfar lefimbhach ar an straitéis atá lefimbhach ag sé chéad eagrán eile.

Maidir leis an seimeir ar an teangacha míonlaigh a d'eaigraigh Oifig Eolais an CEE i mBaile Átha Cliath, chuir Phil Williams, cathaonleach Plaid Cymru, síos ar stádas na dtéanga úd. In ainneoin go bhfuil trí teangacha is tríochoa - 33 - a labhairt laistigh de limistéir an CEE (gan teangacha na rómteach a chur san áireamh), ní ach sé cinn díbh ina dtéangacha feidhmúla agus tá ac cion is fiche gan stádas - an Ghaeilge an ceann corr. Fágann seo 30 milliún duine san Eoraip nach bhfuil teanga oifigiúil de chuid an CEE í labhairt acu. Thrácht an Dr. Williams ar an eacnamaíocht a bhí i bParlaimint na hEorpa nuair a thosaigh Tom Ellis, feiste ó Cymru, ag labhairt Cymraeg agus chuir an Leas Ceann Comhaide stop leis ar an dóir, agus rinne amháidh leis an bhfeisire o Ceiticantia a labhairt an Occitan ar an ocaid chéanna. Bhí an Dr. Williams den tuairim go dtiocfaidh athrú ar stádas na dtéangacha míonlaigh nuair a bheadh an Spáinn, an Ghréig agus an Phortaingéil san CEE; bheadh na Catalánaigh, atá comh líonmhar leis na Danmhairgigh, ag Éil-eamh stádas ós dtéanga síd agus spreagáid na míonlaigh eile. Ciallítear fí a chur ar an CEE polasáid deirfa a tréachtáid le cabhair agus cósaint a bhairt do teangacha míonlaigh na hEorpa.

Faici láithir níl anois pholasáid dá leithéid agus d'

thugtar aon chabhair dóibh. In ainneoin sin mhéas Phil Williams gur thug an CEE deis chomhoibrithe do na míonlaigh teangan, agus luagh sé Oifig na dtíortha gan Ionadaíocht sa mBrúiseil.

Sí an Fhrainc an tír is measa ó thaobh cearta a aicéanadh ar mhíonlaigh teangan; dúltaítear aon aitheantas a bhairt don Briotáiní agus na teangacha míonlaigh eile laistigh de Stáit na Frainc.

Labhair Donnál Ó Riagáin ar stádas na Gaeilge san CEE. Mar a dúirt ní chéanna tá an Ghaeilge i gceann líombo dá cuid féin; ce nach teanga fíeidhmúil í sa seasamh dlíthiúil ag na cearpaí uilig a aistrítear go Gaeilge. Muna bhfuil stádas iomlán oifigiúil ag an nGaeilge is cosúil gur ar mhargálaithe na hEirann atá an locht. Tá aitheantas oifigiúil ag an nGaeilge i gCúirt na hEorpa, a bhíodhach sin do Chathbhall Ó Dálaigh, gach mairseann. Mhéas D. Ó. Riagáin go raibh a chion fein a dheanamh ag Oifig Eolais an CEE i mBaile Átha Cliath chun an Ghaeilge a chur chun tosaigh agus freastal cur a dheanamh ar Ghaeilgeoirí.

The first and main part of this article deals with the effects of the EEC on, and the unequal development of the peripheral nations and regions of Europe, as outlined in a pamphlet "The Demands of the Periphery" by Riccardo Petrella and published by the European Cooperation Fund. The latter is an independent, mainly research, organisation whose main aims are the defence of the individual and of minorities against the injustices of large monopolies and laws designed for the majority and the developed centre.

The second part of the article is a summary of a debate organised by the Irish Council of the European Movement on the effects of the EEC on minority languages. Phil Williams, Chairman of Plaid Cymru described how only six of the 33 languages spoken in the EEC are working languages with official status. This situation must change and likely will when Spain is admitted to the EEC, the Catalans, for example being more numerous than the Danish.

France remains the most intransigent member of the EEC in refusing to recognise the minority languages spoken within the French State. Donnál Ó Riagáin of Gael-Linn spoke on the situation of Irish in the EEC, which occupies a peculiar position all on its own. Although not recognised as an official working language, documents translated into Irish have legal status. Irish is recognised as an official language in the European Court, thanks entirely to the efforts of the late Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh.

Phil Williams referred to the incident which occurred in the European Parliament when the Welsh deputy, Tom Ellis spoke in Welsh; he was immediately stopped by the Deputy Speaker and reminded that he must use one of the working languages of the EEC. Tom Ellis was supported by a few other deputies including one from Occitania who proceeded to speak in Occitan until he too was interrupted. After Tom Ellis made a formal complaint, it was decided to refer the matter to the Committee on rules and procedure.

Although this incident received no publicity in the Irish daily press, it was reported on Radio na Gaeltachta, and Conradh na Gaeilge has since issued a statement condemning the action taken in the European Parliament and demanding that deputies be allowed to speak in their national languages.

Bríd Heusaff

NUCLEAR AND ENERGY ISSUES

Those organising opposition to the Electricity Supply Board's proposal to build the first nuclear power station at Carnore, Co. Wexford, received a boost to their campaign near the end of January. This came in the form of the decision of the U.S. Nuclear Safety Regulatory Commission to withdraw its endorsement of the so called Rasmussen Report on the safety of nuclear reactors because the document may be deceptive in underestimating the risk of disasters at atomic power plants. That report had been the cornerstone of those arguing in favour of nuclear energy.

The 18-volume study, under the direction of Dr. Norman Rasmussen of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, concluded that the threat posed by nuclear power was very low compared to other man-made or natural hazards. It found that the chance of a major disaster at a nuclear power plant was as remote as a meteorite striking a city - about once in 100,000 years. The report was released in 1975 and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission hailed it then as "the culmination of the most comprehensive risk assessment of nuclear plants made to date, providing an objective and meaningful estimate of the present risks associated with the operation of present-day light-water reactors in the United States."

But the commission has now accepted the findings of a major review which concluded that the Rasmussen report "greatly understated" the range of chances for a nuclear accident, and that the summary of the report most often quoted in debates gave people a "misplaced confidence in the validity of risk estimates and a more favourable impression of reactor risks than was warranted by the evidence."

In withdrawing its endorsement of the Rasmussen report's findings, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission said it would take "whatever corrective action is necessary" to make sure that similar fallings were not repeated. It also emphasised that the accident probabilities cited in the report "should not be used uncritically either in the regulatory process (governing atomic plants in the US) or for public policy purposes".

Local people near Carnore and others who have agitated for a public inquiry pointed out that the ESB's assurances relied heavily on the now discredited report and that the case for an inquiry was therefore greatly strengthened.

It now appears from statements made in the Dail (Parliament) that a definite decision may be deferred for up to two years. The anti-nuclear groups should use this time to organise more effectively and mobilise public opinion behind them.

It would seem to the writer that while the demand for a public inquiry should of course continue to be pressed a demand for a referendum to decide the issue should also be strongly made and pursued. A public inquiry should help in informing people but inquiries are often used by politicians as a whitewash for themselves though they control the composition of them, set out their terms of reference and so influence, at least indirectly, any final report or recommendation from them. In a matter of this magnitude the people themselves should make the choice.

Earlier in the month the Solar Energy Society of Ireland called on the Government to postpone a decision

on nuclear power. In a comprehensive report on energy policy it urged the government to establish a national energy authority and to speed up the development of renewable energy sources.

The society's report, "Toward Energy Independence", contains a detailed critique of the government's recent discussion document, "Energy - Ireland" which favoured building a nuclear station.

The 130 page report issued by the Solar Energy Society recommends that the Government should adopt a vigorous policy of energy conservation and, more broadly, a policy of increased energy effectiveness.

It should adopt a policy of rapid development of renewable energy resources - such as wind power, wave power, biomass energy, solar energy and water power - and should set as an objective Ireland becoming a leader in the exploitation of these resources.

The society suggest that the Government should allocate at least 20% of State revenue gained from the import and sale of hydrocarbon fuels to the achievement of these objectives.

It sets out quite detailed functions and powers which should be given to the proposed national energy authority. One of these is that the authority should liaise with the IDA in the establishment of energy-effective industries - an objective seen as paramount.

Whilst on matters nuclear the dismal record of the Irish State in recent times in votes in the United Nations Political Committee on the nuclear arms issues should be mentioned. At the end of last year a delegation representing 17 peace and ecological organisations handed in a letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. O'Kennedy expressing increased concern about this.

The letter said that according to press reports Ireland voted against a resolution declaring the use of nuclear weapons to be a crime against humanity and a breach of the UN Charter, and abstained from voting on one asking nuclear powers not to station nuclear weapons on the territories of non-nuclear states.

It asked whether the Minister was prepared to reconsider Ireland's position and to instruct the Irish delegate to vote for these resolutions in the UN General Assembly.

It is worth noting that a former Minister, Mr. Frank Aiken, had been responsible for promoting the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. A change in the non-aligned position at the UN has unfortunately been discernable in recent years with Ireland voting more with the US or EEC blocks. It would seem too that Ireland's traditional policy of neutrality is being attacked in a number of ways with the possibility of pressure to join NATO rearing its ugly head. J. O'F.

At the *Fisanna Fái* (Gov. party) Annual Conference at the end of Feb. the Minister for Industry, Commerce & Energy, Mr. O'Malley announced that a public enquiry into the nuclear issue would be held. This is to be welcomed, although the warning note on inquiries above should be heeded as in a subsequent radio interview the Minister made it clear that he was holding the inquiry to assuage public opinion while he seemed from his comments to have prejudged the issue in favour of the pro-nuclear lobby.

WATCH YOUR LANGUAGE!

The year 1979 is the centenary year of the birth of Pádraig Mac Piarais, one of the leaders of the 1916 Rising,

who was afterwards, amongst others, executed for his part in it. Pádraig Mac Piarais was also noted however for his activities on behalf of the Irish language and was for years an active member of the Gaelic League. He was a leading educationalist in his day and founded a bi-lingual school which was finally located in St. Edna's in Rathfarnham, Dublin. A Committee has been established to commemorate his centenary and a wide range of national, cultural, trade union and vocational organisations are represented on it including the Gaelic League, The Gaelic Athletic Assoc., and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann.

When an application from the Committee to erect a memorial to Pádraig Mac Piarais in the centre of O'Connell St., Dublin, came before the planning committee of Dublin Corporation however the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Paddy Belton, condemned the Commemoration Committee as "a bunch of Provos". This allegation was apparently based on the fact that so many of the Committee had their names in Irish! The Commemoration Committee has instructed its legal representatives to "take appropriate steps" in relation to the remarks of Mr. Belton, and a number of bodies have called for his resignation as Lord Mayor. This, incidentally, is the same Mr. Belton who has declared himself in favour of destroying the Viking site at Wood Quay, Dublin, a recognised national monument, before full excavations have been completed even in order to build an office block for the Corporation.

The amount of time devoted to programmes in Irish on the national television service continues to be a matter of disgrace. On the first Channel, RTE 1, just about four hours were broadcast in Irish per week in Dec. and Jan. last. This is being generous as it includes an hour and a half of programmes which are really bi-lingual and some editions of which are more 75% English and only 25% Irish. For this channel this gives a figure of only about 6% of total broadcasting time in Irish. When the second channel, RTE 2, opened last Nov. (see p.15 CARN 24) no programmes in Irish were broadcast at all. Then the most bountiful gift of 50 mins. per week was introduced! For this channel this means just over 2% per week in Irish (again one of the two programmes involved has deteriorated into a type of bi-lingual programme). Taking the two channels together the overall percentage of broadcasting time devoted to programmes claimed to be Irish language programmes is about 4%.

On the positive side in broadcasting it should be mentioned that Radio na Gaeltachta now broadcasts at mid-day on weekdays, bringing its total time on the air up to about 26½ hours per week (from approx. 22) and that it is planned to increase this further by broadcasting at mid-day on weekends also. While Radio na Gaeltachta is available on VHF nationwide it does, as its name implies, concern itself to a large extent with matters of purely Gaeltacht interest and cannot be said to provide a full national radio service in Irish. This gap could be made good by judicious programming on the national RTE-Radio but this unfortunately is not being done with only just over 5% of total broadcasting time being given to Irish language programmes. This figure also includes those programmes where the actual language content is minimal or excessive bi-lingualism is used. It is clear that if Irish speakers in Ireland want a proper Irish language service, with regard to both range and content, on TV and Radio, they must generate much more pressure on both RTE and the Government than has been forthcoming to date.

REVIEW:

"Dawn, an Irish Journal of Non-Violence" a special double issue (Nos. 38-39) on 'Non-Violence in Irish History'.

"Dawn" is a journal devoted to non-violent struggle and is committed to the belief that non-violence involves radical social change.

This double issue (Nos. 38-39) is entitled "Non-violence in Irish History" and contains a series of articles on non-violent struggle throughout Irish history from Daniel O'Connell to the present day.

The article on Daniel O'Connell, entitled "O'Connell and Non-Violence" states that O'Connell formulated the political concept of non-violence.

In the article "Quaker non-violence in Irish History", the Quaker tradition of disinterested relief activities is examined, from their invaluable relief work in the famine of 'Black '47' to their non-partisan Samaritanism in the various rebellions.

The small article, called "The First Boycott", gives an account of the unwilling contribution to the English language by an ex-Captain of the British Army.

The article on "Michael Davitt and the Land League" examines the great importance of the Land League in Irish history. It points out that the abhorrent conditions which Davitt endured in an English prison, formulated his evangelical belief in Penal Reform.

The article emphasises Davitt's advocacy for "..... persistent and non-violent agitation against the land system which he saw as the root of Ireland's problems....."

There is a very interesting article entitled "The other Irish in America", where the great ideological divide between the "Eastern Irish" and the "Westward Irish" of the U.S.A. is proposed.

The Eastern Irish are described as being violently racist and reactionary spurred on by the notorious Archbishop Hughes and others, whereas the Westward Irish were apparently very progressive on many questions.

Also included in this article is an account of the tragic conclusion to the Connemara's experiment, where the libertarian commune became the victim of a famine not hindered by reactionary, anti-Gaelic propaganda. The article on non-violent political action in Irish politics in the early twentieth century traces events up to and including the Civil War, and mentioning Sheehy Skeffington, Plunkett, Larkin and Connolly.

Lastly, the article entitled "Peace groups since the thirties" takes a critical examination of the various Peace Movements that have appeared in Ireland in the past 40 years.

This is a very interesting pamphlet from what appears to be a very welcome magazine. All believers in non-violent struggle and all socialists should read this pamphlet with wonder and interest. All Celts should applaud "Dawn" for this contribution and hope for more in the future. J. Llewelyn.

(Ed. Above pamphlet is available from "Dawn", 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6, at 40p inc. postage. Another Dawn pamphlet of interest to readers is "The Future of Irish Neutrality", 15p plus postage. Subscription to Dawn is £2.50p for 10 issues surface mail anywhere.)

* BRETON learning Irish would like help from person who could give exercises, explain grammar, and correct exercises. If willing to help on voluntary basis write to: Gwenaelle Cor, 88 Rue Claude Bernard, 75005 Paris

KERNOW

PLEMA KERNOW!

Scryven a'n Bagas Lufur Sawneck, a yu dyllys nans yu nebes myssow, a alw rak colva Consels Contethow yn tennyn a dhe ha gorra y gale consels yu brassa whath (Rag Ensompe! Consel an Soth West, ha henna ow kemeres Kernow atherth ynn). Nyns yu an scryven-ma an lagha whath mes an godros dhe Gernow yu apert.

Cales yu y'n dedhyow-ma rak agan Consel Kernewek dhe wal del y'n-er hep mellyars gans an governans yn Londres hag yma'n governans-na ow wylas fardhow pup deth oll may halo moghie y neth dres consels an contethow. Lemryn nebes tus a brofus ancow agan Consel Kernewek kens an vledhen 1990 mar te ha bos an scryven-ma an lagha.

Y'n dedhyow-ma, yth eson-y ow kelly lyes gwyth die drevow erel kepar ha Bristol hag Aberpym; Kernow yu omjunnyes dhe Aberpym rag an dewysyans rak Seneth Europe ha lemryn Kernow a ello a wel yn tyen marnans yu war.

(A recent Labour Party policy discussion document calls for the replacement of county councils by larger regional councils. Cornwall has already lost much in the process of centralisation on Bristol and Plymouth without yet another threat hanging over our heads.)

Tony Casey.

AN TAVAS KERNEWEK A SEF A'Y SAF

Yn Penvsyt, an moynha Kernewek pow a Gernow, yma'n tavas coth Kernewek ow yeth pur scon. Agensow studhoron ha cowsorion an teth a evrys bos ethom a Gowelhas noweth rag lesa Kernewek cowsys ha dry warbath an re-na nep a ylly y glappya.

War an peswera a Ysa Gorthesen yth esq fundys - "Gowelhas An Tavas Kernewek Pevans". Solabrys ythly an Gowelhas re wruk mur a ober da - kens oll yth eson-y ow tascryfa dorneryf y'n Lyverly Bodlietan dhe Rosoghen. An dorneryf-ma a ve scryfys gans Charles Rogers, prontier ha tythacyf ova a Synt Buryan. An dorneryf yu gyttyer an Tavas Kernewek, moy ages naw cans folen warbath yua. Ny a grys y fyth lyes ger noweth ynn hag a yl leswel leow gwak y'gan gentyfrow. Gans brassa nyver a grysow agan yeth a vyth yn poynt gwel, oeth taya may geryow yn scryf ha cow. Y'n tennyn a yth an hanow a Charles Rogers a vyth synas haval orth Dolly Pentreath ha Thomas Boston.

Prontier Rogers a gafas mur a eryow ha lavarow dyworth pobel goth y'n ployow a St. Buryan, St. Lavan, ha Sessan. Ef a dhallesha y ober bras yn 1835 ha y dherwedha yn 1861.

Pur seythan-oll yvlyt an Gowelhas a wra mervya y'n Dewotly Curtan ha clappya warbath yu Kernewek. Hens yu an forth wella dhe wal delnyth a yeth nag yu clewys menough y'n strewow ha trewow a dro drough. Yn Pevans ny a wayt ny dhe fundya Gowelhas dhe avansys hem y'gan yeth gnysek ha lesa Kernewek, kewsys. Yn-scon moy ha moy, pobel nep a wra dysky Kernewek a yl y uva hep caletter, ha kekyfys an tavas coth a wra dewedhes tam ha tam dhe'n strewow, marhaow ha trewow may fe cowsys kens.

Nyns yu marow an tavas Kernewek ha bynyth ha wra merwel kekyfys! Maza us whans through-why

gothvos moy yn-kever Cowethas An Tavas Kernewek
Pensans scryfeugh dhe'a Soryvnyas: Christopher
Jeffery, 8 Lansdowne Court, Alverton, Pensans, Kernow.
(A new language group formed in Pensans/Penzance have
set themselves the task of copying a manuscript, at present
in the Bodleian Library, which contains over 900 pages of
Cornish words gathered between 1835 and 1861.)



Mebyon Kernow demonstrations of solidarity with Cornish fishermen held in Falmouth, Penzance and Newlyn.

M.K. MOVES OUT OF INSULARITY

Undoubtedly M.K. (Mebyon Kernow) is still the leading Cornish nationalist organisation although it still has to convince all but a small minority of the Cornish people that it has viable social and economic policies to make the call for self-government anything other than a joke. The CNP (Cornish Nationalist Party), although a factor in pushing MK into making a more positive stand in the political field and the producer of a professional magazine which is playing its part in publicising the Cornish struggle abroad, is certainly no contender at present to MK. The last few months has seen MK organising well supported demonstrations of solidarity with Cornish fishermen, in major fishing ports. The threat to the Cornish mackerel shoals from overfishing by large boats from English and Scottish ports, etc., found local fishermen lacking in initiative or cohesion.

MK's solidarity marches sadly received more support from the general public than from the fishermen themselves and so it is likely that the party, which has found it can call a good number of activists onto the streets at anytime, will hold demonstrations on more general issues in the future. In other areas of Cornwall MK are co-operating with "Cornish" Labour Party activists to fight council house rent increases and to form an action group to that end. How much common ground will be found between MK and the non-nationalist "left" in the future is a matter of conjecture, but an initiative has already been made to form a united socialist affiliation from socialists and MK members to fight in the coming local government elections. Perhaps here MK could learn from the experiences of the UDB in Brittany before entering into such coalitions. However, even though some members have reservations about these new activities, i.e. the street demonstrations could turn into chairmint flag waving exercises and an excuse to forget the real need for viable policies, it would seem that on the whole MK's present move out of insularity is welcome.

I. Williams.

DOCKS CLOSURE

Less than a year ago 2 tin mines within 10 miles of Falmouth were closed by multi-national mining companies. Now comes the decision from some faceless bureaucrats in London that the ship repair business at Falmouth docks will close, throwing 1200 to 1300 men out of work. (The local male unemployment rate is already 15%.)

Although recession is general in the ship repair industry central government owned British Shipbuilders have singled out Falmouth for the axe. A pliable workforce and a docile local Tory establishment probably made Falmouth the easy option.

While workers at the yard plan what action to take, what is the future if the closure goes through.

Falmouth's industrial sector will collapse, unemployment will rocket and skilled workers will again be forced to leave Cornwall for jobs across the border. The docks area itself may be utilised as an oil exploration base for the moguls of BP or part of it may form the basis of a proposed "yacht marina" to cater for the wealthy. Neither prospect offers the hope of many long term jobs. Meanwhile Falmouth itself will decline into a retirement haven for rich English incomers and a centre for tourism.

That is why the closure must be fought. B.D.

BRITHONIC CONGRESS

The weekend of the 27th/28th/29th April will see a congress in Truro of the movements of Breith, Cymru and Kernow. It is being organised by the Kernow Branch, Celtic League. The aim of the congress will be to attempt to establish effective and practical ways in which the movements in these countries may work together. The organisations, so far, taking part are:— Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Plaid Cymru, Union Democratique Bretonne, Mebyon Kernow and Cowethas An Tavas Kernewek.

All Celtic League members and anyone else interested are invited to attend. For details please contact: M.D. Williams, 23 Princes Street, S. Just, in Penwith, Kernow.

A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE DECLINE OF CORNISH AND THE CELTIC LANGUAGES IN THE CELTIC ISLANDS.

Much of the work aimed at explaining and restoring the status of any of the Celtic languages within Western Europe (or indeed any minority language) often admits to a subjective interpretation in favour of that language. This is only to be expected; interpretations of the extant information on the decline of any one language will vary in accordance with the end perspective sought.

However, I would like to suggest that many workers and workers in the Celtic areas are guilty of a blinkered approach, in that deliberately or otherwise, they ignore the decline of any one Celtic language within the context of all the Celtic languages in these islands. Briefly, I should like to show, using the Cornish language as an example, how there has been a general pattern and process behind the decline of the Celtic languages, and that analysis of any one language too often stops short of placing it in the wider context. It is the understanding of this wider relevance that provides the "holistic perspective".

Scarcity of data the problems of levels, of inference are common problems in studying the Celtic lan-

guages — detailed analysis in a short article is impossible, but it is hoped a general picture will emerge which may be useful in considering the place of Cornish in Celtic language geography.

P.A.S. Pool points out that Cornish died through the neglect of the majority of the people who should have cherished it (Pool, 1975). This may be true to an extent and may confirm one of W. Scawen's sixteen reasons for the decline of the language — "... that there is a general stupidity (apathy) in the people ..." Asserting this to be the case or trying to justify the thesis that the Cornish people were doing the best for themselves in adopting all things English, is to adopt an overly simplistic class/language model and to ignore the mechanisms that have operated within Cornwall to remove her language and culture. It is the importance of this class/language stratification and other related factors and their occurrence in other Celtic language areas that suggests this overall model above.

The importance of the town or 'urban place' is not to be minimised within our scheme. "Cornish towns were not a natural Celtic growth, but a spontaneous development of English feudal magnates and ecclesiastical land holders who forsook the profit that would arise from urban rents, from tolls of markets and fairs ..." (Halliday, 1975) It is within the urban place as the focal area for the intrusion of non-Celtic languages, usually English, that the upper classes and traders divorce themselves in language terms from the Celtic-speaking lower classes. The concept of class/language stratification is of importance in understanding the role of the urban place. The towns in the Pale of Ireland, the nineteenth century coastal resorts of Wales and the earlier Normanisation of South Wales, the English, Flemings, and Bretonners in the early burghs of Scotland, all had a major effect in developing class/language stratification within an urban context and acted to further this in the whole fabric of society by the expanding trade patterns associated with developing urban colonialism. (And in this case, therefore, language colonialism.)

The equation of English with 'gentility' finds common expression in all the Celtic areas. In Cornwall, Nicolas Boson informs us he was forbidden to speak it at home. (Boson in Nance, 1930.) John Norden's *Description of Cornwall* (1728) states of Cornish that, "... of late the Cornish men have much conformed themselves to the use of the English tongue ... from Truro eastward it is in manner wholly English. In the west part of the county, as in the Hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier, the Cornish tongue is most in use amongst the inhabitants, and yet through the husband and wife, parents and children, master and servants, do mutually communicate in their native language, yet there is none of them in manner but is able to converse with a stranger in the English tongue, unless it be some obscure people, that seldom confer with the better sort". (p.26) (Note the commonly occurring implication of language with respectability.)

The westward movement of the Celtic languages retreating before English is often evidenced by place-names. Wakelin's analysis of place-name phonology within Cornwall shows the main areas of Celtic formation well to the west in Cornwall. (M.F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall*, 1975). Cornish as the vernacular of a Celtic peasantry or lower-working class had vanished in eastern Cornwall by the seventeenth century at the very latest and probably much earlier. Scant reports of Cornish conversation or records of when the last 'traditional' Cornish was spoken only con-

firm the fact that by the Reformation, only western areas in Cornwall retained an all-classes Cornish-speaking people.

Lack of a Cornish Prayer Book or Bible had an important effect upon the fortunes of the languages. The introduction of printing could in no way act as a safeguard for written Cornish — only the upper classes could read and their literature was mostly in English. Truly Cornish literature had long since lost its roots in the language. The loss of the old oral tradition, the break-up of the Glamey Priory literary group in the sixteenth century and the group associated with Kelgwin and Gwas in the seventeenth century also had an effect in severing the literary traditions from the language body.

Incorporation into the nation-state of Great Britain has been synonymous with anglicisation at whatever period one cares to examine. Each of the Celtic areas has had their 'Act of Union'; in the case of Cornwall the First Act of Uniformity in January, 1549. Lack of a Cornish-based education, of a religious service firmly based in Cornish, the above class/language stratification. "... the coming in of strangers of all sorts ..." (Scawen, c. 1680, publ. 1777), especially into the tin and fishing industries, all find parallels in the other Celtic language areas. W. Bodinar's letter of July 1776 in which he writes "... there is not more than four or five in our town can talk Cornish now, old people 80 years old. Cornish is all forgot with young people.", is symptomatic of the age stratification inherent in a declining language, when the monoglot body consists mainly of old people. All these factors have relevance in understanding the decline of any minority language in a geographical and historic perspective.

Within a holistic and Celtic perspective, we should note that all the factors so briefly outlined here have operated upon the other Celtic language areas with different intensity and with different effect at varying periods in their decline. Important differences do occur between the various areas, but to ignore the substantial similarities also present at any period is to be hide-bound by a very egocentric viewpoint. Such a viewpoint is not a valid interpretation of the decline of the Celtic languages within these islands. Only in understanding the holistic nature of the decline of these languages and in explaining, not simply describing, the factors behind the overall loss of the Celtic languages from the hearts and mouths of the Celtic speaking peoples can any one particular language area be fully comprehended in terms of the specificity of its own language geography. Not to do so weakens the common bands of the Celtic language areas.

* Mebyon Kernow's magazine "The Cornish Nation", from: Trevelata, Trewirge Hill, Redruth, at 25p each, plus post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (includes post).

* Cornish Nationalist Party's magazine "The Cornish Banner", from: Trellispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell, Price 50p. Subscription £2.50 (Overseas airmail £4).

* Cornwall's radical magazine "An Wernyn", from: 23 Basset Street, Redruth, at 20p each (includes post), or £1 for 6 issues (includes post).

* Cornish language lessons for beginners, tape or cassette. Enquiries to: 82 Cornish Crescent, Truro.

MANNIN

SCOLTAGHYN AYNS "ULLEE"

The use of the SAS in north-east Ireland has heightened divisions between the British military and the RUC.

Cha nee ny Shalidee nyn lomacan ta guce dy jearn ny "Brits" gimmeaght ass Nerin fy yerrey hoal wass. Erskyn ooilley nearys y laa va guilley ennyssit John Boyle marrooit ayns rullick ec sidooyn Goidagh, ta tooilley sleih er jeet dy ve imeagh mysh pooar Hostyn ayns twaite ny hErin. Er son cooney lesh arnee Hostyn, va John Boyle shottit gy base: shen red ta er chur er yn Artyrnagh Paisley as Unnaneyseyryn elley dy ve feer chorree. Gyn ourys, er Roy (Ree?) Mason hene, t'eh boirit mysh y chooilley. Ta shen baghtal ry aktin, er y fa dy ren ny Sostnee symney daa oltey jeh'n SAS er-ash gys Nerin dy chur freegrytn da feyishtyn mychione cooish John Boyle.

Dy chooilley chearyt ta ny Sostnee loayrt mychione ny "forsyn shuckyraght" ("security forces") ayns "Ullee". T'ad gearree soilshaghtyng magh dy vel yn arnee (foshilt ny folit) as ny meoiryn-shee unnaneyssit sy chaggey noi ny Shalidee. Agh dy firringagh, cha nel ad unnaneyssit. Ny-yeih shen as ooilley, she Yernee y chooilley smoo jeh'n RUC, ga dy vel ad foast gearree jannoo obbyr Hostyn jee. Tra vees y caggey harrish, bee yn chooilley smoo jeh'n meoiryn-shee tannaghtyn ayns Nerin. T'ad toiggal yn cheer oc hene. Ach cha nel ny sidooyn toiggal monney. She guilley aegery ram jee ta cur feoh da Nerin as na Yernee. Foddee ta ram jeh'n sidooyn credjay yn skeel breaagh shen dy vel ad freyill shee ody? daa phossan dy Yernee keoi ta caggey kyndagh nish cooishyn credjue. Ansherbee, cha bee monney deneydsy ry gheddyn veih ny sidooyn cadjin. Eer fegooish yn SAS, veagh scoilley eddyr arnee Hostyn ayns RUC. Agh nearys haik yn SAS stiagh, ta'n RUC er jeet dy ve shucky dy vel ny sidooyn jannoo ram marraan.

Tra hank tooilley sidooyn Sostnagh gys Nerin twaite jeh bleaney er dy henney, va ymmodes sleih credjay dy row ny sidooyn freyill yn shee. V'ad symnit stiagh ec yn RUC er y fa nagh dod ny meoiryn-shee freyill yn shee. Ayns y toshiagh, va dy chooilley pheagh (bunnys) graihagh er sidooyn Hostyn! Agh ny veggan as ny veggan va sleih toiggal nagh row veg er chaghlaa. Va ny campyn-pysson currit er bun as va Doonaght Foalley ayns ayns Doire. Eer ny u'Unnaneyseyryn nish, cha nel ram jee shucky dy vel arnee Hostyn jannoo yn obbyr ch choote.

Sy toshiagh, dob reitlys Hostyn dy row fir SAS "gobhragh" ayns Nerin. Eight v'ad gra dy row yn SAS ayns Ard Mhacha juss ny lomacan. Nish ta Ree Mason goail rish dy vel ny dunvyrn shoh shnoaghyrgh ayns ymmodee bull (gyn ourys ta kuse jee er nynsaghey paart dy Yernish). Ta Mason credjay dy vel yn SAS jannoo dy mie noi ny Shalidee -- shen ny t'eh gra, ansherbee. Cha nel yn Masonagh credjay dy lhusagh ny reillyn kaart bwee jeh arnee Hostyn ayns Nerin goll er caghlaa. Ta shen dy ghra, ta Michael Camaran jeh'n SDLP kiart tra t'eh gra dy dooar ny sidooyn Sostnagh oardagh "dy hottal ry hoi marroo". Cha nearys dy vel yn RUC boirit: t'eh orroo shid creoghyn y phobble y chooney as sleih oney goll er marroo ec arnee Hostyn. Brian Mac Stoyll.

SECOND NATIONALIST SEAT IN DOUGLAS TOWN COUNCIL

Members of the MNP -- the Manx National Party -- have cause for celebration. Their candidate, Mr. Reg Owen, a retired oil bulk plant manager, was successful in a straight fight with Labour by a most satisfactory majority. Mr. Owen polled 756 against Mr. Matt Ward's 560. The seat was gained in Atholl Ward which has always been regarded as a staunch Labour stronghold. This follows up the very near miss by Party Chairman, Councillor Mrs. Audrey Ainsworth in the same area of Douglas. She was narrowly beaten by Labour -- by 7 votes only -- in a four-cornered fight for the House of Keys North Douglas seat before Christmas.

It seems that the tide is beginning to turn on the Island -- an electorate that has been denied the chance to vote Nationalist for so long is now seizing its opportunity.

Issues which have featured prominently during these elections have been headed by the Repeal of the Usury Act. Interest on loans which is legally recoverable on the Island has been limited to 12½%. This has provided a most valuable safeguard to the lower paid and especially to the young first-mortgage holder. It is admitted that "side-steps" round the Act abound, such as "Administration Fees" etc., but in the main the Act has worked well. Government assurances that the new Moneylenders Act will safeguard anyone who is charged an unreasonable (sic) amount of interest will cut little ice with realists among us. It looks as though the Repeal will complete its passage through both Houses with little difficulty so we must hope that our deep misgivings will not be realised. Bitter experience has taught us that "reforms" most eagerly sought by the Finance Sector are not always to the benefit of the native Manx.

The everpresent problem of control of immigration is on everybody's mind. EVEN the House of Keys has suddenly realised that the problem does exist. Everyone agrees that something must be done -- but how? A qualitative control with its obvious dangers -- or a purely quantitative one.

And all the present nonsense about Millenium -- a thousand years of what? -- that is at present exercising the corporate mind of the body politic, cuts little ice with an electorate which is more concerned with where the money is coming from!

Our present position in relation to the EEC -- the Island is reckoned a special case -- seems to ensure that we suffer all the disadvantages whilst enjoying none of the advantages that full membership would entail. The continual stream of agricultural legislation emanating from Brussels could well spell the death-knell of our local farming industry with its small mixed units. Another case of our being dragged along at Westminster's apron strings.

Despite the unrest being felt by the native Manx at present, we are watching the progress of the Devolution Bill for Scotland and Wales with great interest. We would like to point out to our fellow Celts that the financial stability that our Island undoubtedly enjoys at present is largely due to our greater degree of independence from Westminster.

CARN 21: -- national reviews and 9 pages of poetry in Celtic languages (with translations), also INDEX to CARN Nos. 1 -- 20 available from the secretaries. (see p.24)

1079-1979: THE 900th ANNIVERSARY OF KING ORRY

This year, 1979, sees the 900th anniversary of Godred Crovan - the King Orly of Manx tradition - one of the greatest political figures of Manx and Hebridean history. According to Manx tradition King Orly left the island of Islay in the Inner Hebrides with an army of Hebrideans and invaded Man (in 1079) landing at the Lhen on the north-west coast. It is said that he was guided to the island by the Milky Way, and from that time on this has become known to Manxmen as 'Raad Moor Ree Gorree' -- the great road of King Orly. Our main source for events of this period is the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles', the mss. of which, now housed in the British Library in London, is to be loaned to the Manx Museum, and will be on display there during 1979. The Chronicles tell how following the battle of Sky Hill near Ramsey, King Orly began his rule in Man.

Godred Crovan, it can be shown, had strong Hebridean and Dublin connections that enabled him to have legitimate claim to the throne of Man. For some time previous to 1079, coin hoards relating to this period demonstrate considerable Dublin activity in the Island from between c.1025-1075, especially in the north, and it is probable that a large settlement of Dublin Norse and Irish took place on the north during this period. Godred Crovan was in all likelihood a second cousin to Godred Sitricsson, who ruled in Man till 1075, and who was a great-grandson to Olaf Cuaran Sitricsson, the great Norse King of Dublin, who died in 981. Godred Crovan began his rule in Man in c.1079 and formed a dynasty of Manx kings which lasted till 1265. Godred Crovan himself died in Islay in 1095.

The importance of the Manx kings had was their powerful fleets which controlled the Irish Sea area, and on more than one occasion English kings paid them to keep this region quiet, while they could concentrate on continental or internal matters. Godred Crovan and some of his successors, because of their Dublin connections, held sway in that area by invitation of the local population. Although there were kings in Man & the Isles of Norse extraction before Godred Crovan, they ruled in those parts as vassals either of the Dublin Kings or of the Orkney earls who held sway over the Hebrides from c.980 to c.1065.

Godred Crovan was probably the first king in Man and the Isles to rule independently of other spheres of influence and it is in 1979 that Manxmen will celebrate the 900th anniversary of the commencement of the reign of Godred Crovan, more affectionately known as 'Ree Gorree', or King Orly.

Shorys y Crearyr.

LECTURE ON MANNIN

A fascinating and far-ranging talk was given in Mannin recently by the eminent Celtic scholar, Professor Heinrich Wagner. Professor Wagner has been Professor of Celtic and Comparative Philology in the Department of Celtic, Belfast, since 1958. His visit to Mannin was at the invitation of Cultural Exchange (Bing Choonee Eddy-Cheltyagh).

Despite the snow and ice-bound conditions, an audience of about fifty heard Professor Wagner's talk. He took as his theme the name of the Island, and its associations with other areas and peoples. From the evidence of names, it would appear that these have always been linked with seas, rivers and islands -- have been, in fact, strongly connected with water.

This theme was bound up with an investigation into the traditions surrounding Mananan, who is associated with

the sea (especially in Manx tradition), and Manawyddan, who is, rather, a cultivator of crops.

It was a thorough investigation that ranged throughout Europe, back to the Indo-European cradle of civilisation, into North Africa and the Mediterranean areas, and so back to Mannin.

Professor Wagner produced evidence from many sources which linked Mannin with the worship of a far more powerful deity than is revealed by the Gaelic stories of Mananan or the Brythonic stories of Manawyddan. Both traditions were shown by the Professor to be complementary, referring to two faces of the same god.

Cultural Exchange are very grateful to Professor Wagner for accepting their invitation to add a visit to Mannin to his already busy schedule. To hear the Professor take his theme from the purely local to the truly international is to realise that the study of Celtic culture is no narrow field, but an ever-expanding horizon.

** As the Summer 1978 issue of CARN recommended to its readers, I've tried to publicize the struggle of the Irish Republican prisoners in H-Block, Long Kesh and Armagh Prison for political status. I wrote an article on the issue for the *Obligue Times*, the student paper at Seneca College in Toronto. I've also made some photocopies of the letter from a Republican prisoner printed in CARN Summer 1978, and given that, along with copies of a leaflet about H-Block (sent to me by IRSP) to a number of left-wing groups in Toronto. The Canadian left, in general, has been disgracefully silent on the freedom struggles on the Celtic nations, including Ireland. However, the positive responses to the material I gave them, on the part of at least two of the groups, indicates that this may change.

The little notice in the Autumn 1978 issue of CARN about Irish classes in Toronto has got some response. I believe the teacher of the class got some letters from people expressing interest in the classes. Incidentally, there is a second class for beginners (this wasn't certain back in the summer).

Other Celtic news in Toronto is that An Comunn Gaidhlig Toronto has set the date for the annual Mod Ontario (May 12). There will be the following categories: choir, solo voice, group voice, fiddle, accordion, clarsach (harp and auto-harp), reading and recitation. All songs, recitations, etc. will be in Gaelic. For more information contact: Flora Skeaff, 1002 Lawrence Avenue East, Apt. #6315, Don Mills, Ontario, Canada, M3C 1R4. P.F.

U.S.A. BRANCH OF THE CELTIC LEAGUE

The results of the election held in the Autumn to fill the posts of branch officers were:-- Secretary: Eadhonn Ua Cuiain (see address p. 24) Co-ordinator: Sheila Dwyer (see address p. 24) Treasurer: Peter Moyle (see address p. 24)

Six assistants were nominated for national chairs. Their task will be to gather information about the respective Celtic countries and answer queries concerning these. Further information from the branch secretary.

CATALAN wishes to know more about the Celtic cultures and would like to correspond with people in the Celtic countries. If interested write to: Josep M. Ribari Massachs, Avinguda Girona 2, Sant Gregori (Girona), Catalonia -- PP.CC -- Spain.

FOLK SONG EXCHANGE

I wish to suggest one form of Celtic exchange that I am willing to experiment in with any such minded fellow Celts from other Celtic countries. That is the exchange of tapes of folk songs from our respective countries.

Recently I was in Alba learning Gàidhlig there. I was prompted to do so because of academic interests (having started a Ph.D. that involves collecting oral data from the four largest Celtic countries) but, as well, through sheer fascination with the musical tradition of the Gaeltachd.

I spent two years in North Wales as well, so that I can speak Welsh reasonably well, and Gaelic to some extent. This, by the by, had me very confused when I had to shift in a weeks time from Gaelic to Welsh and then to my own Breton. At least I always spoke some sort of inter-Celtic miscellany.

I am very interested in folk-songs, to sing them myself and to listen to them. And I suggest that some thought is spent as to how the Celtic League might initiate more seriously minded cultural/musical exchange than those taking place. Nobody I'm sure, would deny the importance of music in the cultural background of present day language fighting. Yet, with the exception of Alan Stivell most inter-Celtic borrowings seem, oddly enough, to concentrate on English or French language songs, or purely instrumental bits. This is restricting our traditions and quite often concentrating on fairly recent material.

What I am suggesting is this. That people interested could, through your columns, advertise for tape-gathering pen friends. The only three requirements I see are these. That they be keen amateurs of folk music. That they know well their own Celtic language (at least). That they possess a tape recorder of any description.

The problem, when one wants to go deep into the tradition of another country, is manifold. For one thing it takes no small insight to tell apart genuine traditional stuff from bogey, stage, watered down adaptations.

Quite a few people who are themselves reasonably musically minded can't read fluently staff notation. And that in turn is mostly useless at the same time in telling us how the song is really to be sung (pitch, rhythm...), unless you have it on tape/record as well. Thus, quite good collections of genuine staff are of no use to most people, (e.g. Margaret Fay Shaw's collection of South Ulst songs, or Duhamel's (An Uhe's) for Breton).

On the other hand, most material available commercially just doesn't deliver the goods, with the outstanding exception of DASTUM in Brittany and the School of Scottish Studies collection. These give you both the sound of it and the words.

Yet it seems that in no Celtic country has there been understood what is needed systematically to accompany any record of folk singing in the vernacular: full transcription of the words in the original. This to my mind is far more essential than any "background" or pretty picture on the sleeve. To give really adverse examples:

— Flora MacNeill's two L.P.'s. One without any transcription. The second only giving English translation!

— The Goadge Sisters two L.P.'s. Vague French language references to the meaning of songs on the second record.

— Canu'r Gymry/Welsh Traditional Folk Songs. Briefly, thoroughly bilingual background to the songs. No transcription.

I myself spent a few hours with one of the Goadge Sisters writing down words of all their songs on record. Three

years later I never managed to have them published yet. I'm sorry to say that most young KAN HA DISKAN singers in Brittany (equivalent of Scottish Pòrt a Beul) always play around with words from half a dozen songs only. On the other side a really interested friend of mine (both young and having learnt the language from scratch) has a repertoire of more than 150 different (all traditional) lyrics to accompany dancing, from all musical traditions of Brittany. Even inside the individual Celtic countries the problems facing the amateur are sometimes tantalizing!

My suggestion is precisely this:

- Exchange of tapes of singing (traditional style) from whatever source (be it commercial records, personal field research, archives of any kind, recording in concert or whatever) to be used privately.
- Full transcription of words to the tunes, either as they are on the recording, or in a fuller or slightly different version (often to be found somewhere in print).
- For people with no working knowledge of the other language a teaching tape reading of the words with clear rendering of suggested pronunciation, and translation of latter.

I am myself interested in any (genuine) material from the Gaeltachd of both Scotland and Ireland, and of course from Wales. I am quite ready to exchange this for such like material from Brittany.

My suggestion is made as well to all people with a real concern for their languages and love of Celtic musics. We need, as much as possible, to have our songs sung, known, and listened to. This is the case with Wales where difficulties are minimum to the amateur, with all incentives provided for anybody to discover his own tastes and abilities. In Scotland the Gaels are currently pursuing a suicidal policy as far as their traditional singing is concerned, with a narrowing of it (nothing has been done to adapt Puir a Beul to Ceilidh dancing, and quite a few lessons could be learnt there from the example of the Breton "festou noz"). In Brittany we're putting up a very poor show but then we never had much self-confidence to spare, with a few really brilliant exceptions.

As a matter of fact I am presently trying to initiate in Brittany one way of seriously going about the matter of popularizing our own singing.

This consists of publishing, at low cost, as many words of songs as possible. Giving 40 odd songs in a book such as the MacCormick Collection of Waulking songs, with current price up to £10 or more, is not my idea of really trying to make it popular. Quite a few such song books exist, but unhappily they often indulge in face to face translation, or concentrate on the bogus element in the singing tradition. As far as translation is concerned my own opinion is that it is needless on the original text, it can be provided in separate leaflet form, optionally.

The second phase is to provide teaching tapes of songs. What do I mean by this? I mean traditional style rendering of first verses done for that single purpose. Any objection that this is restrictive of tradition (different verses being sung in different ways) I'll answer by this observation: rarely do traditional singers nowadays sing any song in full. To me the tape should contain as many songs as possible. With indication of other (commercial or not) sources where fuller renderings may be heard. This must be done by people who both know their language very well and are really immersed in the tradition.

However, exchange on an individual basis might consist of recording of the singing by the person herself, provided one is well acquainted with his own tradition (and is

not trying to tackle multi-voices singing). Voice does not have to be extensively good and recording tapes! How often does one find young singers more or less aping accents and tones of old persons because local traditional singers happen to be in their late seventies. To me, any crackling bad quality when recording is better than staff notation. If you have the words written some place and a good ear for music this is the next best thing to learning songs from the singing of your own grandmother (supposing that, unlike my own, she knew more than a few hymns!).

Personally, my tape recorder is a Uher 4000. But I have a cassette recorder as well and would be quite prepared to exchange on either basis. And don't get me wrong, and write to me in English, if you know either Welsh or Scottish Gaelic (even Irish Gaelic I suppose I could read to some extent, and I definitely would not need tapes of reading of words).

Sorry for this long letter but I am vain enough to think that this is a new idea that needs to be published if cultural exchanges between Celts is going to mean anything besides buying each other's records occasionally and getting drunk together in Killarney, An Oriant, or Yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol.

Gwaelan Senjou Keltieg. Mikael Madeg,
15 rue St. Gueoul, 29230, Landivizio, Breizh/France.

NO WALLS ON THE SEA: Part 3

The Overview, A Brief Synopsis

The Early Period:

The sparse evidence of the archaeologists gives us a factual, incomplete, record of the progress of events as man entered the major island groups on the North West rim of Continental Europe. The verbally preserved folklore especially in Ireland and Scotland, gives us a second account of the same period as it was told to the Celts, adds a few names, and around these "Hero" figures ties much that man wished to remember about his past, in a world where written recording had not yet developed. Only in the latter days of the epoch did monks arrive to record fragments of that old verbal tradition in Latin and by the nature of their calling they were not too favourably disposed to the old traditions, which they viewed as pagan and barbaric, so much was ignored and lost for ever.

Perhaps the explosion of the Volcanic Island of Thera, 1500 years B.C., which also destroyed one of the earliest seagoing financial empires, set in train in the Med. the process which sent the earliest explorers beyond the pillars of "Mannin Mor MacLir" to Spain and ultimately to Ireland. It is doubtful that those early exiles (a large merchant fleet was at sea, escaping the tidal waves of the eruption) ever left the Mediterranean, but feeling their gods had turned against them they reacted predictably. The "Domino Effect" would cause other men to venture into the Atlantic, to pioneer the exploration and routes the early Phoenicians ultimately followed also, to link with the Tartessian and Veneti sea trade zones which came to be on the Western Coasts. Men in ships came to Ireland, found a native people there, defeated them and ruled these islands.

The naval archaeology gives us some clues to boat development, but it is even more difficult to find ship traces, than to excavate camp and village sites and the progress of boat technology has to be more obscure, but boats and later ships, there were. It is also certain that these new "Incomers" would explore their new world to its farthest

limits on sea and land. This is phase one, The Early Period. There is only scant data and for a long time yet, much will remain unclear.

The Middle Period, emerges with the influx of the Celts, whose verbal traditions begin to dispel the mists of time and which give us our earliest insights into the social and political organisation. Nothing stands still in history, and internal progress was there, but the pace was slow. In the context of "European History" the next major developments were caused by the expansionist policies of Rome and the trigger to new developments came with the defeat at sea of the Veneti and the invasion of Britain, leading to an uncoordinated reaction by the Celts of these Islands. That too would change and as has been pointed to earlier the need to hold off Roman Conquest would lead to a loose form of co-ordinated opposition and in the end, to the emergence of a few leaders capable of co-ordinating a strategy and widely separated campaigns on land and sea to frustrate Rome's plans. By its very nature that effort had no real answer and the sea-borne trade system into a naval overseas war, using the earliest forms of seaborne commando raids to disrupt Rome's supply routes. From this sea offensive in time, came the contacts to allow discussion with the leaders of the Germanic peoples, and former kintfolk in Gaul and Spain, further expanding the techniques and zones of seaborne offensive. The land based Empire had no real answer and in time, the combined sea and land pressure caused Britain to be abandoned and the Roman control of the French mainland collapsed. The story of events is not so dim now and we moderns can begin to see what happened, why and where it happened. The old peoples re-won partial control of their old homelands, but once again, progress and the legacies of Rome had moved the social order on. There was a power vacuum, and it had to be filled. In Britain Vortigern fought the Saxons for control and some one man lies behind the Arthur Legend and the mounted force of "equites" fighting to hold the Island for the native people. The crowns of sea-power passed from the Celts to the Norsemen, and Danish and Norwegian "empires" held sway from Iceland to the Baltic. Their sea command and fleet systems were the logical development of the older seapower model and they inherited all its sea lanes and control zones, and pushed beyond those.

Basically, the Viking story is the Late Period, fading into the world of modern history. The old system was ending. It had its origins in a culture system which was fairly uniform from the Ireland of prehistory, to the banks of the Danube, it was the Culture of the area North of the Alps. It lasted longer in the islands of the rim than anywhere else, right down to the collapse of the clan system, after Culloden. Traces of it survive to this day.

In 54 B.C. Julius Caesar defeated the Veneti at sea, and created the problem which plagued Rome to the end of the epoch. It is the problem of a land based imperialism faced by an island based, off shore sea power which could not be totally defeated. The same process defeated Napoleon and Hitler. The only wall which can be built on the sea is made of men in ships. What Byron penned of Napoleon was true of the seafaring Celts.

They too were "gamesters, whose Game was Empire, whose stakes were thrones, whose table was earth, and whose dice were human bones". That in short is the overview. That is why the epoch must be re-evaluated.

Joseph Nolan.

From Celts to Cobbers, a record of Australian airs and songs, is available from Sophie Masson, 26 Grosvenor St., Neutral Bay, 2089 NSW, Australia. Many of the airs are of Irish origin and some of the songs deal with convicts' revolts and escapes (Moreton Bay, The Catalpa,....) When the songs of the early settlers lost their meaning, the airs survived in new ones such as the Cross of the South dealing with a miners' fight. The tradition to-day is maintained by singers like Chris Armstrong who has written two of these songs. Sophie Masson, assistant secretary of the newly founded Sydney University Celtic Society, gives a commentary.

A.G.M. RESOLUTION NUMBER 12

The text published in **CARN 24** (p.24) was discussed at the AGM but time was not available to arrive at a final version. There was agreement that each Celtic language, to be viable, needed to reach a position where they would be learned and spoken throughout their national territory; for this they needed each to become a language of instruction in all schools. Participants moreover believed that, for survival as distinct nations, each of the Celtic peoples should be persuaded of the need to accept their Celtic languages eventually as their main means of communication.

AN COMANN 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: c/o A. Busby, 48 Summerhill Road, Glasgow G15 7JJ, Alba-Scotland.

CRANN-TARA: Scotland's Radical Quarterly. Socialist, nationalist, independent. Annual subscription £2.00 for 4 issues, inc. p. + p., (Overseas £2.50p (\$6.00)). Crann-Tara Publications, c/o N. Easton, 4 Trinity Lane, Aberdeen, Alba-Scotland.

AL LIAMM: Bimonthly, approx. 90pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 50F Breizh and France, 60F other countries, but 80F air mail. To: P. Le Bihan, 16 rue des Fours a Chaux, St. Servan, St. Malo. Money orders to CCP 5349-06 Paris.

CELTIC LEAGUE BADGE: – the symbol of Celtic Unity, the Celtic Knot. Metal badge with knot (La Tène design) in silver, ringed in black and silver, on a green background. Available from national secretaries (see. p. 24). Price 75p, postage free, but 10p extra airmail outside Europe, 27p extra for registration.

CELTIC LEAGUE FLAGS: sizes 3' x 1½', or 6' x 3', as well as pennants 15" x 9", representing a Celtic knot (La Tène style), colour gold on green background, can be ordered directly from Prospect Design Ltd., Montague Lane, Dublin 2, Eire.

* **THREE GEESE IN FLIGHT BOOKS**, Sam Wenger, Box 131, Lanesville, N.Y. 12450, U.S.A. Books on Celtic Mythology, History, Poetry and Literature, New, Antique and Used Books, Maps, Prints.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to **CARN**) and the subscription rates are £3.00 for Ireland and Britain; 25FF (or equivalent) for Brittany and Continental Europe in general; £3.50 (or equivalent) for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League and An Ere Keltiek, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:—

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