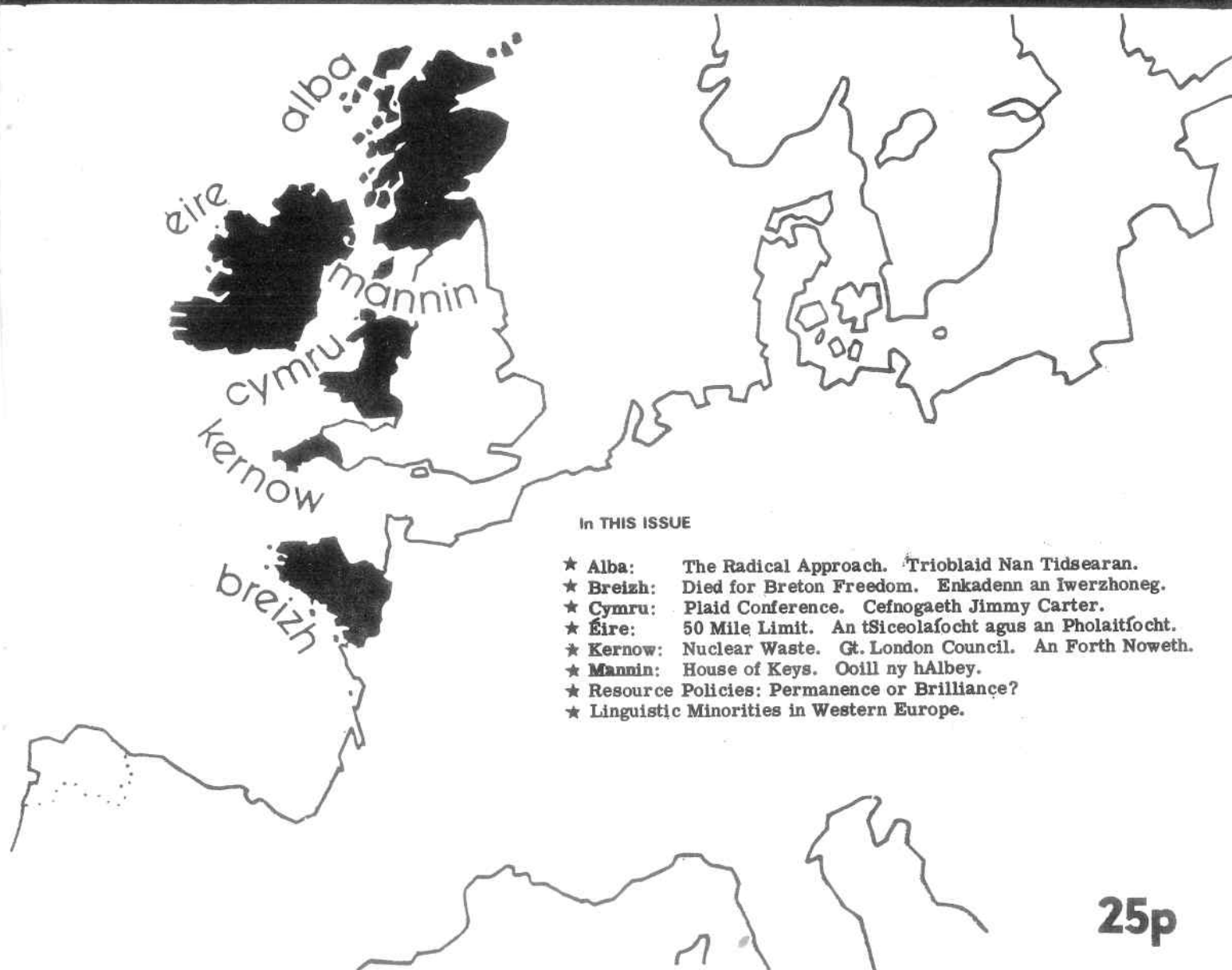


celtyn

Winter
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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

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

ALBA

TRIOBLAID NAN TIDSEARAN

Tha corr air da mhile tidsear ùr gu bhith gun obair nuair a theid na sgoiltean fhosgladh aig deireadh an t-samraidh. Mar aon dhiubh sin agus mar fhear air a bheil uallach airson cion obrach sam bith, biodh e a measg thidsearan no taillèaran tha e a' cur feirg orm cho bheag de dhragh tha an t-suidheachadh seo a'dean-amh do'n Riaghaltas.

Tha obraichean agus cion obrach gu mor an urra ri luchd n'an airgid agus beoshlaint an t-saoghal. Nuair a bha corpbeoshlaint na rioghachd a'dol a meud agus a'fas fallain an deidh a'chogaidh, chaidh airgid mor a'chur a'steach do thuanachas, iasgach, obair staillin foghlum agus rudan mar sin gu obraichean a' thoirt do'n mhorsuadh agus saibheas faighinn do'n rioghachd.

Ach mu dheireadh bha Breatunn a'cur a'mach cus de ghnothaichean nach robh daoine aig iarraidh. Chaidh prìsean rudan mar olla agus feoil a bha uabhasach gann an àirde dha na sgothan agus an àite fas thainig crìonadh. Chaill na mìltean an obraichean agus an cosnadh. Bhuin seo ri foghlum agus ris an t-seirbhis shìobhalta ann an doigh eadar dhealaichte. An àite daoine an cosnadh achall anns na dreuchdan sin 'sann a'chaidh gearraidhean a'dheanamh anns an aireamh a gheibheadh a' steach anna.

Bha trioblaid eile ann an luib foghlum. Suas gu 1965 bha àireamh na bhathas a breith de chlann a'sior dol a meud. An deidh na bliadhna sin thoisich e ri dol sìos. A reir coltas cha do gabh Riaghaltas cunntas idir air an seo. Bho cionn seachd bliadhnan bhuail an dearbh thrioblaid sgoiltean America agus thainig air roinnean an fhoghlum an sin grunnan Cholaide Fhoghlum a dhùnadh agus -atharrachaidhean a thoirtair trèinigeadh nan tidsearan.

Thòisich iad a' toirtseachadh foghlum anns na Colaisdean sin a dh'ullaicheadh oileanaich chan e mhàin air son teagasg ach air son iomadach seorsa obair eile. Roimhe seo bha eìdachadh nan tidsearan cho cumhang 's nach burrain dhaibh dreuchd sam bith a' leantainn ach teagasg amhàin.

Cha tug eiseamplair America buaidh no briobadh air bodaich air Oifis na Alba. 'Smath a dh' fhaodadh iad a bhith air Colaisde no dhà a dhùnadh o chionn da bhliadhna agus crìoch a cur air Scheme Special Recruitment roimhe seo. Ach 'sann a tha iad cho mor amach as an tonaig agus gun do chur iad a mach sanasan o chionn gaorid a' dh' fheuchainn ri daoine a tharraing as obraichean eile agus a dhol steach air son teagasg.

Tha tìde thathast air son na leasaichaidhean a dh'ainmich mi ach dé tha a'dol a thachairt dha na tidsearan ùra gun obair? Saoil nach bu choir an toirt a steach dha na sgoiltean gu claiseachean a' dheanamh nas lugha agus troimhe sin foghlum chothromach a thoirt dha'r cloinne airson a' cheud uair a riamh. -

Dh'fhaodte cosgais seo a tharraing bho'n phrogram obraich a chur an Riaghaltas air chois air son lughdachadh a dheanamh air an aireamh a bha gun obair. Chan eil teagamh nach ann air an Rìghaltas a tha caire cruaidh-chas nan tidsearan a' tuiteam. Bhidheadh e math nan aideach-eadh iad fein seo.

Tha na tidsearan ùra d'deanamh fuaim agus upràid gu leoir. Ach 'sann lag agus fann atha an sabaid gun cul-taice an E.I.S. Cha d'fhuair sinn fhathast sin oir 'se daoine uamhasach mi- thuieil agus deireannach a tha ann an

tidsearan. Tha a'chuid as motha aca a'direach araichean dhaibh fein agus tha fios aca nach teid an sàdail amagh gu brath agus an tig caitheamh buileach anns na h-eanchainnen aca.

Chan eil sgeul air an co-obair agus an co-fhaireach-dainn a gheibheir ann an dreuchdan eile. Tha ceithir cheud a' teagasg ann an Strathchluaidh a tha seachad air aois a'pheansoin agus a dh'fhaodadh an obraichean a leigeil seachad agus cothrom a thoirt do inntinnean ùra uidheam-aichte gu sgaubadh air falbh lianairich dhlùth a tha air a bhith a'ceangal cloinne airson iomadh bliadhna.

Co-dhuibh tha e fìor a tachair rud eigin a' dh'aithearr a bheir sasachadh do oileanaich Alba, is iomadh turas a bheir eoin ceann an luich gu raointean tetha Africa mas bi ceartas agus sìth ann an sgoiltean Alba.

Iain Gordon Domhnallach.

BOOK REVIEW: THE RADICAL APPROACH

Margo MacDonald says in her introduction to the "Radical Approach", that it is not a 'blueprint to cure Scotland's problems' but holds out hope for the kind of Scotland the SNP can build if they can convince the majority of Scots to go for independence. As Senior Vice Chairman of the Party she leads policy planning and political action so when she says that though the contributors to this book did not break the ground they have planted the seeds, we must closely examine what sort of fruit they are likely to bear. Gareth Meils in his pamphlet, A Free Wales, A Welsh Wales, A Socialist Wales, says he fears the Plaid Cymru policies in 1972 were not sufficiently different from the English Parties to capture the people's imagination in the critical hour. Do the 'radicals' in the SNP meet this challenge for Scotland of today?

The chapters of this book cover the general political viewpoint of the radical SNP thinkers; economics in a new Scotland being a central issue; oil and the recycling of some of that resource into the English economy as a realistic basis for relations with England is an outward looking chapter; housing; health, environmental policy and industrial relations plus community identity in Orkney and Shetlands and the development of the Highlands and Islands to meet their people's needs completes the list. The papers each confirm that the SNP is a decentralist party that seeks to bring power back to local levels in many fields while being prepared for state and community intervention as a necessary part in the new structure to ensure firm control in Scotland of the economic and social institutions independence will be based on. A good example of the balance between conservation and economic development is the long-standing belief in the SNP that a slower rate of oil extraction will not only be wise in a world of rapidly depleting resources but any rapid input of oil revenues by a Scottish government into our economy could so upvalue the Scottish currency that it would price Scottish goods out of the market for export.

The question of the political stance the papers reveal requires me to concentrate on the offerings of Stephen Maxwell, Isobel Lindsay and O. D. Edwards. Writing this review with hindsight there has been a continuing debate about SNP policies in the public presses on a greater scale since the publication of this book last May. As power looms closer the SNP is firming up its policies in many areas. Defining a more advanced position than the bankrupt label of 'social democrat' is Stephen Maxwell's task; his is a response in many ways to the Red

Paper on Scotland, published a year earlier by the Edinburgh University Students' Publication Board and contributed to by outright socialists of various hues and odours. Mr. Maxwell rejects a fixed place in the conventional right/left spectrum in his first sentence. He says that, 'Paradoxically the social democratic state, built on the principles of society's collective responsibility for the welfare of the individual, has come to preside over a society of competing sectional interest groups'... with trade unions and financiers at the top of the pile and the axiom of such corporate tendencies being to bigger and bigger units, e.g. the EEC.

The failure of social democratic states to eliminate poverty be it in W. Germany or Greater Glasgow and their ambivalent attitude to 'equality', wide 14 years of social democratic rule in Britain since 1945 has still left a notable class-ridden society, are two pointers to the centralist states' failure to protect and enhance individual or local rights. The only concession we have seen is to improve employees rights but this latter action far from endangering central planning is conceived to strengthen it.

The conclusion of Mr. Maxwell's argument is that a Scottish economy with only 41% of her present manufacturing labour force employed by Scottish firms needs the removal of outside control as a first step on the road to creating a new industrial structure. Present British social democrats fear any increase over the 60% public sector spending in our economy as a serious threat to the individuals freedom of choice, in an independent Scotland even with a moderate rate of oil revenues the government could have a 90% stake in economic activity. To this social democracy has no answer so the SNP's radical alternative will have to be a mixture of more democratically controlled state corporations, e.g. A Scottish Coal Board and a combination of community and employee controlled ownership of industry. The latter's large stake in new and existing firms would be brought about by introducing fiscal legislation to favour small firms and statutorily transferring voting rights of shareholders to the employees. Dividends and capital markets to channel investment would still exist with a central bank offering loans at suitable interest rates to such new enterprises. It is an imaginative step away from the corporate state which looms large in Western Europe today and relies on local self-government to strengthen cultural social and above all economic prosperity by offering a framework in which ordinary workers can look forward to a real rise in standard of living due to their own efforts. New departures in education, the arts and above all Scottish democracy are the likely results.

Isobel Lindsay, in her turn, believes the nationalist movement is not a quaint aberration or a simple campaign for economic betterment - 'it is concerned with how a modern society can fulfil the social, emotional and material needs of its citizens'. Not only is there a failure of contemporary British politics to find the right answers but also to ask the right questions. Because Scottish and Welsh nationalism provides a radical alternative it questions the language of UK politics and UK politicians lash out indiscriminately. 'To define nationalism in abstract', declares Ms Lindsay, 'as either good or bad is rather like saying that the sex drive is good or bad whether it be rape or between consenting adults. Yet the need to build for all people's needs to identify with a place requires imaginative insight and innovation that UK politicians barring the Nats have singularly lacked.

The SNP believes in local communities interests within the nation being guarded, e.g. in the oil development argument that interest as well as resource conservation sets the SNP apart from the Tories support of rampant commercialism and private privilege and Labour centralist steamroller of 'national interest'. Class conflict she maintains is not one dimensional, e.g. property and wealth are the main targets of the mainstream left; do they ever question the doubtful products of city housing estate planners and their like?

The distribution of power and status is as important as the distribution of goods in the search for an egalitarian state, so the need to strengthen and make more responsibility rest with local communities, large and small is the balanced plan to ensure that our 'political unit can provide a goal for collective achievement, something which has greater continuity through time than any individual. It may reinforce the community at the same time as requiring the communities to provide its coherence.'

Owen Dudley Edwards turns his witty style to grapple head on with the mainstream left. He makes the case for socialists finding their natural place in the SNP, and considering the 'lend us your vote' tactics to attract voters of earlier times a case to attract socialists is long overdue. He cites the land question as a good example of SNP radical thinking. It had been raised in the Red Paper by Jim Sillars who would of course be far to the left of the SNP MP for East Aberdeenshire, Douglas Henderson; yet the latter has stated that if Scottish Nationalism means anything at all it means the end of the grouse moors. The blur of conventional right and left in practice in the UK cannot disguise Labour's congenital failure to solve the land question. If local communities do not control their major asset they are doomed to frustration and bureaucratic manipulation. Into the bargain both Labour and the Tories continue to believe that large private interests in Land and government agencies such as the Forestry Commission and the Nature Conservancy should sterilise local land use by feudal rights and remote bureaucracy.

Out of a mangled past the SNP has emerged in Scotland as a mass party with a cheerful and confident approach to politics and the massive problems of our age in stark contrast to the disapproving and doctrinaire actions of the London based parties. O.D. Edwards sees the SNP with a radical decentralist system in mind with community and employee participation as a true expression of socialism which can flourish in the very diversity of a country where it is difficult for one region or group to dominate another.

The political and moral necessity to achieve Scots independence soon is self evident in these papers of the Radical Approach, freedom from want and fear and degradation as well as cultural stultification are its aims. Without a flowering of these seeds there will be no freedom, to speak of, at all.

* The Radical Approach, Papers on an independent Scotland, Gavin Kennedy, 109pp. Palingenesis Press Ltd. Price £1.75p.

Rob Gibson.

● **EIRE LATE NEWS - JAILED.** D. ÓLubhlaf, (Pres. of Comh. Náisiúnta na Gaeilge) was lodged in Limerick Jail on Jan. 3rd to serve a 14 day sentence for refusing to pay parking fines imposed after he ignored English only parking tickets. Ite Ní Chionnaith was jailed on Jan. 4th in Mountjoy for 7 days for refusal to pay fine imposed for no TV licence (see CARN 14). Protests were held outside both jails.

HOME RULE OR ?

On Monday 29 Nov. a banner headline in the Daily Record was: 44% WANT SCOTLAND TO GO IT ALONE. This was introduced as a "shock verdict", with the comment that "this newspaper takes no pleasure in these findings". Over 45,000 responded to this write in and the extensive questionnaire was organised and analysed by Prof. R. Rose of Strathclyde University. The pundits have chosen to scoff at the results as non-scientific but they seem to be very near the results in many parts of Scotland where support for the S. N. P. is still increasing.

On Tuesday 30 Nov. we passed another milestone on the Devolution highway - the Government's Bill to set up Assemblies in Scotland and Wales was launched in parliament; (this was St. Andrew's Day when various self-conscious offerings from the B. B. C. remind us that we are Scots, that is "different", and to be kindly granted "an extension of democracy" but certainly not to be allowed away from Westminster's apron strings).

The strong Labour "backlash" will be withheld on the Bill's second reading if the Government give some commitment to a referendum. Many are in favour of a referendum now but for different reasons and hoping for different results.

The Tory leader has made the biggest turnabout and is now going to go all out against the Bill and a 3 line whip will be applied during voting. This is going to make it very difficult for the rearguard in Scotland trying to save a few crumbs.

The SNP maintain a consistent position: they will support the measure as a step towards independence and continue to press for improvements in the realms of revenue raising powers, economic decision making and the "freeing" of the universities etc. The next few months will be of crucial importance. M. D.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

Gaelic in Scotland, [Gaidhlig ann an Albainn], Ed. Derick Thomson. Bilingual. Published by GAIRM, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow. £1.50p

A timely ancillary to the burning issue of the future of the indigenous Gaelic language in its Scottish homeland has just been published by Gairm. A *seachdnar* of Gaelic-speaking and Gaelic-writing contributors includes prominent names in the programmes that have been established to encourage existing Gaelic cultural practices and to found new ones which will foster the basis for more ambitious Gaelic language institutions in the near future. Gaelic language authors, musicians and cultural centres should be encouraged in every way so that through these persons and through such institutions the Gaelic language can demonstrate its viability and modernity. Not only poets and musicians, but also Gaelic writing biologists and sociologists should be given the opportunity to address themselves directly to pupils and students through the medium of the printed Gaelic word.

The septette of authors has basically a seven-point programme. The *seachd-siona* outlines the fire-air-earth-water-ice-wind-lightning project in terms of Gaelic's applicability in all forms of public life. These projects are presented fear mu seach: a) "Gaelic in Public Life" (Donald John MacLeod); b) "The Primary School" (Finlay MacLeod); c) "Gaelic in Secondary Schools" (Murdo MacLeod); d) "Universities and Colleges" (Donald MacAulay); e) "The Media" (Martin MacDonald); f) "Drama" (Donnie MacLean); g) "Books,

Literature, Publishing" (Derick Thomson).

Derick Thomson, author and editor, has written a convincing introduction which defines poignantly what has been *seachlaimh* in Gaelic culture, illustrating why these elements have been preserved and have survived against so much opposition within and without an *Gaidhealtachd*. The editor has also contributed by way of a conclusion to this handbook a programme for the preservation of the Gaelic language in Scotland. Here Derick Thomson outlines for the layman, for the hurried reader and for the politician (who is paramount 'among Scotland's decision-makers') the 'salient points' of his editorial and the authors' programmes, be they in the context of the UK or in that of an independent Scotland. Leslie MacEwen.

1820 INSURRECTION

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by economic recession, heavy unemployment and lowered living standards. The effects were particularly severe in Glasgow and in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Dumbarton and Stirling, where many thousands of handloom weavers and their dependents were reduced to nearly impossible conditions.

The widespread poverty and destitution led to a surge of discontent which expressed itself in support for the Scottish Radicals. The Radicals, whose slogans included "Scotland Free or Scotland a Desert", aimed at the severance of the Union of 1707 and winning democratic rights for the Scottish people.

Although they had popular support the Radicals were denied the right to further their cause by democratic means. (During this period the franchise extended only to the privileged minority, and there was a much less freedom of speech and action than there is now.) As a result the Radicals prepared themselves for an armed rising. Unfortunately their organisation had been thoroughly infiltrated by Government spies and informers, and the authorities, fully aware of what was being planned, decided on a scheme to deal with the Radicals once and for all. It would have been a simple matter for the Government to prevent the insurrection from taking place. Instead the authorities saw that, if they could firstly ensure that the rising had no chance of success, it would be to their advantage to allow the rising to take place - under the direction of their own agents! An unsuccessful rising would provide the Government not only with the opportunity to inflict a military defeat, but also with the excuse to carry out a campaign of repression and deal a crushing final blow to the Radical movement.

The first part of the Government plan required the removal of the Radical leadership. This was accomplished by a mass arrest, carried out in strict secrecy, and the prisoners simply disappeared without trace. Probably they were transported but their ultimate fate is unknown. At any rate they were effectively eliminated, and soon after, in early 1820, the Government agents gave the false signal for the rising to begin. Some Radicals were suspicious but many thousands more rallied, took up arms, and declared themselves openly for the Radical cause.

They had been lured to their own destruction for, without leadership and facing thousands of regular troops and militia, they were quickly dispersed - although not without resistance. There were strikes, rioting, armed raids and street fighting, particularly in Glasgow and Greenock. A small party of Radicals, acting under the orders of the Government spymaster, were lured into taking part in a hopeless expedition which ended in their

being cut to pieces by Government troops at the Battle of Bonnymuir.

Everywhere in west central Scotland the troops and militia were active: searching for arms, making arrests, rounding up suspects in hundreds and intimidating the population in general. On occasions they were guilty of cruel excesses. English soldiers fired indiscriminately, and with provocation, on passers-by. In Glasgow a number of soldiers, off-duty and much the worse for drink, attacked civilians and police using bayonets. One soldier was killed and many civilians were wounded in the ensuing riot.

The insurrection was put down fairly quickly although small-scale guerilla activities continued for some time. Hundreds of Radicals were arrested while others fled. Many others were fined and imprisoned. A number were transported for long terms, including those taken prisoner at Bonnymuir. Three men, Wilson, Baird and Hardie, were judged to be ring-leaders and were executed.

Although the 1820 Insurrection is one of the most important events in recent Scottish history, very few people are even aware that it took place. Scottish historians have ignored the event in favour of the mythology and Unionist propaganda which comprises the "official" version of Scottish history. However, a full account is available in The Scottish Insurrection of 1820, by P. Berresford Ellis and Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn.

An annual commemorative rally is held at the Martyrs' Monument in Sighthill Cemetery, Glasgow. Details of the rallies which are normally held each September can be obtained from John Murphy, Secretary, 1820 Commemoration Committee, 1 Benview Terrace, Paisley PA2 7JJ. A. B.

"The Scottish Radicals" Tried and transported to Australia for treason in 1820. By M. E. & A. D. Macfarlane.

Wentworth Books, Sydney. £3.

This book reflects the interest recently shown in the rising of some of the early Scottish Trade Unions in Scotland in 1820. The French wars had finished and the bills for them had produced high taxes, unemployment and food shortages in Scotland. The influence of the French Revolution with its slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity had reached the ears of the radical working classes. George III's tyranny and despotism and the unpopularity of his predecessor, (who squandered the people's money on private amusements) led to a call from the radicals for the redress of Common grievances and the protection of the poor. "Scotland free or a desert", was inscribed on their banner and their proclamation by wall posters, urged the formation of a provisional government. (Glasgow, 1 April 1820)

The book deals in a factual manner with nineteen radicals who took part in the fight on Bonnymuir against the Hussars. Reprieved from the death sentence they were transported to Australia, where, after a period of adventures they became respected, hard-working citizens, some of them securing high positions in their new country. Regarding the authors, Margaret is a graduate in Arts with a major interest in history, while Alistair Mac Farlane is a direct descendant of Thomas McFarlane, one of the transported radicals, who had been badly wounded at Bonnymuir.

This book is a significant contribution to the serious study of Australian history and also gives some indication of how Scots helped to build up Australia to become a separate and independent nation. John Murphy.

BROADCASTING

Lord Annan who chaired the Committee investigating Broadcasting and television expects his report to be published in the spring and we all look forward to this important event. The discontent with the situation in Scotland is increasing daily. With political events moving so rapidly it is incredible that the BBC continues its bureaucratic control from London. Mr. Alastair Hetherington the new controller for Scotland (since December 1975) is beginning to find the restrictions irksome - "we still have to ask them in London more or less before we blow our noses". The actual technical and physical difficulties and lack of resources should be more publicised to get public support and the Broadcasting Council for Scotland should show more signs of life. However, if Mr. Hetherington was quoted correctly in the press the outlook need not make us all tremble - "If we do not move quickly events may overtake us. And that could mean the severing of BBC Scotland from the rest of the BBC which would be a great misfortune for our audiences, our staffs, the BBC and Scotland."

This is a "misfortune" some of us would risk. The loss to London in talent alone when it ceases to be the centre of the universe must be what is worrying them.

M. D.

The C. L. General Secretary requested BBC Scotland some three months ago to publish his statement categorically denying having (as broadcast by them) "incited G. MacGuigan" to try and set fire to a building in Edinburgh. We are assured the radio station did not broadcast this correction; we are told that "Britain" is a great country for the freedom of the Press and the Media. It certainly is! It seems you can libel and smear ad lib so long as you feel certain it won't hit you back, in court for instance. MacGuigan was, oddly enough, able to give a press statement after being sentenced to a year's jail. But he has not denied having tried to incriminate the C. L. when interrogated. The case is fairly conclusive.

Foreward Scotland is the new publication of the S. L. P. It is useful for all interested in what is happening in the party and it gives news and views on all Scottish topics. It is to appear monthly. Cost 10p + 8½p post, or £1 for a year's subscription, - from Alex Neil, Room 267, Third Floor, 12 Waterloo St., Glasgow.

Another interesting publication, Scottish Worker, has articles on many subjects, devolution, land problems, abortion, unemployment, etc., and many sympathetic ones on the language and related Celtic interests. Available from Norman Easton, 60 East Stirling Street, Alva, Clackmannanshire, Scotland FK12 5HA.

The Free Student Press. In the course of recent years and out of the troubles besetting Scottish education (see issues 13 & 14 of CARN), this new publication emerged as a most effective mouth piece for the students. Last autumn it was to expand into a 12 page format. With 36,000 copies printed it reaches all students in residence and the others through their college. It will appear three times a year. (Write to Graeme Purves, 67 Hillpark Avenue, Edinburgh, Alba.) With the effects of the government cuts now in operation, and the much publicised determination of the university hierarchies to remain outside the jurisdiction of the proposed Scottish Assembly the students' struggle is at the moment a very important one.

● When writing to Celtic League secretaries, for an early reply please enclose a stamped addressed envelope.

BREIZH

ENKADENN AN IWERZHONEG

Gant Conradh na Gaeilge ez eus bet embannet nevez 'zo ul levrig anvet Géarchéim na Gaeilge, o klask lakaat an dud e lenno da brederiañ diwar-benn an enkadenn m'emañ an iwerzhoneg ha da oberiañ en un doare poellekoc'h evit e adsevel.

Biskoazh, abaoe kreiz an 19vet dantved, n'emañ bet an iwerzhoneg en un enkadenn ken gwazh ha bremañ. Unan eus an abegoù: dispriz an dud a c'halloud hag a levezon evit ar vroadelezh iwerzhonat hag o youl da zisteraat kement ha ma c'hellont pouez an iwerzhoneg, pennvammenn ar vroadelezh, e buhez ar gevredigezh. Emziskouez a ra an eneberezh-se d'ur mare ma c'hellfe lammgresk nevez bezañ graet war hent ar gouezelekaat ha kevanadur ar bobl iwerzhonat (1) o harpañ war an araokadennoù bet graet er c'hantved-mañ. E gwirionez gant kendalc'hegezh e oa tu da c'hounit ar gad. Abaoe 1893, ar bloaz ma voe krouet Conradh na Gaeilge, ez eo gwellaet kalz stad ar yezh. Skarzet eo bet kuit darn eus gwall-levezon an trevadennadur, saveteet eo bet an hengoun hag ar sonerezh-pobl pinvidikañ en Europa ha deuet eo ar sonerezh-mañ da vout brudet ha drevezet dre ar bed. Ul lennegezh arnevez zo bet savet, ar yezhadur hag an doare-skrivañ zo bet peurunvanet hag ur c'heriadurezh o vastañ da ezhommoù hon amzer zo bet aozet. Gwir eo en deus dalc'het an iwerzhoneg da gilañ evel yezh pemdeziek er Gouezelva met ne dae ket mui ken buan war-gil a-c'houde savidigezh ar Stad (2) hag anavezet eo bremañ gant ur bern tud evel eil yezh (gw. **CARN** Nn. 12). N'eo ket mui 'yezh ar re gozh', er c'hontrol, tud yaouank eo dreistholl ar re zo barrek d'he embreger (3).

A-drugarez da labour an Emsav ne c'houzañv ket mui Iwerzhoniz, na tost, kement ha ma raent diwar ar c'hempleg a izelder, an diouer a emfiziañs, ar gasoni outo o-unan a vez enlout'het e speredoù an dud trevadennelaet. Se zo bet graet daoust pegen droch, emgar, divarrek e oa ar bolitikerien, ha kilpennek ar gargidi; daoust da zispac'h deroù ar c'hantved bezañ bet ur c'hwitadenn.

N'eo ket reizh komz eus c'hwitadenn an Adsav pe an Azvevañ. Eus ur burzhud eo e c'hellfed komz, pa soñjer en holl ziaesterioù (4). Un diazez hon eus bremañ hag a c'hellfed sevel warnañ hag ober araokadennoù a vefe anat o frouezh abarzh dek vloaz.

Harpet e vefe ar striyadeg gant an darn vrasañ eus an dud. Padal, amkanioù kalz izeloc'h ha disteroc'h eo a ra damant da baotred ar galloud amañ. Ha chom a ra an trevadennadur atav en hon touez: ar c'hempleg a izelder, an diouer a emfiziañs, an emgasoni, ar bamañ ouzh doareoù sevenadurel estren, an dic'houzvez hag an diwriziennadur a zo evel ur bec'h pounner war speredoù un darn vat eus an dud. En abeg da se eo ez eus un enkadenn.

Dav eo kompren abegoù an enkadenn-se hag an diazez anezhi a-raok gallout divizout ha seveniñ ar pezh zo dleet evit adsevel ar yezh, ma vo dieubet buhez Iwerzhon eus dilerc'hioù an diwriziennadur ha ma c'hellimp mont warraok dre hor youl hon-unan.

Abaoe daou vloaz bennak ez eo bet izelaet dere (statur) an iwerzhoneg en deskadurezh hag er mererezh-Stad. O varn diouzh ar fedoù a welomp aze ar c'hammedoù diwezhañ en distaolidigezh an adsevel-yezh gant ar Stad. N'eo ket dec'h ez eo kroget an disteurel-se; testeni zo anezhañ abaoe war-dro 1940 (5).

Da heul kiladennoù a bep seurt, ne chom ket kalz a dra mui eus ar vennadurezh-adsevel, en tu-hont da gelennadur ar yezh er skolioù hag un tamm harp armerzh-el d'ar Gouezelva (6). Testeni hon eus bet ez eo kouezhet izeloc'h adarre live an iwerzhoneg a vez kelennet hag e vez e skolioù 'zo skourradoù hir eus ar bloavezhad-skol hep kentelioù iwerzhoneg.

N'eus moarvat netra a vagfe erez ouzh ar yezh kement ha bezañ he desket fall (6). Ouzhpenn ez eus bremañ ur bern levrioù-skol aozet evit bugale Bro-Saoz o c'hwezhañ lorc'h enno gant o istor impalaerel -- levrioù skeudenn-aouet-mat, dishañval diouzh an traoù izelek a vez kinniget gant tiez-moulerezh iwerzhonat: ar re-se a vez aotreet laouen gant Ministrerezh an Deskadurezh amañ (7).

Gwellaet-mat eo live-bevañ armerzhel ar Gouezelva met tud hep iwerzhoneg zo o tont da chom eno stankoc'h-stank, tud hag o deus arc'hant a-walc'h evit na vent ket chalet gant an diouer a servijoù kevredigezhel, politikel ha sevenadurel. Anavezout a reer c'hoazh an iwerzhoneg da "gentañ yezh kefridiel" hervez ar Vonreizh, met n'en deus kement-se talvoudegezh lezennel ebet.

Ezhomm zo da vurutellañ perak ha penaos ez eo bet distaotet an iwerzhoneg gant ar genreizhad-Stad. Nepred n'eo bet sevenet ar vennadurezh-Stad e-keñver ar yezh. Ur c'hoariell ha tra ken ez eo bet evit ar bolitikerien, hag int oc'h ober van da vout a-du gant hec'h adsevel. N'eo ket un abeg evelato evit lavarout e oa fall ar vennadurezh-se, evel ma ra hec'h enebourien. Spletus eo bet ar pezh zo bet graet. Gwelet e vo ur wech all perak ez eo ret reiñ he dere dezhi en-dro er genreizhad-Stad ha herzel ouzh an taolioù ganas a zo bet graet outi hag a glasker ober c'hoazh gant ar re a ren ar vro. (troet diwar raktavar al levrig).

Evezhiadennoù

(1) Rannet eo betek re ar bobl iwerzhonat, etre Reter ha Kornog (pinvidik ha paour), Norzh ha Su (Protestant ha Katolik), "Gall" ha "Gouezel", "Republikan" ha "Stad-Dieuber". Gwan ar spered a gumuniezh, an abeg eo marteze ma'z eus kement a saotradur e Dulenn ...
(2) Gorrekaet e oa ar giladenn, met alies e klevet bremañ ez eus kalz tud er Gouezelva o komz saozneg ouzh o bugale: gouest int. Ha perak ne rafent ket evel ar peurrest eus tud ar vro? 3) daoust ma ne vez ket gwell-reizh an doare ma kevrent ar gerioù ha m'o distagont. Kemm a vez! 4) O klask bezañ frealzet en droukverzh? D'am meno a tleer en em c'houlenn ha n'eo ket an disrannoù, an diouer a unded e poblañs Iwerzhon a zo pennabeg ma n'eus ket youl greñv da adsevel ar yezh. 5) Pell goude emañ chomet al levrierezh gant Fianna Fail, strollad de Valera. N'heller ket fiziout kalz muioc'h er strollad-se eget en daou all hag a zo o ren abaoe 4 bloaz bremañ, e kement hag a denn d'an iwerzhoneg. 6) Ur c'helenner pe skolaer ha ne oar ket mat ur yezh n'hell ket lakaat e ziskibien da dommañ outi, arabadus e tle bezañ e gentelioù. Ne zalc'her ket war an danvez-mistri da zeskñ mat, na, kentoc'h meiz, da gomz iwerzhoneg. 7) Diouer bras zo a levrioù-skol en iwerzhoneg (**CARN** 14-15). Pa vez bet aozet ha moulet hini pe hini, ne vez ket degemeret, erbedet, implijet er skolioù holl-iwerzhonek. Lezel a reer gant pep kelenner(ez) ar gwir da zibab al levra gar. Bep bloaz e kemm al levrioù-skol (ur skoilh bras da vugale tud ha n'int ket pinvidik). N'hell ket an embannerien iwerzhonat kenderc'hañ levrioù ken "dedennus" (arnevez?) ha reoù a vo aozet evit ur marc'had a 50 million a dud. Gant ar frankizouriezh armerzhel, ur wech c'hoazh, ez eo gennet ar yezhoù "bihan". N'heller ket oberiañ diouzh reolennoù ar broioù bras!

A. Heusaff.

KERNHALEGENN DIED FOR BRETON FREEDOM

Yann Mikael Kernhalagenn, 22, was killed on September 29, in a bomb explosion, on the site of a new military camp at Ti'r Voujered, Dineol, near Kastell-Lin. F. L. B. papers were found in his car. A few hours later, at 3 a.m. another explosion caused 200,000 F worth of damage at the offices of the contractor building the camp. Comments in dailies which are widely read in Brittany gratuitously attributed to Kernhalagenn the intention of killing the camp commandant. But hitherto, the F. L. B. has taken great precautions to avoid killing people. Those who knew this young man strongly reject that allegation. Y. Brekilien, a well-known writer of moderate views, believes it was assumed that the house near which the bomb exploded was unoccupied and that, seeing a light being switched on, he would have tried to defuse the device and made a fatal mistake (Le Monde, 17/10/'76). According to others, his action was directed at bulldozers nearby. The latest indications, according to Douar Breiz (Oct. Nov.) are that he was assassinated. Fears, prejudices, sympathies, propaganda will play their part in the absence of evidence.

What is clear is that Kernhalagenn was dedicated to the freedom of Brittany. The motives for his action and the reactions to his death deserve examination. He was quiet - "One can be silent and sit still only when one has arrow and bow: otherwise one babbles and quarrels" said a (much maligned) philosopher. He had started training for the priesthood, then took up the study of law. To assert the right to use Breton in higher education, he wrote one of his exam papers in this language: that meant failure and he gave up the French University. As a worker with a transport firm, he tried to set up a branch of the C. F. D. T. trade union and got sacked. He was active in SKOL AN EMSAV, teaching Breton. In 1973, when Pompidou came to Fouenan, he was suspected of having taken part in an attempt to blow up the local police station.

In Ti'r Voujered, the municipality of Kastell-Lin had bought 19 ha of land for the purpose of attracting industries. But the local politicians were all too willing to re-sell it to the French Army, for the purpose of housing and training 1000 soldiers. "Girls would find more opportunities to marry" Gradually the Army acquired 200 ha. of land in three adjacent communes. Opposition came from their municipal councils, and from the Breton national movement. The Dineol council tried to get the sale cancelled by the Administrative Court in Rennes (February 1976) - to no avail. Work in the camp began on Sept. 23. The F. L. B. warned of immediate action. "It is too easy", says a Committee founded to defend the memory of the victim, the first man to die for actions connected with the Breton cause since the post war repression, "to condemn this violence without denouncing the ones really responsible. When the people's protests and the requests of elected representatives are treated with contempt, what choice is left to the minorities crushed by those in power? Kernhalagenn decided to oppose the French Army in Brittany, an army in occupation of land which should be used for agricultural or industrial purposes. He died for the cause of the Breton people, their dignity and their right to live and work in Brittany."

But immediately the U. D. B. party issued a communique regretting the death and hoping it would make the instigators of violence realise its inefficacy and the danger it constituted for the people. The U. D. B. denounced also as a grave mistake a threat allegedly issued

by the F. L. B. to carry out physical reprisals against anyone who would accept to work at the military camp.

In a statement dated Sept. 30, the F. L. B. gave as its aims the establishment of a Breton State which would be totally independent of France. "We want the immediate withdrawal of the whole French colonialist system, Breton to be restored as our national language and to be widely spoken throughout our country; we support the Breton workers' social struggles; we reject "liberal" as well as State capitalism and aim at a libertarian type of society in the Celtic tradition, a Breton form of socialism, a classless society; we expect nothing from the present French regime nor from an eventual coming to power of the French left."

There is no doubt that the creation of a network of military/naval/nuclear bases and installations around Brest and to the West of Kastell-Lin runs counter to any prospect of economic development and contributes immeasurably to undermine what is left of Breton Brittany. And the suspicion is rife that this military camp can have no use against an "external" enemy of the French State.

Supporters of the F. L. B. point out that when nations are faced with a deadly threat to their existence they rule out all objections to armed resistance. The French are the first to take pride in their war-time Resistance. It is also argued that even if a particular campaign fails it helps to establish a tradition - as in Ireland between 1798 and 1916 - which acts as a powerful factor in maintaining or creating a national will; that when all other means have proved to be fruitless, and destruction is anyway imminent, the risks are worth taking.

The opponents of this brinkmanship find encouragement in the cultural (but not so much linguistic) revival of the recent years and urge hard work to transform it into a political mobilisation. The interest in the Breton language and the desire to live and work in Brittany are not yet strong or general or informed enough to provide support for armed resistance. Such a struggle would rather cause a revulsion against all sections of the Breton movement ("they are all F. L. B.'s" is already said) and give the enemy an opportunity to repress it overtly. This fear is expressed by the U. D. B. and Kendalc'h. Another is that it would soon be impossible to distinguish what was done by the F. L. B. from agents - provocateurs.

"To individual violence and despair, the U. D. B. prefers striving to mobilise the workers. Brittany cannot be rebuilt without them. How can that be reconciled with the socialism professed by the F. L. B.?" The party adds that if 7 or 8 years of bloodless F. L. B. activity have failed to mobilise the people, there is no hope that a further escalation of violence will succeed in doing so. Those who want to free Brittany cannot afford the risk of being driven back for another 15-20 years into the "ghetto".

NON-VIOLENT CAMPAIGN

The popular singers Glenmor, Stivell, Servat, Gweltaz, Youenn Gwernig and about 150 other people have started a type of campaign which has not been tried on any appreciable scale previously in Brittany: in protest against the derisory share of the Breton language on Radio and television, they have either refused to pay their TV licence or decided to retain 10% of it. Some of Youenn Gwernig's furniture and his car were to be put up for auction on Sept. 25. About sixty members of the

cultural associations arrived at the house to oppose the sale, but the bailiff did not turn up. The sums retained are being paid into a fund constituted by the "Committee Radio-Tele-Brezhoneg" to support the campaign. Singers at festoù-noz are already popularising the 10% in their songs. RTB is engaged in the kind of non-violent action which has won considerable concessions for the Welsh language. It will be much harder to similarly impress the French linguistic imperialists but that type of action instead of antagonising the Breton people has chances of mobilising them. As for those who are prepared to do something, it seems that for one who would risk his life (or that of others) there should be at least ten ready to risk short terms in jail or confiscation of property. Numerous associations, including the Celtic League, have expressed their solidarity with this Committee. We call on those of our readers who wish to give material support to the RTB Fund to send their contributions (specifying the purpose) to the Secretary, Craobh na hÉireann, An Conradh Ceilteach, 37 Dun an Óir, Tamhlacht, Co. Átha Cliath, Éire, who will forward them.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS 'NO' TO BRETON SELF-GOVERNMENT

Top French Communist Party officials led by the secretary general Mr. Marchais toured Brittany from October 7 to 10. They did not visit Loire-Atlantique they had not enough time ... Their purpose was to clarify the PCF's regional policy and its position concerning the Breton cultural (and political) claims. No French politician since de Gaulle had attracted such large gatherings in our country: in St-Brieuc the attendance numbered about 10,000. Meetings were held in towns which seem to have been chosen for their particular relevance to the problems to be dealt with: Fougères where the decline of the shoe industry has caused acute unemployment; Montroulez in an area where farmers are well organised; Konk-Kernev and An Oriant, our two main fishing harbours; Brest, where the dock-yards face an uncertain future; Kemper (where the presence of a prefecture acts like a damper on cultural life); Roazhon/Rennes the official region's capital. The delegation recognised the existence of a crisis in Brittany but not of a specific Breton problem; the government was criticised for its failure to fulfil its promises while stressing that the PCF could be relied upon. Remedies were proposed for the ills affecting the different sectors, and they would be implemented by taxing the wealthy, nationalising the big enterprises, collectivising the big farm. Assurances were given that the right to small private ownership would be respected.

For all that there was no special plan for the overall development of Brittany. The Breton problems had to be seen in the general national, i.e. French context. The regional assemblies should be elected by universal suffrage and endowed with real powers of decision (the word "sovereign" was used) but any idea that Brittany could go it alone was declared to be illusory: the emancipation of the workers was primordial and that depended on maintaining "French unity". Marchais found proof of the worthlessness of self-government in the fact that during the past 25 years there had been 17 "Breton" ministers. That speaks for his logic! As if the Plevens, Marcelins and other Gaullists had not always given priority to the French over the Breton interests, not to mention that many of them were not Breton but owed their being elected by our countrymen to an alienation which is the

very antithesis of self-confidence and the will to self-government! Marchais described as a profound error a statement made in 1932 by the French Communists amounting to a recognition that the Breton people had a right to self-determination. (Those were the days when the PCF was internationally-minded.) We don't know which cultural organisations, apart from Ar Falz (pro-Breton teachers) were present at the Kemper meeting. Mr. Chambaz, the PCF spokesman on cultural affairs, was warm-hearted, says 'Le Peuple Breton'. He acknowledged that the Breton language had partaken in shaping the Breton sensibility, that the Breton culture was rooted in the Breton social life. (How late this dawning!) - he rejected the view of an authoritarian power that Breton was a threat to national unity (and if it were?), he paid tribute to those who in spite of a thousand difficulties strive to preserve the Breton identity and he pledged support for the introduction of the Breton language (how extensively?) into the schools and "periscolar" activities. The editor of Ar Falz criticised the proposals as insufficient. LPE however points out that the Communist leaders were going farther than the Party's Regional Committee by admitting that Breton could be taught anywhere in Brittany whereas the local bosses would restrict to Lower (Western) Brittany the application of a law in favour of the regional languages which the French Left are supposed to be proposing in the French National Assembly for adoption. That also fits with the theory of alienation.

One theme which kept recurring in the speeches of Marchais and his colleagues was the opposition of the PCF to the idea of Breton self-government in any sense that could mean a loosening of the links with France. The frequent references to the "autonomists" belied the assertion that Brittany was a French region like the others. The equally frequent mention of the interests of France would have pleased the staunchest French nationalists. The request by the UDB that its candidates in the next municipal elections be allowed to join those of the Left Alliance on the Common Programme lists was acceptable to Marchais, though without great enthusiasm. The UDB by urging its supporters (if their candidates were defeated in the first round) to give their votes to those of the French Left in the second round, professes that the realisation of its Breton aims is conditional on the victory of socialism in France. This policy is benefiting the French parties, since with one exception, the UDB has never yet secured any seat. One senses that the day they start doing well in elections tolerance may readily give way to denunciation that their autonomism too is "dividing the workers" and hindering the class struggle - something, said Marchais, to which the PCF would never agree. He warned the Bretons against the autonomist slogans which "in the last analysis, express the will of the local bourgeoisie to take the place of another bourgeoisie", whereas the aim of the workers, from Paris to Brest, was to put an end to exploitation". To maintain its credentials with the French Left, the UDB, whose raison d'être resides in the "specificity" of the Breton situation, may come under increasing pressure to adopt the slogans of the PCF or face a sharp reinterpretation of their role.

In its November issue, LPB publishes a very eloquent set of figures comparing the average standards of living in Brittany and in France: that comparison could go a long way to answer, on purely materialistic grounds, the argument that the Breton problem is not specific. But that the PCF leaders do not see in the Breton national movement other and worthier motives than material

greed raises the question as to whether they are just ill-informed, unwilling to take a stand that would be unpopular with their French supporters or fundamentally, as if by a conditioned reflex due to their French "education", opposed to measures that would strengthen any other nationality than the French within the present State boundaries?

For several years, the PCF opposed the Algerian struggle for independence: is it possible though that Algeria to-day is more socialistic than France? We remember also that the PCF-controlled CGT trade union was very slow in 1972 to come out in support of the strike of 900 underpaid workers at Le Joint Français in St-Brieuc: that strike did not suit the Communist leadership in Paris, yet it was successful thanks to the Breton (workers) sense of solidarity - and to it alone. Not a very edifying case for the validity of the French context A. H.

An international Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language was founded a year ago. In furtherance of its aim and in order to attest internationally the vitality of this language and its literature, the Committee decided in September to sponsor a prize which will be awarded every year to a work published in Breton. The jury will be composed of Bretons and of foreigners well acquainted with the language. The prizewinning work will be presented as a gift to the ten most important foreign public libraries: Deutsche Bibliothek, Frankfurt; British Museum, London; Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Florence); Lenin Library, Moscow; Egyptian National Library, Cairo; Library of Congress, Washington; National Library, Ottawa; National Library, Peking; Rijks-bibliotheek, Leyden. Copies of the successful works will also be distributed among the members and sympathizers of the various national committees which make it up; the committee will also promote them by all the means at its disposal such as the sale-exhibition of Breton books held yearly in Brussels.

The authors and publishers wishing to submit entries should send a copy before March 31, 1977, to the committee, 11-13 Parvis de St-Gilles, B-1060 Brussels. The results will be announced on June 1, 1977.

WAYS OF HOPE:

Extension of Breton classes to small rural towns. The policy of the French ministry of "Education" remains as inflexible as ever towards the teaching of Breton. The number of pupils receiving rudiments of this teaching is of the order of $\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the school population.

However voluntary classes are in progression: for the past 3-4 years they have spread to the smallest towns. The following examples will give an idea of what is being done in a few rural communes in the area W and NW of Brest for 1976-77:

In Gwiler and Gwitalmeze, night classes for beginners on Fridays; in Konk-Leon and Plougin, classes on Saturdays afternoon; in Plouzane, a beginners and an intermediate course, same time; in Plouarzel, a class of Breton history and three language classes, same time; in Lokournan, a class for beginners on Friday nights and three grades in Breton on Saturday afternoons; in Plabenneg, a class of Breton history and two language classes of different grades on Friday nights.

These 8 communes, totalling hardly more than 20,000 inhabitants, have thus 15 voluntary Breton classes this year. This slow, peaceful, but irreversible evolution is taking place throughout Brittany but particularly in the

traditionally Breton-speaking "Lower Brittany".

J. A-Gw.

[We read frequently that there would be more classes if there were more teachers. To train the latter is an urgent task for such organisations as Skol An Emsav.]

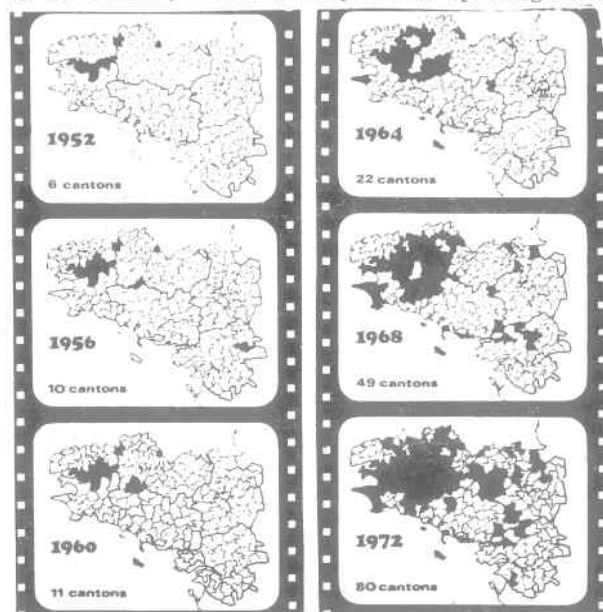
NEITHER STICK NOR SHAME

A 16mm colour film titled **NAG AR VAZH NAG AR VEZH** has just been released by a young producer Ph. Cassard. It lasts nearly 2 hours and almost half of it is in Breton. It features to-day's Brittany, and lets its farmers, workers, fishermen, singers, intellectuals speak about their problems, joys and worries, without adding any comments. Some of the people it presents are well-known, like the singer G. Servat, and the old poet and farmer Anjela Duval.

Cassard is already renowned for a film on Corsica and a short one in Breton "Ti Pri", which depicts the plight of two old farmers dramatically - it won many awards (in spite of French obstacles) and has been shown by many foreign TV services. In July, a BBC TV team made two one-hour films centring around Anjela Duval, for a series called "The Languages of the World"

DEMOGRAPHIC DETERIORATION

French authorities, faced with complaints about unemployment and neglect of our economy, like to refer to an increase in the population of the "region" as an indication that it is not doing so badly. The counter-argument is that the increase is due to the return of emigrants belonging to the older age-groups. These 6 maps show that the number of cantons in which death rates exceed birth rates is growing dramatically. The rot is spreading, particularly in traditionally Breton-speaking districts.



CREATING A NATION [Refer to CARN No. 14.]

"... It is clear why you find our rejection of nationalism so complicated. From every text relating to this subject you retain only that which accords with your patriotic feelings. Anything that hurts them you reject a priori. So you don't see much sense in what you retain nor in what you reject. When we say we "believe" that a Breton nation is emerging, it is a "statistical belief", a

[Continued on page 23]

CYMRU

CEFNOGAETH JIMMY CARTER I'R GWERINIAETHWYR

GWYDDELIG.

Mae y ffaith fod Jimmy Carter wedi rhoi ei gefnogaeth i'r gweriniaethwyr wedi achosi cryn boen i Llywodraeth Lloegr. Wrth gwrs ni allwn fod mor annoeth a chredu nad oedd Carter wedi mynegi y gefnosgaeth hon i arweinwyr y gweriniaethwyr yn yr America heb fod ac un llygaid ar y bleidlais Wyddelig yr un pryd. Cawn weld foddbynnag sut y trosglwydda ei eiriau i weithrediad ar ol cymeryd yr awenau trosoddym mis Ionawr. Yn sicr ni all Carter fod yn waeth na'i ragflaennydd tywyllodrus Richard Nixon cyn belled a bod rhyddid Gwyddelig yn bod. Mae yn hysbys yn awr i Nixon gael ei gamarwain gan lywodraeth Lloegr a rhoi cyniatad i ysbwyd cudd Seisnig i'r wlad.

Ond yr hyn sydd yn ddiddorol yw agwedd Lloegr tuag at araith Carter. Ni ddylai America, meddent, ymeryd ym 'musnes y wlad yma'. Tybed a glywyd y fath ragrith. Ymddengys fod popeth yn iawn i Dr. Kisinger ymeryd 'ym musnes y wlad yma' a'i pherthynas a Rhodesia er engraifft. Heb son am ymyriad America yn ystod y ddwy ryfel diwethaf.

Wrth gwrs buasai y byd yn ddipyn gwell byd pe bai pob gwlad yn ymatal rhag ymeryd yn musnes gweledydd eraill. Ac mae ymyraeth Lloegr ym mhob cyfandir ar hyd y blynyddoedd wedi achosi mwy o boen a phryder a rhyfela nac odid unrhyw wlad arall mewn hanes.

Ond yn ol at Carter am funud. Fel aml i lywydd arall, o'r Iwerddon y daeth ei hynafiaid. Yn wahanol i Kennedy foddbynnag, mae ei wreiddiau ef yn y gogledd Brotestanaidd a dyna a oedd yn achosi cryn bembled i'r wasg Seisnig. Os rhywbeth dylai roi ei gefnogaeth i ymdrechion Lloegr yn yr Iwerddon. A phe bai Carter wedi collfarnu'a Geriniaethwyr ni fuasai gwasg na llywodraeth Lloegr yn edrych ar hyn fel ymyraeth ym musnes y wlad yma' ond fel rhywbeth i'w sawu a rhywbeth hollol naturiol.

Dyma a ddywedodd Carter yn Pittsburgh "Too often we have seen instances where human rights are subjected and quite often our nation stands mute and doesn't speak out. The Democratic National Convention was written jointly by our own staff and Mayor Daley of Chicago to be sure that the world knows that the Democratic party understands the special problems of Ireland and it is a mistake for our country's government to stand quiet on the struggle of the Irish for peace, for the respect of human rights and for unifying Ireland".

SEFYLLFA'R IAITH WYDDELIG.

Nid heb reswm y gofynna rhai pobl "Paham tybed na wnaeth yr iaith Wyddelig ddatblygu a'r Iwerddon wedi enill ei rhyddid er cymaint o amser a'r iaith Gymraeg yn dal ei thir a ninnau heb enill unrhyw fath o ryddid"? Ac nic ellid ateb y cwestiwn mewn brawddeg nac mewn un erthygl ychwaith. Achubwyd yr iaith Gymraeg, wrth gwrs, gan er Eisteddfod a chapel a chan y werin a gynhyrchodd feirdd a nofelwyr a rhieni ac ydoedd siared ac ysgrifennu a chanu a charu eu hiaith mor naturiol ac anadlu iddynt.

Ond nid yw y cwestiwn yn hollol deg oherwydd nid yw'r Iwerddon wedi enill ei rhyddid yng ngwir ystyr y gair. Rhyw fath o ryddid gwleidyddol hwyrach ond yn sicr nid rhyddid economaidd. Ac ni all y Gwyddyl feio neb am y sefyllfa ddifrifol yma ond eu gwleidyddwyr diasgrwn cefn

a hwy eu hunain.

Mae lle i obeithio foddbynnag ny sefyllfa'r iaith Wyddelig. Mae mudiad ar droed (ar yn un llinellau a Chymdeithas Yr Iaith) sy'n anelu at sicrhau gwell statws i'r iaith. Bydd y mudiad yn canolbwyntio y brotest yn erbyn adrannau o'r llywodraeth sy'n gwrthod cyfathrachau yn yr iaith Wyddelig. Dywedodd y cadeirydd fod y llywodraeth Wyddelig yn waeth hyd yn oed na llywodraeth Lloegr yn ei hagwedduatg at yr iaethoedd Celtaidd a rhoddodd engreiphtiau o swyddogion carchar yn gwrthod hawl i fam siared a'i mhab mewn Gwyddeleg a mynegbyst Saesneg uniaith mewn rhannau o'r wlad.

Ni allwn ond dymuno pob llwyddiant i'r mudiad. Os y bydd mor llwyddianus a Chymdeithas Yr Iaith bydd dyfodol yr iaith Wyddeleg yn sicr. J. Rhyd Humphreys.

GOBEITHION NEWYDD YM MYD RADIO

Ar adeg pan yw holl ddyfodol darlledu yng Nghymru, ac yn wir ym Mhrydain Fawr hefyd, dan ystyriaeth fanwl gan Bwyllgor Annan, bu'r BBC yng Nghymru wrthi fis Tachwedd diwethaf yn arbroft gyda Radio lleol. Bu'r arbrawf yn llwyddiant ysgubol ac fe syfrdanwyd y gwahanol ddarlledwyr a chynhyrchwyr ym mhob lle gan frwdfrydedd yr ymateb i'w rhaglenni.

Prif amcan yn arbrawf oedd tynnu sylw pobl Cymru at y datblygiadau sydd ar y gweill ym myd radio o fis Ionawr ymlaen. Erbyn i'r erthygl hon weld golau dydd bydd y gwasanaeth hwnnw wedi ei gychwyn a bydd Hywel Gwynfryn i'w glywed am 7.00 ac am 8.00 y bore bob dydd gyda'i gyfachiad 'Helo Bobol', ar y donfedd VHF; a bydd rhaglenni ychwegegol hefyd i'w clywed ar yr un donfedd ar wahanol adegau o'r dydd. Y bwriad yn y pen draw yw gwahanu'r gwasanaeth Cymraeg a'r gwasanaeth Saesneg yn gyfangwbl, y naill ar y donfedd VHF a'r llall ar y donfedd ganol. Datblygiad graddol tuag at y nod hwn yw'r polisi - symud ymlaen gan gadw golwg ar yr ymdrechion i led'u'r derbyniad i bob rhan o Gymru ar un llaw, ac ar ymateb pobl Cymru i'r alwad i brynu setiau radio VHF, ar y llaw arall. Dyma'r ddwy ffactor bwysig - a dyma'r amodau y dylid brwydro amdanynt cyn i'r ddau wasanaeth gael eu gwahanu yn llwyr: fod rhaglenni VHF i'w clywed yn glir ym mhob rhan o Gymru a fod nifer digonol o'r Cymry Cymraeg yn berchen ar setiau radio addas.

Bydd rhai yn ofni'r datblygiadau yma - yn union fel y mae rhai yn ofni sefydlu sianel deledu Gymraeg. Ond rhaid mentro. Mae'n amheus iawn a ellid cynyddu'r oriau Cymraeg o gwbl ar y radio heb y datblygiadau hyn. Bydd rhai yn dadlau fod arferion gwrando pobl yn geidwadol iawn, yn arbennig gyda radio gan mai'r un fu'r trefniadau ers blynyddoedd maith. Ond does dim amheuaeth mai'r donfedd VHF yw'r gorau o ran derbyniad clir, a hon yw tonfedd y dyfodol, fel mae amryw o'n cyfeillion di-Gymraeg wedi sylweddoli.

Y peth pwysig ar hyn o bryd yw fod y BBC yng Nghymru yn peidio eistedd yn ôl yn hunan-fodlon ar ôl i'r newidiadau ddod a rym ym 1977, ond eu bod yn parhau â'r cyhoeddusrwydd a gychwynwyd ganddynt fis Tachwedd diwethaf - cyhoeddusrwydd ar ffurf hysbysebion ar y radio a'r teledu ac mewn papurau newydd; posteri a thaflenni ac yn y blaen.

Daw hyn a ni yn ôl at bwnc radio lleol, y cyfrwyg cyhoeddusrwydd gorau oll. (Diddorol, gyda llaw, i ddarlennwyr 'Carn', yw'r ffaith mai o'r Iwerddon y cafwyd y fan ddarlledu symudol a ddefnyddiwyd gan BBC Cymru ar gyfer darlledu yn y gwahanol ganolfannau.

Enghraifft o gyd-weithredu Celtaidd effallai?) Bu'r arbrawf yn gymaint o lwyddiant fel na all y BBC fforddio peidio a'i barhau mewn rhyw ffurf neu'i gilydd. Pobl blwyfol ydym i gyd yn y bon. Mae gan bawb ddiddordeb mewn clywed merch fach Anti Jên Tŷ Mawr yn canu ar y radio new glywed yr hen gymeriad hwnnw sydd i'w weld mor aml gyda'i beint ym mar y 'Ship' yn parhau'n ffraeth a naturiol dros yr awyr. Yr elfen hon ynom ym cyfrinach llwyddiant y paparau bro yng Nghymru y dyddiau hyn - ac mae'n amlwg nad digon yw darparu'r deunydd yma yn Saesneg. Y ffaith mai yn Gymraeg y cyflwynir y deunydd - boed yn raglen radio neu yn stori bapur newydd - sy'n gwneud y gwahaniaeth. Ar ôl blynyddoedd maith a gael ein boddi yng nghanol llif of Seisnigrwydd o bob cyfeiriad, mae yna arwyddion fod yna syched am Gymreictod mewn llawer i ardal yng Nghymru.

Dyna i chi rywbeth i godi'ch calon ym 1977:

[Local broadcasts made by BBC Wales in various parts of the country last November were an outstanding success. A mobile radio van was borrowed from Ireland, from R. T. É. - a good example of Celtic co-operation perhaps! The local broadcasts were part of a publicity exercise designed to draw attention to the 1977 developments in radio in Wales. Welsh-language programmes are to be extended on VHF, while English-language programmes of Welsh content will be extended on the medium wave. The ultimate aim is to separate Welsh-language and English-language programmes on these two frequencies.]

A DISGRACEFUL EPISODE AT BANGOR

Last November at University College, Bangor, must be one of the most disgraceful episodes in its history. The issues involved certainly aroused more passions in Wales than any other issue and in the long run gained a good deal of sympathy and support for the Welsh language.

The campaign by the "Cymric" (Welsh society) for full status for the Welsh language in college administration and activities goes back at least ten years. A detailed policy was presented to the college authorities once again in June of last year. The authorities responded by setting up a committee to look into the matter. A few months later the "Cymric" decided they could wait no longer and drew up a plan of action. Members removed all English posters in the college buildings and publicly set them on fire. The following day 50 members occupied the Administrative offices, and later on slogans were painted on various walls: "Polisi Iaith Cyfiawn" (A just language policy), "U. C. N. W. - Llofrudd yr Iaith" (U. C. N. W. - Murderers of the language).

On November 16, officials of the Cymric were summoned before the College's Senate and as a protest 130 members occupied the financial office and scattered papers and files. Two days later, Dafydd Roberts, Rheon Thomas, Emryn Wyn and Glyn Tomos were suspended from the college for 12 months and forbidden to come near the college till October 1977. They would then be allowed back on condition that they signed a document giving an undertaking not to take part in such activities in future.

This particularly harsh and unjust treatment sparked off protests all over Wales - further strikes and sit-ins in various colleges, rallies of support from teachers & lecturers, a stream of letters to the press and to the college authorities. Dafydd Wigley, Plaid Cymru M. P.

for Caernarfon met Dr. Charles Evans, Principal of the college and his officials and commented afterwards that if such an intransigent attitude prevailed in industry the employers would soon have a general strike on their hands. Support for the actions of the college (punishing 4 students for acts which 150 students took responsibility) has been virtually nil. The strength of the support for the suspended students and the demand that they should be allowed back, has been overwhelming.

At the time of writing the saga is far from over. Another M. P., Dafydd Elis Thomas (Plaid Cymru, Meirionnydd) has called for an independent inquiry and the December meeting of the University Court is bound to be a heated one. The legal aspects of the college's actions are at the moment being challenged. In the meantime it seems likely that the committee investigation bilingualism will soon come up with a few suggestions! [For the latest developments, read the next issue of CARN]

PLAID CYMRU: ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Plaid Cymru's Annual Conference was held at Aberystwyth at the end of October and important debates took place on the Government's devolution proposals, water resources, industrial democracy, local government, as well as many other topics.

This year's Conference attracted greater attention from press and in particular television and radio than ever before. Partly this was due to the party's successes at last May's district council elections but also to some extent to the fact that the major political issue of the coming Parliamentary session is the Devolution Bill so that the spotlight is very much on the nationalist parties. This is especially the case in view of the Government's knife-edge position at Westminster which means that the attitude of Plaid Cymru and the S. N. P. to the proposed measure could make or break their plans.

The question of Plaid Cymru's precise position on the issue came under discussion in a debate on a motion from the party Executive re-affirming the party's support for the aim of full self-government. Devolution was seen by most speakers as being a stepping-stone to national freedom, provided the proposals at present put forward by the Government could be strengthened to give the Welsh Assembly legislative powers and control over economic affairs. Plaid's M. P.'s made it clear that they will support the Bill on second reading and campaign strenuously to amend the measure at the Committee and Report stages to achieve this desired strengthening.

Another issue on which there was general agreement amongst delegates was support for a motion calling for effective Welsh control over water resources. This question, which has been part of the Party's programme for many years had suddenly become acute during the exceptionally dry summer. For the first time Welsh people in the industrial areas realised fully the injustice of the continued exploitation of Welsh water resources by English conurbations: whilst half the population of Wales were without water for 17 hours each day, areas like Birmingham suffered absolutely no restrictions, having secured for themselves the best reservoir sites in Wales; Welsh cities and industries had to make do with scantier resources. A growing feeling that the very least that should be done is that English authorities should pay realistic levies on Welsh water was echoed in a motion passed by the Conference. The motion also rejected the proposal to enlarge the existing Elan Valley reservoir complex, partly for the benefit of the English West Mid-

lands, until satisfactory arrangements for payment by the Severn-Trent Authority for water used have been concluded.

Two issues where there was greater controversy within the Party were industrial democracy and local government. The history of Plaid Cymru's commitment to democracy in industry is long and honourable but it is only in recent years that any really detailed thinking has been done to translate the principle into practical proposals. A particular spur to this process has been the need for the Party to submit testimony to a government committee presently looking into the question. The evidence submitted to the Bullock Committee on behalf of the Party by Dafydd Wigley, M. P. formed the basis of a motion to Conference. Despite total agreement on the need for much greater power over decision-making in industry to be given to the work-force, how far any changes should go is a matter of some disagreement, especially between those in the North and West of the country who are distrustful of what they fear to be a manifestation of dogmatic socialism. As a result the motion was finally referred back to the Party's National Executive for further discussion.

Another issue which has been very much a live one within Plaid Cymru has been that of the pattern of local government in Wales. The dilemma has been that many feel that the system will be much too complex once the Assembly is established and that unless there is some movement towards streamlining a reaction against devolution will set in, fuelled by memories of the extra cost, greater numbers of staff, and greater inefficiency commonly felt to have resulted from the recent re-organisation of local authorities. On the other hand there is also a feeling that the new county councils, who would be the prime target for abolition are finding a role where Plaid Cymru is in a position of power or influence. Thus the notable achievements in Gwynedd, and the hope that in next year's county council elections the party could win control of Mid-Glamorgan and make similar strides in that part of Wales at a county level give pause to those who would abolish these authorities. In addition there is the valid argument that the addition of a tier of government in the form of the Assembly should not affect local government, since ideally its powers should all be taken from central government in Whitehall. Realistically, however, it is accepted that with the government's present refusal to vest real governmental powers in the new body, some overlap with the county councils is inevitable.

The policy finally decided on by the Conference was therefore something of a compromise. The Party is nominally committed to the abolition of the county councils, their powers being transferred to the district councils or, where the nature of the power requires greater resources than a district could supply by itself, to joint boards and committees. However it is also agreed that any reform along these lines must only be carried out by the Assembly once established. The hope presumably is that at that stage the transition to self-government may be proceeding so rapidly, and the Assembly acquiring powers from London at such a pace, that the structure of local government can be allowed to remain more or less unchanged.

Like all Party Conferences Plaid Cymru's suffers from the fundamental impossibility of carrying out the function of formulating policy by the process of speeches and votes concentrated into a few minutes, rather than by close argument and reflection spread over many months. Increasingly, however, major items of policies are being distilled from a lengthy process involving,

above all, the Party's National Council, a body representing all the constituency parties, and are then submitted for approval, amendment or indeed rejection by the Annual Conference. This is having a greatly beneficial effect in ensuring that Party policy is mature and well-thought-out. As this year's conference showed, this is a process which is becoming more and more essential since in some areas Plaid Cymru actually has the reins of power in its hands, and this power must be exercised responsibly and well if the movement is to go forward. The Party has probably been as optimistic at times in the past, though without as good reason, but it has never before been able to enjoy the same mature confidence that was the underlying feeling at this year's conference.

K. B.

GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR WELSH PERIODICAL

The Welsh Arts Council has departed from its policy of aiding only Welsh magazines of a literary nature by giving a substantial grant to the Welsh language weekly **Y FANER**.

Up till now **Y FANER** (Baner ac Amserau Cymru) has appeared as a newspaper, but from March 1st it will appear in a new format as a weekly magazine whose aim is to comment on Welsh and international affairs from the standpoint of the Welsh speaking Welshman. Events and trends in the other Celtic countries will also be given coverage.

A new editor has been appointed for the new-look periodical. He is Geraint Bowen of Tal-y-llyn, a well known Welsh poet and author and former H. M. Inspector of schools who is a frequent participant at Celtic conferences and gatherings.

DEVOLUTION BILL

The government's Devolution Bill received its second reading in the House of Commons on December 16th, the majority in favour being 45. Much of the interest during the debate centred on the question of whether the government would give in to pressure from the anti-devolutionists within its own party's ranks and submit the measure to referenda in Scotland and Wales. At the end of the debate this promise was in fact forthcoming from Mr. Callaghan.

The Bill now goes to committee, and the government must start to think carefully about the practical side of the proposed referenda, which will probably take place in the early autumn of 1977. In particular it must decide whether a simple 'yes' or 'no' to the government's proposal should be sought, or whether the electorate should be asked to choose between a number of alternative constitutional arrangements including devolution of the kind proposed. However it seems unthinkable that they will risk failing to get a clear vote of confidence in their own plan. It may be, therefore, that the voters will be asked to answer two questions, one being a straight acceptance or rejection of the measure passed by Parliament and the second seeking to measure support for various constitutional patterns, namely the status quo, executive devolution, legislative devolution, federalism and self-government. Real practical difficulties surround the phrasing of any question which seeks to set out in simple but non-emotive terms complex patterns of government, however, and it may be that when ministers actually get to grips with the problem they will abandon it and concentrate solely on a simple 'yes' or 'no' to the Scotland and Wales Act as it will then be.

K. B.

ÉIRE

AN SICEOLAÍOCHT AGUS AN PHOLAITÍOCHT

Cheap Freud gur néarois abhí ag cur as do dhuine ar bith abhí gabhtha le cursaí draíochta agus asaralaíochta. Ní raibh sa gcreideamh ba mheasúla agus ba seanbhunaithe ach brainnse eile den rud céanna. An té a shantuigh an bheatha dhiamhair, rúnda uaigneas i ndiaidh na bruinne abhí air - a tháinig idir é agus an bheatha fhollasach, ábharga - í achaitheamh go h-éifeachtach agus sásamh a bhaint aisti. Bíobla atá ina théacs ag a lán anois agus gan an Bíobla fhéin ina bhíobla feasta! Ní aos léinn ná fealsúnachta amháin atá faoi chomaoín aige ach an pobal léitheoireachta chuile áit - de bharr nuachtáin agus irisí agus leabhra éatroma siceolaíochta ionas go bhfuil chuile spreasán ina 'shaineolaí' ar a chuid tuairimí. Ní shin é amháin é. Tá rian a chuid tuairimíochta ar litríocht agus ar chultúr na linne. Níl an Eaglais Chaitliceach fhéin saor! Ní fiontas ar bith é mar sin go mbeadh an anáil seo le mothú ar chúrsaí polaitíochta - chuile áit d'fhéadfaí a rá ach amháin sa tríú domhan. Áit ar bith ar phréamhaigh cultúr iarthar Eorpach nó Meiriocánach tá sí le fáil. Is aisteach na h-aicé eile ina bhfaighfí freisin í b'fhéidir. Tá saghas áirid intleachtóra tagtha chun cinn sa bpolaitíocht go díreach mar theachtaí páirliminte nó mar airí rialtais nó go h-índíreach mar thráchtairí agus mar lucht anailíse, a bhfuil an-glacadh acu le tráchtas Freud nó na blúirí de atá piocaithe suas acu anseo agus ansiúd ó na meáin chumarsáide. Is féidir a rá gur mó an tionchar atá aige ar thuairimíocht an lae inniu ag an leibhéal áirithe seo ná ag siceolaí ar bith eile. Cé gurbh é smior a chuid oibre an tuiscint ar intinn an duine a leathnú agus a mhéadú agus a léiriú go bhfuil réimsí níos leithne agus níos fairsinge inti ná mar a tuigeadh go dtí sin ní dheachaigh sé thar theorainneacha a raibh glacadh leo ag lucht fealsúnachta ag an am. Ar bhonn abharachais atá a thráchtas uile leagtha bíodh agus gur le mothúcháin, le brionglóidí agus le fórsaí mistéireacha na 'spride' abhí sé ag plé. Níl leath an oiread áird ar Jung - cuirim i gcás - fear a d'oibrigh ar feadh blianta le Freud. An spéis abhí aige sna miotais ó chultúir éagsúla agus sna córais creidimh, sna deasghnátha draíochta agus asarlaíochta ní raibh siad ag teacht le spiorad na h-aoise. Aisteach go leor tá an taighde is nuaf san eolaíocht agus sa bhfisic ag tabhairt fianaise nach raibh sé leath chomh h-amaideach agus a cheap Freud agus a lán eile. Tuigtear anois nach pisreog ná scéal caillí an 'fios' (telepathy) nó an tairngireacht.

Leis an leagan amach abhí aige is cinte go mbeadh rudaí speisiúla le rá ag Jung faoi chúrsaí na h-Éireann sa lá atá inniu ann. Níor ghéill sé ariamh do Freud nach raibh ag buaireamh na h-intinne ach an timpeallacht phearsanta. Ba í a bharúil go mba rud níos rúndiamhraí fós é intinn an duine - nach raibh duine taobh lena intinn phearsanta fhéin ar chor ar bith - ach go raibh fite, fuaite ann intinn agus sean-chuimhe na muintire agus an chine - an chine daonna fhéin agus é ina dhubhradán ar an uilíocht. Bíodh nár aontaigh sé fhéin agus Freud faoi rudaí an-bhunúsacha is cinte go mbeidís ar aon aigne faoi rud amháin - gur ábhar scagtha agus staidéir i gcónaí é iompar an duine. Na h-intleachtóirí seo a mhaíodh eolas ar phrionsabail Freud agus a d'aontódh leis is iad is mó a thugann cluais bhodhar dó in Éirinn faoi láthair. Níl rud ar bith i dtéacs Freud a thabharfadh tacaíocht do na Provos ná don UDA. Go deimhin is doigh go gceapfadh sé gur de bharr droch-ghaol le máthair nó le athair nó mí-shonas pearsanta a ghabhfadís i muinín an fhoréigin. Dála an scéil, seo í an phríomhchúis nach

mbeadh aon ghlacadh ag a lán Marxaigh le Freud - a theoiric réabhlóide. Ach ní shin é an pointe. Sé an rud is tábhachtaí a thug sé don tsaoil ná an tuiscint go bhfuil fathanna áirithe le iompar an duine agus nach dtagann sé anuas as an spéir gan fáth gan údar. Ní mór an rud atá ag déanamh tinnis do dhuine a aimsiú agus a scagadh má tá sé le cur de dhruim seoil. Lena chóras anailíse sholáthraigh sé úirlis thábhachtach leis an scagadh sin a dhéanamh. Is barúil an scéal é nach bhfuil de leigheas ag a 'lucht leanúna' ar mháthair an uilc sa Tuaisceart ach daoine a chaitheamh isteach sa bpríosún as éadan agus iad a fhágail ann go lobhfaidh siad. Sompla breá, dáiríre den dallamullóg Freudach! Cruthú eile ar fhírinne a theoirice faoin bhféin-dallamullóg. Nach breá an breithiúnas atá déanta ag intleachtóirí móra na fichiú aoise ar chúrsaí polaitíochta na h-Éireann - breithiúnas na meánaoiseanna agus an Ionchoisne. Tá an Diabhal i gcreatalacha lucht foiréigin agus caithfear piónós dá réir a chur orthu! Agus muid ag ceapadh go raibh an fear uasal, ifreannada sin ar a phinsean le fada an lá.

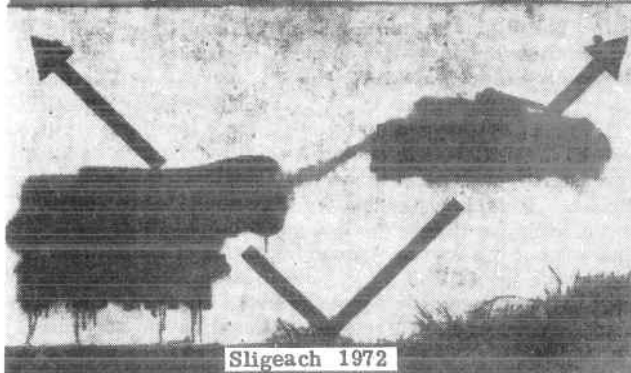
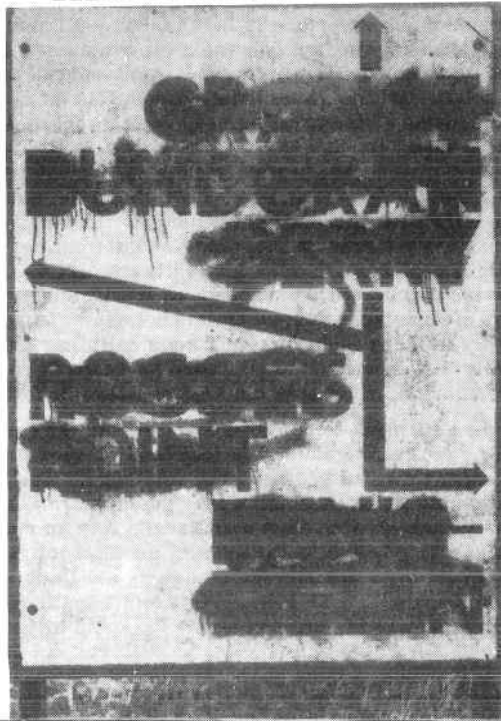
Céard atá le rá faoin scéal seo ar fad i ndeire báire? Tá, gur fearr gan bacadh le Freud ar chor ar bith mura gcuirtear eolas cruinn ar a thuairimí. Is fearr fíor aineolas ná leath-eolas a fhágann níos faide fós ó smior na tuisceana sinn agus a chuireann leis an meascán mearaí. Luann leath-scoláirí scoláirí móra mar údarais agus ansin téann siad agus sáraíonn siad a gcéad-phrionsabail. Tá Marx cráite ag an leath-eolas céanna. Tá Íosa Críost cráite aige. Tá muid uilig cráite aige ar bhealach amháin nó eile. Caithfear dul ar ais go dtí na bun-fhoinsí agus go dtí na bun-teacsanna. Bhunaigh daoine cosuile le Jung agus le Freud céard na siceolaíochta. Má táthar le tagairt a dhéanamh dóibh déantar na tagairtí cuí. Má tá siad le moladh nó le cáineadh bíodh sé le déanamh ar bhonn na fírinne nó na fírice. Cuirtear deireadh leis na 'miotais' agus leis an dallamullóg nua. Gráinne Ní Mháille.

(The above article maintains that many intellectuals involved in political life have been influenced at a certain level by psychological ideas - particularly those of Freud. In Ireland these very 'Freudians' with regard to the violence in the North support not methods or analyses of the Age of Reason but those of the Middle Ages and of the Inquisition - i. e. - to lock up all dissidents and revolutionaries as the agents of evil - thereby providing a classic example of Freudian rationalization and self-deception.)

IRISH PRISONERS IN ENGLISH JAILS

Attention has been drawn recently to the treatment of Irish prisoners in English jails by the publication of an article by a Scottish solicitor, Alastair Logan, on the subject. The article was first printed in the 'LAW GUARDIAN', the journal of the Law Society in London, and published in the Irish Times in mid December. It deals with the (ill-) treatment of prisoners in pre-trial detention, the short notice with which lengthy deposition evidence is presented to defence lawyers, the (ill-) treatment of convicted prisoners and the manner in which visitors are treated and visits arranged (or cancelled). The Prisoners Aid Committee in England are also endeavouring to highlight the treatment of Irish prisoners in English jails and have issued a statement listing injuries inflicted on a number of prisoners and demanding that Irish prisoners be allowed to serve their sentences in Ireland. The statement points out that soldiers in the British Army in the North who have been convicted of criminal acts have been transferred to England to serve their sentences, but that this concession is denied to Irish prisoners in England.

Ceacht le foghlaim -



Sligeach 1972

ON THE LANGUAGE FRONT

As outlined in previous issues of CARN English-only road signs continue to proliferate outside towns and cities in the Republic. There are a few local authorities who fulfill the law by providing bi-lingual signs but some of these signs have the Irish in a much reduced size in relation to the English. One town which seems to have had a change of heart in its policy on road signs is Sligeach (Sligo). A few years ago Sligo was one of the worst towns with all of its major approach roads littered with English-only signs; in fact it was one of the forerunners in the wave of new style English-only signs. Now an enlightened attitude prevails and excellent bi-lingual signs, which are an example to other towns, have been erected. Sligo is to be congratulated on the change. Could the concerted campaign against English-only signs which was carried out in Sligo in 1972 have been a factor? A point of interest also is that the new signs avail of the provision (in one name-place, Bundorán) in the law that where no difference in spelling exists between the Irish and English versions the Irish version only may be used.

A point of grave concern to all interested in the

a lesson to be learnt?



Sligeach 1975/6

fortunes of the Irish language and the future of Radio na Gaeltachta in particular is the refusal of the R. T. E. Authority to appoint a new Ceannaire (Head) of Radio na Gaeltachta. The position has been vacant since June and an independent interview board unanimously recommended the appointment of P. MacAonghusa, journalist and experienced broadcaster who has worked for the United Nations in Namibia. The Authority refused to implement the recommendation and it is understood that the matter has been placed in the hands of the Broadcasting section of the National Union of Journalists by ant Uas Mac Aonghusa. The refusal of the Authority to fill this vital position must re-inforce fears that they plan to downgrade the station or incorporate it in a bi-lingual western regional station.

At a meeting held in Dublin on the 15th December to protest against the position of Irish on R. T. E. a spokesman for the organisation said these fears were unfounded and that a Head would be appointed to Radio na Gaeltachta soon. Vague promises were made about improvements in the position of Irish on the television but it was pointed out strongly to the spokesman that these promises had been made since the founding of R. T. E. 15 years ago. Calls were made by speakers for Radio na Gaeltachta to have its own authority and for a pressure campaign on politicians to get a proper spectrum of T. V. programmes and on the public in general to gain support. Active agitation continues on the T. V. question and at a demonstration at the H. Q. of R. T. E. in early December one protester climbed 50 ft. up the 200 ft. high T. V. mast and remained there for 2 hours to draw attention to the demands made by Conradh na Gaeilge for a full T. V. service in Irish.

NO 50 MILE FISHING LIMIT?

In recent months an issue of vital importance to the future of the Irish fishing industry has been to the fore. It is the question of whether Ireland will get an exclusive national 50 mile limit or not when the E. E. C. fishing policy is finally trashed out. The extension of E. E. C. fishing limits to 200 miles by January 1st has been agreed in anticipation of the U. N. Law of the Sea Conference and in response to some countries unilateral extensions. The problem for Ireland (and indeed for the non-continental Celtic countries) lies in the fact that without an exclusive 50 mile limit its waters will be open to the over expanded fishing fleets of the continental E. E. C. member states, whose own waters have been fished out and depleted of fish stocks. The case for a 50 mile limit for Ireland has been well made by Irish fishermen and they have organised a strong and continuous lobby on the E. E. C. and at all negotiations on the fishing policy.

The Irish fishing industry at present employs only 9,300 people and in relation to its continental competitors is underdeveloped. Norway, for example, with a similar population has 36,000 full time fishermen. The Irish case for a 50 mile limit is based on the need for absolute control in order to develop the potential of the industry fully and to ensure that effort and management put into it is not lost to others. This envisages the concept of 'farm' fishing as against 'hunter' fishing. All the E. E. C. commission offered were quotas, which according to fishermen's spokesmen are unacceptable because they are known to be impossible to apply; nobody can say where fish have come from which have been in the hold of a trawler for weeks.

The Irish Government under pressure from the Irish Fishermen's Organ. and the National Fisherman's Branch of the Irish Transport and General Worker's Union maintained the demand for a 50 mile limit in initial negotiations. However despite claims by the Government in November that Ireland's special case was recognised and that provision would be made for expansion of the Irish Fishing Industry fears were expressed that the crucial 50 mile limit would be abandoned at some stage and it was pointed out that no commitment had been given by the E. E. C. to the principle of exclusive national fishery zones not to mind agreement to an Irish zone of 50 miles. These fears were confirmed when shortly before Christmas it was reported that the Irish Government had given up its claim for the 50 mile exclusive limit, at least for the time being, at secret discussions which had taken place in the meantime at E. E. C. Foreign Minister and national diplomatic level. The government are apparently prepared to accept an arrangement which only places limitations on the size of boats and equipment to be used.

Reaction has been strong from the fishing organisations. The Irish Fish Producers Organisation said they were shocked by the news. Promises of restrictions, they said, were no substitute for Irish control of Irish waters. The rapid decline of stocks which had already started would now continue. The Chairman of the National Fisherman's Branch of the I. T. G. W. U. described the abandonment of the claim as 'an absolute sell-out'. He said that to drop the demand for a 50 mile exclusive fishing zone at this late stage pointed to dishonesty and deception at the highest level of Government. The Irish Fishermen's Organisation has called for a unilateral implementation of the 50 mile limit and has said that it is considering going to the upper courts to try and ensure that Irish waters are not left open to the other E. E. C. member states.

SCOTTISH FILM SHOW

The Irish Branch of the League organised a showing of a number of films dealing with Scottish writers, the Hebrides, Highland customs and the songs of the country in Dublin at the end of November. The film 'Highland Folk' showed us the Folk museum at Kingussie, the gathering of folk songs by collectors from the Scottish School of Studies (a very stilted and artificial piece this) and caber tossing at Highland games. It also informed us that Queen Victoria was a great patron of Highland traditions! 'Songs of Scotland' as the title implies showed us scenes of the country and city as some well known Scottish songs were sung. The treatment was very dull in most cases and the best part of this film was the section where street songs of Glasgow were sung by Robin Hall and Jimmy MacGregor. 'Islands of the West' showed the physical beauty of the outer Hebrides to great affect with a good deal of aerial shots being used. The weak spot was the commentary, which was obviously aimed at the tourist, and which laid over-emphasis on the tourist element (shots of beds being made up in preparation for expected visitors). The good camera work, however, redeemed the film and a breath of the life of the Islanders certainly came through.

The highlights of the show, though, were the films dealing with the two famous Scottish poets Somhairle MacGill Eathain and Hugh MacDiarmid. 'Sorley Mac Lean's Island' began, appropriately enough, with Somhairle reading one of his poems, 'Ard Museum na h-Eireann', which dealt with his feeling on the Northern troubles and which elicited spontaneous applause from the audience. The film went on to show us some of the Island of Skye as Somhairle's contribution to Gaidhlig literature was discussed and in its latter part we viewed Somhairle's home Island of Raasey as he gave us an account of its history. The film concluded with Somhairle discussing his work with Ian Mac'a Gabhann and giving his views on the future of the Gaidhlig language. 'Hugh MacDiarmid - No Fellow Travellers' was also an excellent film which gave an insight into the poet's mind. This film was made to commemorate the poet's 80th birthday and in it he speaks about his life and works with Norman MacCaig and his son Michael Grieve. Other poets foregathered in the back room of Milne's Bar in Edinburgh talk about him. In the film Hugh MacDiarmid reads some of his poems and we hear that the period spent, after his second marriage, on the Shetlands was his most productive. A lean hard time followed and at one stage he was expelled from the Nationalist Party for being too communist and from the Communist Party for being too nationalist. In the film the camera sets the pictorial mood for his poems of social protest.

The show, which just cleared itself financially, was reasonably well attended. It must be admitted however, that a bigger attendance was expected, but perhaps the time - a Saturday afternoon, (which was unavoidable), militated against it. It is hoped to arrange showings of films from some of the other Celtic countries in the New Year.

Publicity Exchange:

GAIRM: Quarterly. 100 pages. All in Scottish Gaelic. Published by the leading Gaelic publishers in Scotland, GAIRM Publications, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow G2. 30p per issue. £1.50 annual subscription (post free). Founded in 1951 GAIRM publishes new work in poetry and the short story, folklore, musical and literary criticism, articles on current affairs and scientific topics.

KERNOW

AN FORTH NOWETH

Yn despyt lyes let dhe vuvyans gwylasek unyes yn Kernow, ny re welas avonsyans bras yn Kernow a'n Soth-Yst y'n vledhen 1976.

Mys Merth y'n vledhen-ma Mester Mischael Payne-Jago a ve degemerys avel ombrofyer rag an nessa dewysyans dhe'n Seneth Bretennek. Ef yu den freth ha gans mentenours, tanek aga holonnow, lef Mebyon Kernow yu clewys moy ha moy yn paperow newodhow ha war an radyo.

Mes tremyn a'n moyha bry yu an vysytys dhe jyow an weryn may hyllyn-ny keskewsel gansa hep let. Pup penseythen y hyller gweles ysyly Mebyon Kernow yn un frappya war dharrajow y'n trevow ha'n trevow eglos dhe ynnya an bobel omjunnya dhe Vebyon Kernow ha votya ragtha pan dhe an dewysyans.

Kynth us moy newodhow adro dhe'n muvyans gwylasek yn paperow newodhow ha war an radyo, kescowow gans pobel a'n le y'ga chywow yu an forth an moyha sur aga dynya hep dowt vyth oll. Tony Casey

[Summary: In spite of setbacks to a united movement - Cornish nationalism has new impetus in South East Cornwall with adoption of Michael Payne-Jago as M. K. candidate for Westminster.]

* Two new Cornish magazines: "AN GANNAS" (monthly) & "EYTHEN" (a satirical quarterly) £2. 50p for both - includes postage. From: G.M. Sandercock, Trewyn, Lodge Hill, Liskeard, Kernow (G. B. / U. K.)

Deu lyvryk noweth yn yeth kernewek a vyth dyllys dyworth mys Kevardhu 1976. An dheu yu: kensa, AN GANNAS yu lyvryk mysek hag a wra profya dhe'n moyha stof redya; nessa, EYTHEN yu lyvryk trymysek, wharthus y gnas. Rakpren an dheu a vyth £2. 50p pup bledhen (gans prys an post kefrys); hen yu deudhek dasscryf AN GANNAS ha peswar EYTHEN. An dheu a yl bos degemeres dyworth.

Since the first "Yeth an Weryn" gathering was held in August '76, regular monthly meetings have been held with an average attendance of a dozen people - The meetings have been held in the east and central west of the country. Now it has been decided to have independent meetings of Yeth an Weryn in the east of Cornwall from those in the west because of travelling distances. Those who wish to can attend both and hopefully in the future will find a Yeth an Weryn meeting in at least one part of Cornwall in any week. From this beginning, perhaps we will see the development of local community language groups.

KERNOW VOSTYES

Y'n jeth hedhyu yma dalva marthys bras ow sordya yn Pow Kernow adrodhe dowl a ve tewlys gans Consel Fors Elvennek an Wlasor Gesunyes rak encledhyes aga scullyon elvennek yndan hallow Kernow. Pur druesy an stuth-ma awos bos an scullyon-ma peryllys quarter mylvyl bledhen drefen y 'radio activity'.

Lemmy'n yma lyes cowedhas ow kesunya may hyllons sevel orth an towl. De Sul, 21ns a vys Du 1976, yth esa dysquedhyans bras dhe Loundres gans cowedhasow a bup sorn an pow ow sevel orth provyans fors elvennek. Yth

esa Mr. Michael Payne-Jago, nep yu ombrofyer Mebyon Kernow rak Seneth Loundres, leveryas dhe'n cuntellyans-ma ha Mebyon Kernow y honen a wra godres caskergh dysobayans gwylasek mar myn an governans pesya gans y dowlow.

Wosa an fara-ma, sor an bobel Gernewek yu apert hag y tegoth dhe'n governans trelya yn scon. Hem yu an kensa sampel may whra codros Mebyon Kernow obereth breselek ha'n bragyans-ma yu arweth sor bras ar bobel Gernewek. Del leveryas un esey Mebyon Kernow: 'Ny wren-ny cammen vyth gasa dhe entra Kernow an drokter-ma.' Tony Casey.

NUCLEAR WASTE

The threat of atomic waste and the possible use of Cornish granite for its storage has created quite a stir in Cornwall. Conservationists and the Cornish national organisations have found common ground on this issue. The commotion was started by a statement issued by CompAir Construction and Mining Ltd., which gave the impression that it was considering placing test mine facilities at the disposal of the Atomic Energy Authority - this involves the use of their (CompAir's) drilling equipment used regularly in a test mine. Personnel of the Camborne School of Mines have been for the past few years investigating potential geothermal energy sources underground in conjunction with CompAir and were the first to be approached by the men from Harwell. A lecturer from the School of Mines directly involved in the 'geothermal experiments' has had a meeting with a Harwell representative to discuss a joint project. In the meantime Dr. J. F. Stubbs, head of public relations for Harwell has given categorical assurance that there will be no storage of radio-active waste in Cornwall. Apart from the barrage of communications from Cornish organisation to 'government' departments, Mebyon Kernow representatives have spoken at open air rallies in London on the nuclear waste issue, and on Christmas Eve will be combining a commemoration on the 175th anniversary of Richard Trevithick's first (in the British Isles) full-size road locomotive run with a protest against Harwell's obscene scheme. Cornish Nationalist Party representatives are to meet the principal of the School of Mines to seek assurances that there is no work being undertaken at the School in connection with the disposal of nuclear waste. C. N. P. pickets are to be outside the School on the day of the meeting. Other action by the C. N. P. depends on the outcome of this meeting but previously a C. N. P. spokesman had said that they would declare war on anyone who attempted to dump nuclear waste in Cornwall. He said they had the means to carry out the threat and this included a quasi-military force of a specially chosen team of people.

Late News:

Dr. Peter Hackett, principal of the Camborne School of Mines, has satisfied C. N. P. representatives that they will not be aiding Harwell men and plans to picket the School have been called off. The C. N. P. now wish to receive assurances from the firm of CompAir Construction and Mining Ltd.

Mebyon Kernow has had a letter from Donald Stewart M. P. Parliamentary Leader of the Scottish National Party, wishing them best wishes and support in their fight against the dumping of nuclear waste in Cornwall, co-operation is being maintained with the SNP on this issue.

GREATER LONDON COUNCIL

The Greater London Council who have bought land in Cornwall for their "Seaside and Country Homes Programme" to meet, they say, "the large demand from our retired tenants to move outside London", seem to be ready to give the go-ahead to build. This land in Perranporth, a holiday town on the north coast, and at Illogan, has been held empty for many years. In 1972-73 this Branch and other Cornish organisations let the G. L. C. know in no uncertain terms that their policy of pushing their unwanted elderly people on to another community, would have undesirable and dangerous repercussions.

In a recent communication to the Branch the G. L. C. says their purchase of building sites for 75 dwellings should be seen in perspective to the hundreds and thousands of London (32 boroughs plus the G. L. C.) tenants.

Between 1961 and 1971 71,000 people moved out of Cornwall and 107,000 moved in. The Cornish Planning Officer in his "Policy Choice Consultation Document" (part of the "County Structure Plan") states that, "The age structure of the County's population is biased towards the older age groups - a higher proportion of population is one-third larger than if national age structure applied locally. - The late teens and early twenties are the age groups which Cornwall has the greatest difficulty in keeping. - School leavers generally had a strong preference for staying in the County but were prepared to move out in order to find employment." This is the perspective we see the G. L. C. 's purchases in - We wish to keep our young people, we do not want them to go to London. Our rates need to pay for the social facilities that are lacking for our younger age group and not to subsidise in 'manpower' and money the G. L. C. 's unprincipled policies.

CORNISH SERVICES

Christmas Services in the Cornish language were held in east, west and mid Cornwall this year. At St. Ive (Sen Yv) near Liskeard in the east; at Truro for mid Cornwall; In Gulval (Eglos Gulval) for the western part of the country.

In 1977 two services in the Cornish language will be held in Truro Cathedral. It is said that the last sermons in Cornish were preached by the Vicar of Landewednack, in the west, in 1667. A revival of Cornish services started at Towednack Parish Church in the same region of the country, in 1933. It will be a religious 'first' for Truro Cathedral, built in the latter half of the 19th century, in its diocesan centenary year. Holy Communion in Cornish will be celebrated on March 5th, St. Piran's Day, and later in the year a service in Cornish will be held on St. Petroc's Day (Chief of Cornish Saints). Mr. George Retallack Hooper has translated the bulk of the Communion Service as a member of the advisory group on services in Cornish, which was set up at the invitation of the Bishop of Truro. This group had evolved from the proliferation of church services since the revival.

TWINNING

A representative of Kelc'h Keltiek Inizi Endrez from Basse-Indre in Breizh has written to the Cornish Branch to say that they would like their town to twin with a Cornish one of similar size. We wish to see this happen very much and we are now working towards this end. Apart from the cultural gain from such contacts it seems in this case Basse-Indre, with its tin-plate rolling mills, copper metallurgy and fertiliser plants may interest local government bodies who have the foresight to see

the potential here for an exchange of practical ideas with regard to Cornwall's basic raw material industries and the above mentioned Breton industries in Basse-Indre which is the next step up the manufacturing process.

FACIST INCLINATIONS?

The P. R. O. of the Cornish Nationalist Party has disclosed that they will be adopting uniforms, forming a youth movement and nominating a prospective Westminster candidate for the Falmouth-Camborne constituency. The new uniform consists of a green beret, green shirt (bearing Nationalist insignia and grey trousers). Their P. R. O. has also said that he and Dr. James Whetter have had meetings with representatives of the National Front. The initial reaction of the Cornish Branch of the League, to the above statement from a C. N. P. representative, was one of amazement. We believe that wearing such a garb will appear foolish and dangerous to the Cornish people. This Branch would like to receive any letters from members of the Celtic League on the above C. N. P. "uniforms" policy and/or we would like C. L. members to let the General Secretary know their reaction to it.

The Chairman of Mebyon Kernow has issued a press statement saying: 'I must express M. K. 's utter rejection of the C. N. P. methods. The dangerous and illegal use of political uniforms and contacts with the National Front are totally to be condemned. In my opinion it is an attempt (possibly by others than the deluded C. N. P. members) to infiltrate English fascist ideology into Cornwall, or, to smear the idea of Cornish nationalism by such association. We, who have worked so long in a civilised and constitutional manner, reject their extremism and consider it harmful to the aim of Cornish self-government.'

STRUCTURE PLAN

At present the "County Council" are in the process of preparing a Structure Plan for Cornwall. Work on the first submission of the Plan is now at the stage at which policy choices have been formulated for possible inclusions in it. The views of the public are being sought by means of a post-paid leaflet and a booklet which has been sent to parish councils and Cornish organisations for a collective viewpoint. Detailed information of how the Policy Choices were evolved is available for £1 in a "Policy Choice Consultation Document" (P. C. C. D.)

The public are asked to choose from three main policies, A, B and C, under headings:-

- A - Encouraging Economic Growth - to raise the level of prosperity with emphasis on making the most of what the "County" has to offer.
- B - Remedying the Main Deficiencies - directed towards meeting persistent deficiencies such as high unemployment, low wages and bad housing conditions.
- C - Keeping the Character of the County - emphasising the need to control change: protecting rural landscapes and conserving the appearances of historic towns and villages.

As for the actual questionnaire, many people will support parts of all three main policies A, B and C as they all cover topics of equal importance to Cornwall's future as a Celtic nation - culturally, environmentally or physically and emotionally.

It is likely that the collective view of the Cornish Branch of the League will be Suggested 4th Policy. The Branch Secretary will be pleased to send anyone a leaflet on the above mentioned Policy Choice if s. a. e. is enclosed with letter.

Ian Williams.

MANNIN

SOSTYN BOIRIT MYCHIONE OOILL NY hALBEY

Even though many English people remain apathetic or sceptical about "devolution" of some of London's powers to Scotland and Wales, there is evidence that London technocrats are taking Scotland's claim to North Sea oil rather more seriously in private than in public.

She Gordon Wilson, Albinagh va troggit ayns Mannin, chroo yn shenn raa creene shid "She ooill ny hAlbey t'ayn". Dy neu-arryltagh, ta sheshaghtyn-politickagh Hostyn goaill rish dy ren Mnr Wilson obbyr yindyssagh tra chroo eh yn raa shen. Foastagh, cha nel y chooid smoo dy 'leih ayns Sostyn arryltagh dy chredjal dy vel ymmodde Albinee as Bretnee gearree nyn reiltyssyn hene y ve oc. Ta politickeyryn Sostnagh (as kuse dy Vretnee as Albinee) guee dy jed ny hashooneyryn ersooyl my jed y slattys cour jeeveanaghey (devolution) yn Reeriaght Unnaneysst trooid Ardwhaiyl Lunnin. Agh nish ta'n slattys hene er ny chur roish yn ardwhaiyl shen. Eer my vees yn reilts obbree brisht, as my vees ny Thoreeyn geddyn y varriaght ayns reihys, ta ashooneyryn ny hAlbey shicky dy bee laue yn eaghtyr oc. My vees reilts Callaghan tannaghtyn, hed y slattys cour jeeveanaghey trooid yn ardwhaiyl: ga nagh mielesh monney Albinee y slattys shoh, she toshiaght t'ayn. My hig Bnr Thatcher staigh lurg reihys, t'eh bunnys shicky dy jean ee y slattys cour jeeveanaghey y cheau ersooyl. Foastagh bee laue yn eaghtyr ec Nalbin sy jerrey er y fa dy bee na hAlbinee cho corree my haghrys shoh. Ta sleih cheet dy ve ny smoo shicky gagh laa dy bee sorch dy heyrshyns ec ny hAlbinee. Cha nod ad ve cho shicky mychione ny Bretnee. Dy granganach, ta Lunnin son cur er bun sorch dy "Hie Taggloo" ayns Caerdydd as gra Cruinnaght Vretin rish. Cheet er ash gys ooill ny hAlbey, ta paart dy Hostnee er ve feer wooiagh dy lhaih lioar er ny screu liorish John Grant, leaghteyr ayns leigh ec Ollooscoill Ghlaschu. Ta'n lioar shoh enmyssit "Independence and Devolution, the legal implications for Scotland". Dy beagh Nalbin eginit dy hassoo ny lomarcen, veagh urree croghey er queig magheryn-ooill nyn lomarcen, coardail rish Grant. Veagh ny magheryn-ooill Forties, Lomond, Maureen, Montrose as Piper ec Nalbin mie dy lioar, agh veagh ooille y fir elley ec Sostyn - as Sheltyn as Ellanyn Orc! S'cosoylagh nagh bee Sheltyn as ny hEllanyn Orc gearree ve ayns Nalbin hene tra vees ee seyr, as myr shen ta ram Sostnee treishteil nagh bee yn ooill mygeayrt y mysh ny hellanyn shen fo reill ny Albinee. My vees ny caglieeyn jeh ny magheryn-ooill currit sheese er y chaslys-cheerey rere Conaant Geneva 1958, ta Grant sheiltyn nagh bee monney ooill faagit ec ny hAlbinee boghtey! Agh heemayd sy tra ry heet.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

MANX CIVIL RIGHTS

In June Tynwald withdrew the right of Manx citizens to make individual petitions to the Court of the European Commission of Human Rights at Strasbourg. This occurred because the Manx Executive refused to re-ratify the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedom, as an appeal had been made under it against birching, which the Convention bans as a "cruel and unusual punishment".

This decision was taken in a secret session, and it was only disclosed by a leak to a newspaper. Mec Vannin made an immediate protest, the government issued a

statement which attempted to cover up the decision, which Mec Vannin counter-attacked, also condemning the harassment that had occurred of nationalists (some league members) protesting about the withdrawal of rights. Mec Vannin also appealed to the English Governor of the Island.

As Mec Vannin have stated, in their protests, the issue does not just cover that of birching. It is about the right of individual Manx citizens, in any situation envisaged or not yet envisaged, to appeal to an international tribunal if they feel that their human rights and fundamental freedoms are threatened.

Since the summer Tynwald has decided that Manx citizens can only make certain appeals to Strasbourg, and definitely not on birching. As the recent general election has resulted in a much more right-wing orientated House of Keys, it is feared such a totalitarian attitude could become worse, and lead to other freedoms being lost by Manx citizens.

John Treays.

HOUSE OF KEYS GENERAL ELECTION 1976.

On Thursday and Friday, 18th & 19th November last, the people of Mann went to the polls to elect a new House of Keys, the lower chamber of Tynwald, or Manx Government, which is expected to hold office for the next five years. Contesting the 24 seats was a record number of 71 candidates of all shades of political persuasion, and Mec Vannin, the Manx National Party, fielded ten candidates in nine constituencies - (there were two MV candidates contesting the two seats in Ramsey) - the first time it has promoted so many in any general election. One Mec Vannin candidate, Peter Craine, succeeded in being elected to the Keys for South Douglas - a first time also for a Nationalist to enter the Keys. In the constituency of Ramsey two Nationalists stood and one missed being elected by 41 votes. He polled 812 votes out of 6167 cast and came fourth out of a field of ten. The Movement polled a total of 13 per cent of the votes cast, amassing some 6000 all told, and it can be said that Mec Vannin made greater advances in this election in persuading so many to support its policies, which embrace *inter alia* a greater degree of self determination for the Island, a greater awareness of Manninaghys (Manxness) and a reduction of emphasis on Mann as a 'finance centre'.

Of the 24 candidates elected twelve are freshmen, which would suggest a fair degree of political inexperience in the new House of Keys, and it is likely for the first few months at any rate that no considerable change, if any, will be noticeable. Burning issues in recent general elections have tended to be very localized, e.g. the erection of street lights in this or that place, but on this occasion, because of the growing dissatisfaction among the native population of recent government enactments, such as the new resident policy, important issues, such as this, which affect the Island's external relations with the adjacent island, have been at the forefront of political debate at the hustings which preceded the election, and the number of candidates taking part is evidence of the greater interest taken in the election by the people. The new House of Keys will have to decide in the course of its life important constitutional considerations which may result in a complete political severance of the Island with the UK - one such matter is the ending of the 'common purse' arrangement whereby the UK collects the Island's customs dues and pays it back to the Manx government on a pro rata basis linking to the population figures

including the tourists; the Manx government pays for this service. Many in government circles here feel that the Island itself should levy its own customs dues, and guided by a recent PA Management Consultants document expect to earn much more by this process than having their dues collected by the British; one result of it would mean very cheap liquor and cigarettes.

Other nationalists not members of Mec Vannin were also elected and it is expected that there will be co-operation in such topics as the furtherance of Manx culture, especially the language, in the educational system and the possible realization of some ideals long considered, e.g., the establishing of an Institute of Manx Studies where academic work in this field can be undertaken on a full time basis and under proper supervision. The composition of the new House of Keys, it seems to me, is more likely and more willing to support proposals of this nature than its predecessors, and we can look forward with a certain amount of confidence to positive results being achieved in this regard before 1981. Shorus Y Creayrie.

"The excellent political result obtained by Mec Vannin Candidates, in recent Elections, coupled with increased membership of the Manks Language Society, and development of Musical and Social Groups, whose common ground is a desire to demonstrate a distinct Manks identity to the outside world - are gratifying to those of us who see the black future that over-dependence, politically and culturally on the U. K. could bring.

I think then, that the time is surely ripe for the establishment of a CULTURAL CENTRE within Mann. Such a CENTRE would co-ordinate and bring together all the difference Cultural Groups within the Island, and act as a meeting-place and storage area for the materials and reading matter of these Groups. Also, a place where visitors could go and see that Manks life still presents a very creative side.

I can think of no better practical example to illustrate the type of Centre we require than the Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann Centre, established with Irish Government Aid at Monkstown, Co. Dublin, which has been a resounding success.

ESTABLISHED VOLUNTARILY, BY GOVERNMENT OR BY BOTH - BUT ESTABLISHED IT MUST BE.

J. B. Moffatt.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

Recently I received a letter attacking me for "interfering" in Manx affairs, part of the comment being that I should only be involving myself in Cornish affairs. I am making this 'open' reply as I feel what I am trying to do is a policy that could be adopted by other members of the league, especially those who have political organisational knowledge or contacts. What I have been trying to do is pass on what knowledge that might be of use - in that while being in 'exile' in Scotland, and working with the SNP, I have been able to take part in, observe and learn from their political organisation, i.e., the practicalities of running a political organisation - branch organisation, election campaigns, etc. - I feel that this should be passed on to the other responsible nationalist movements, especially those still developing, and thus behind the older movements in experience and knowledge, this should be shared, why should the newer movements have to struggle in developing, when such methods have already been evolved by the older movements, and thus, if passed on, help the newer movements to develop. Obviously the in-

formation cannot be 'lifted cold' from one to another, methods evolved in Alba cannot be applied directly in Kernow, and certainly not so in Mannin, BUT they can be adapted for use - the basis of political organisation is the same anywhere. So what I am proposing is that those of us who have such knowledge should make it available (also making use of any contacts they may have) we should work together more, our masters have kept us divided for too long, and such working together can only help to bind our nations closer, for the benefit of all - so share your knowledge. John Treays.

Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe by Meic Stephens 796p with a 22p Preface and Introduction. £9.50. Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul, Dyfed, Wales. 1976.

This is to my knowledge the most comprehensive and detailed account of the cultural and political situations of those minorities to have been published in English, or for that matter, in any other language. It deals not only with groups like the Welsh and the Bretons for which there is no State where their language is spoken by a majority, as well as with those which, like the Alsations and the Danes of South Schleswig, have been separated by State frontiers from their wider linguistic community. No group has been left out, however weak numerically, like the Cornish, the Manx or the Lapps. Chapters are devoted to the Lowland Scots, even though there is no movement concerned with Lallans, and to the upholders of the Landsmal in Norway - two examples of communities whose ordinary speech appears to a large extent as dialectal variations of the officially recognised languages. In all sixteen States are covered, containing over 50 minorities. The author, who is Director of the Welsh Arts Council, has accumulated a wealth of information and presents it in an easily readable, sympathetic, stimulating way without departing from objectivity. He places the problems clearly in their political and historical contexts, so that it will be easier to compare the different degrees of success - or failure - of the different groups in striving to survive. One of the most inspiring accounts is undoubtedly the one concerning Wales where, in spite of official tolerance and help compared to which the treatment reserved by France to her minorities is downright tyrannical, the right conditions for survival have to be wrested from the State by sheer courage and perseverance, which the Welsh youth have not been sparing of. Naturally two of the chapters I went first to was the one about the Bretons and the "Gaelts" in the Irish Republic (those of the North are treated separately, since the groups are dealt with State by State). Perhaps from having watched the Breton scene continuously for a longtime one is apt to detect inaccuracies to which most readers will not attach much importance; e.g. the Breton military unit during the war was not known as the Kadervenn, the 2nd P.N.B. did not recruit the Bezen Perrot, Keravel had nothing to do with the Plistin school; perhaps these faults are traceable to one or the other of the books listed in the bibliography. M. Stephens recognises that Brittany includes Loire-Atlantique, but he gives the area and population only for four départements. Irish readers may also be disappointed by the carelessness with which several Irish words have either been transcribed or printed. In spite of these minor defects it constitutes a very valuable source of information from which those engaged in the language struggle will be able to draw plenty of data in support for their arguments. A. Heusaff.

RESOURCE POLICIES: Permanence or Brilliance?

Until the last decade there has been little, if any, questioning of resource sustainability. In fact, sustainability usually played no role at all in the resource policies of industrial nations. Oil and gas would always be there, somewhere. Likewise for minerals, land and other key non-renewable inputs to the complex industries forming the base of industrial nations.

Suddenly things have changed. The resource-bucket's bottom has been seen, and even scraped. The fantastic costs of developing 'new generation' resource supplies, such as minerals by undersea mining, oil from offshore, and oil from tarsands has served to strongarm policy-makers in most nations to accept that quantitative, industrial growth, based entirely on fossil fuels, is not an all-time national good or possibility.

Energy underlines the situation because, very simply, nothing at all is possible without it. Europe's industrial revolution was lurching before coal arrived in massive quantities, because the then-available technologies for converting wind and water energy were reaching both cost and resource limits. Timber, the only other possible renewable resource, had been so savagely attacked in the early 1800's that in England, Kernow, Alba, Éire and Cymru it became a resource of the past.

Coal became king, but essentially remained a labour-intensive and costly energy source, although many European nations still obtained half their energy from it in 1950. But oil and gas energy, because of its cheapness, and low labour requirement grew at a fantastic rate after then. Today, the USA imports more than 40% of its 19M barrels per day demand, and many European nations are 100% import-dependent. Oil and gas supply about 70% of the OECD's collective energy need, a need that has grown so large that one nation, the USA, absorbs over one-third the total world energy output of about 775×10^{12} kWh per year. Oil imports have to come from somewhere and, equally, that somewhere has to have a resource limit.

OPEC has realised this, and has struck a painful blow against 'resource imperialism', the ghost-in-the-machine left behind in the economic-political structure of decolonised, but resource-supplying, nations of the so-called 'Third World'. The Middle East nations had long felt the economic losses of their being victims of massive oil cartel price fixing schemes. After decolonisation they turned this around with a vengeance: by acting as a cartel OPEC has been able to raise oil prices 700% in four years!

These price rises have triggered a world scale, frenzied search for 'secondary' oil sources termed that because they are so expensive to extract that they were totally ignored while Middle East oil, courtesy of British, US and European cartels, was still available at prices like \$1.50 per barrel. The situation is now so economically painful because we can't do without energy, and the industrial nations are hooked on massive use of oil because of its uniquely easy processing, distribution and use requirements.

Oil from offshore, and even more so from tarsands (sometimes called 'tertiary' sources) is very difficult to obtain. The financial pages of any US, Canadian, or European newspaper are full of references to offshore projects, where a single rig costs \$80M, and single test drilling \$6M. We can also show the difficulty of obtaining these 'new generation' oil sources another way - by the

energy needed to get and deliver them. Using the example of a gallon of gasoline, with an energy value of 40 kWh, we find its energy cost from the three 'generations' of sources:

| | |
|--|-------|
| 1 gallon from Middle East sources required about | 3kWh |
| 1 gallon from offshore (N. Sea) " " " | 16kWh |
| 1 gallon from Athabasca tarsands " " " | 18kWh |

We could go on to a discussion of declining 'free' or 'available' energy, what this means in entropy terms, and the possibly cosmological significance. But a better thing to do is ask: what happens when resources get so low we have to spend say three-quarters of a unit energy to get and deliver one unit? How will our economies look when a gallon of gasoline costs 30kWh in energy, and \$10 in money? How will we heat our homes? How will we grow and deliver our food?

Industrialism and urbanism is a story of centralisation built on cheap energy. Over and above any social, political or cultural rot in the structure, the energy foundations are now crumbling, and the rate is stepping up. Should we not try to get some kind of permanence of giam into our economies and societies? If we don't then we will get a grand view of the awful black hole awaiting when the white light of brilliant - sam - high energy progress burns out.*

More and more people are having to realise this. One example is Canada, which has been the energy resource drone of the USA for many decades. A 'continental oil policy' operated by oil corporations, meant that the USA had unrestricted access to Canadian oil and gas. Now the future is very bleak for Canadian energy. Resources have ebbed away - exponentially. Costs have climbed - exponentially. Canada has at last reacted, and has cut energy exports to the US by 40% in two years, while taking prices up to near the world level. Canada's new energy policy statement, tellingly called 'Strategies for Self-Reliance' (Energy Ministry, EMR, 1976) concerns itself with maximising energy sustainability, with as near to self-sufficiency as can be obtained in view of rapid-declining resources and spiralling costs.

It is ironic that N. America, the home of 'big is best' and 'more is better', should now be very rapidly 'phasing in' resource sustaining energy policies while Europe, which has just now got hold of a major oil reserve, is leaping into 1950-style N. American resource policies! Energy mandarins in the EEC and in the (Westminster-spawned) BNOC have to date said almost nothing concrete about making N. Sea oil a long term resource. And the Westminster Government has been pleased to find a new resource to hock, for loans from Iran, the IMF and the EEC.

The question for Scotland is now: should we allow this resource to be sucked dry in a couple of decades, to bail out England, and give the oil corporations investment returns that, since OPEC, they can't get elsewhere? Norway's oil policies are a good example of the tough stance that can be taken when national, and therefore resource sovereignty is accepted and respected. We could put this other ways: the rightful outrage of Kuwaitis against their treatment by oil cartels led more or less directly to Kuwait's independence. And in Canada - sometimes held up as a model for future Alba-England-Cymru relations - it is notable that the Provinces of British Columbia and Newfoundland have fought for, and won, outright offshore resource sovereignty from the Federal Government.

The SNP has at least recognised that oil resource sovereignty forms a basic non-negotiable demand of the

Scottish people in whatever 'operating relationship' Scotland has with England after the next election. To date SNP has contented itself with shadow boxing the 'cigar chewing capitalist', while doing little to cut off his income source for cigars - cheap 'Scottish' oil.

A. Mac Killop.

*Giam/Sam - c. f. article p. 13 CARN No. 2.

CELTIC LEAGUE: Cymdeithas y Cymric.

A letter was addressed on behalf of the Celtic League to the Registrar of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, expressing concern at the expulsion until next Summer of four officials of Cymdeithas y Cymric. In our letter we expressed dissatisfaction at the failure to give the Welsh language its due place in the college, adding that it should be part of a University's function to play a leading part, in its own sphere, in the cultural life of the community living around it - in this case a Welsh-speaking community. It was already brought to our attention that the disproportionately high percentage of students of non-Welsh origin in UCNW is a strong factor in the anglicisation of the town. Accepting Cymdeithas y Cymric's demands would have partly at least compensated for this. But UCNW is not the only college in the Celtic countries which fails in its obligations to the surrounding community and its national culture. Indeed even the Celtic sections in most of "our" universities should see their role, in the special circumstances of weakened and threatened cultures, as being not only one of research and teaching in the general fields of knowledge but also one of active innovation and pioneering in all matters contributing to national reconstruction.

Some of the C. L. Branch secretaries have made it known to the general-secretary that they have written also on behalf of Cymdeithas officials.

In a reply received from the Registrar of the College, we are assured that: a) the decision was taken only after very careful and serious consideration; b) the College have in fact a bilingual policy and that on October 27 its Council set up a Committee to review this policy in the light of proposals made by Cymdeithas y Cymric; that a sub-committee has met on one occasion and will meet again in the New Year after which a report will be made to the College Council.

Representatives from Eire, Alba and Cymru attended a conference in Rennes from the 3rd-6th December, entitled "La Bretagne interroge - que se passe-t-il chez nos voisins celtes" (Brittany enquires - What is happening in our neighbouring celtic countries). The conference was sponsored by La maison de la culture, a cultural institution financed mainly by the local authority, and was presided over by Per Denez of the Celtic Studies department, Université de la Haute Bretagne Rennes - a man who is well versed in the problems of Celtic Countries and who has done much work for the Breton Language.

The main topics for discussion were the language in relation to education, the Arts, the Mass Media and public life, but many other aspects of Political and economic life were touched upon.

Ite Ni Chionnaith, (Irish Republican Socialist Party and Conradh na Gaeilge) and Deasun Fennell (Lecturer in Politics UCG), representing Ireland, stressed the problems of the National Liberation Struggle in Northern Ireland, the repression and collaboration of the neo-colonial government of the 26 counties and the specific

problems of the Gaeltacht. Meic Stephens and Harri Webb from the Welsh Arts Council, spoke of the militant action undertaken in Wales to gain the status and rights which the Welsh language now enjoys in relation to television, education, public life and publishing. The Scottish delegates, Andrew Welsh MP and Duncan MacLaren of the S. N. P., stressed in particular - the issue of devolution and the importance of oil - which the S. N. P. proposed to tax but not to nationalise.

The essence of the meeting was the exchange of information. It became obvious that our problems were common to all oppressed minorities fighting for survival against the forces of Imperialism. Methods of struggle were discussed and it was evident that Wales, which had taken the most militant action on cultural issues, had gained most. In time to come we may hope to see an extension of this militant action in the other Celtic countries.

LETTERS:

In common with many other members of the Scottish National Party I read Norman Easton's article with somewhat mixed feelings.

For a number of years we have been saddened to see national movements in other Celtic lands riven by internal strife resulting from a clash of personalities, political philosophies or personal ambition. However above such problems in Scotland and Wales we have seen a unified movement gather and gain momentum behind one party.

And now does the rise, or at least the establishment, of the Scottish Labour Party represent a split in the national movement? Although Norman would have us believe that we are the half-hearted nationalists, the SLP has yet to prove itself a champion of meaningful Scottish self-determination.

The SLP represents a split, not in the nationalist ranks, but a breakaway from the Unionist camp. Although we do not doubt the sincerity of SLP claims to support self-government, we would ask where were the SLP during the hard slog of the 60's and early 70's? We welcome the SLP as a step in the right direction, away from unionism and towards nationalism.

But at a time when the SNP encompasses all views of the Scottish political spectrum, why form a separate SLP? Am I too cynical to suggest that certain members of this new party recognise the way the wind is blowing and wish to rid themselves of the Unionist stigma in preparation for the day when a left wing Scottish Party will be needed to contest seats in an independent Scottish Parliament? I hope I am wrong and that personal ambition is not the prime motive behind the SLP leadership?

As far as SLP supporters are concerned, we recognise that in nearly all cases their membership represents a move away from unionism towards nationalism and we welcome any such development. If this step has been encouraged by a cultural undercurrent I will be doubly pleased. But it is too early for the SLP to claim stronger devotion to the causes of a Celtic, sovereign Scotland.

Finally Norman asks, indeed challenges, your readers to distinguish between independence and self-government. Well we all know what independence means, sovereignty. Even Michael Foot knows that but he prefers to call it separatism.

However M. Foot also refers to his Devolution Bill as a measure of self-government, the Liberals understand federalism to be self-government, and the Tories "Scottish County Council" is also labelled self-government.

We all know where the SNP stands, no matter what our association with England or the rest of Europe is called, we will be sovereign and equal. Where does the SLP stand today? Yesterday most of its members were in the camp of the Unionist Labour Party. Le gach durachd.

Paul Mes.

"I heard an interesting radio discussion on the Irish economy. A point made by one of the speakers about the failure of the various methods attempted was the impossibility of fundamentally restructuring the economy so as to serve the people (rather than overseas investors, unless there is a radical social change to accompany it. In other words, a "cultural revolution". P. E., N. S. W.

"While approving of links between all ethnic groups struggling for their freedom, here, or in the Soviet Union, I consider it a great risk to establish such links with people who want to follow "nationalistic policies" of the Franco type. How can one co-operate with people who would have been supporters of the OAS, against the freedom of Algeria? It would be senseless. Gradually the people will be tired of extremists, of senseless violence and they will seek security, in this country the security offered by the French power. That is what would have been gained in the end. I don't know if the communique was authentic, but if it is true that the FLB threatened the life of those who would work in Ti'r Voujered, it would be their greatest mistake. Some workers have expressed opposition to the military camp, a firm is said to have refused a contract there on their workers' advice. (From a Breton correspondent, translated).

RECEIVED

Penderyn 4 - a periodical (?), published by Penderyn, 18 Stryd Windsor, Abertawe/Swansea. 30p. Bilingual.

The large title on the front cover is: Atebion o'r car-
char (i. e. Answers from jail). Voices of near despair, which few will hear or want to hear (these people are locked up: they must have resorted to violence, done something illegal, the law ...), complaining of treatment designed to break strongheads, protesting innocence from charges laid against them. One of them, Glyn Daive, saying: (in my counter-charges) I am aware that ... I'll get no help from an office of a government that I have been working for many years to remove from my country. I find it impossible for a nationalist, whether Welsh, Irish or Scottish, to obtain justice under the English judicial system Courts would shock any civilised nation.

Penderyn is the name of a Welshman hanged in 1831, for his - unproven - part in a riot at Merthyr Tydfil. Neither the capitalist nor the Russian-Communist systems are spared. Readers are urged to appeal in behalf of Mustafa Jemilev, who is condemned to a slow death somewhere in the Soviet Union for "slandering the State", i. e. striving to get the Soviet Government to bring his people, the Tatars, back to Crimea.

Penderyn is outspoken in its criticism of an electoral policy which may win Home Rule, but would also turn Wales into "a little independent" Westanglia by being excessively concerned not to offend the English Establishment and the English immigrants.

In a more cheerful vein, there is a very interesting article on Celtic music in Wales. We have often heard people deploring that the Welsh had lost their traditional music, but here Tommy Jenkins reports having come in the Museum at St. Fagans, Caerdydd, on "piles of stuff, which had not been looked at or played for 300-400 years.

That there was a strong Welsh Folk tradition then became obvious as I discovered all the jigs, hornpipes and reels which we are now starting to play again". He blames the neglect on "hundreds of years of repression by both the Churches and the State (he gives quotations dating from 1402, 1714, 1784 -), a repression "designed to take the fun out of Welsh life". (Fionn MacColla "So Long in this Condition" makes similar accusations, while attributing an essential role to music in the Gaels' life).

Tommy Jenkins is striving to recreate a native Welsh music: "first we are hoping to revive this tradition". He mentions festivals which have taken place around Abertawe, and in which the emphasis is on co-operation and not on competition as in the Eisteddfodau.

"In fact, some of the jigs have very similar Irish and Welsh versions. I should think that at one time there was a common Celtic Music which later took on variations in the different Celtic countries".

"How about the Welsh Arts Council helping us to promote Alan Stivell, the Chieftains, Boys of the Lough and the various Welsh groups all on the same bill?"

ROBINSON CRUSOE SPOKE SCOTTISH GAELIC

A television film is being made in New Zealand to commemorate the tercentenary of the birth of Alexander Selkirk. Selkirk was a Scottish mariner who was rescued in 1709 from one of the Juan Fernandez group of islands on which he had been marooned. He became quite a celebrity in London and his adventure provided the theme for Daniel Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe", that has remained a best seller ever since.

It was reported by Rogers, captain of the Bristol privateer that rescued Selkirk that he hardly knew how to speak. This seems difficult to credit as he had been marooned for just over four years. Even by talking or swearing to himself and to his goats he would have kept his faculty of speech alive over such a relatively short period. The more probable explanation is that Selkirk had not forgotten how to speak but had forgotten how to speak English. He would not have forgotten how to speak Gaelic, although that could well have sounded like gibberish to the crew of the privateer.

To justify what might appear to be a highly fatuous claim a witness who probably did not know Selkirk can be cited. This was a man named Burt, an English military surveyor who wrote letters describing his journeys in Scotland in the mid 1720's, afterwards published in book form.

According to Burt, at that time there was a regulation which stipulated that Edinburgh apprentices from Fife had to learn English. Of course this was not standard English but the contemporary dialect of Edinburgh; neither would it have been discrimination against non-Edinburgh dialects of Doric English. The regulation arose from the practical difficulty that on the other side of the Firth Gaelic tended to be the vernacular.

Alexander Selkirk was born at Largo in Fife so that like so many of his fellow Fifemen who opted for the more settled life of an Edinburgh craftsman he had to learn English as a foreign language. In the earlier part of his career as a buccaneer the chances are that he would have spoken mainly English.

Once he had been marooned on his island he had no human company to answer him in any language. Unless of a completely taciturn character he would have spoken to his beasts and to himself in the language that came

naturally to him - Gaelic. English, being an acquired language he would have had no occasion to use it in default of any English or other human company.

This thesis if sustained is yet another illustration of the Celtic Highlands/Teutonic Lowlands myth that has bedevilled Scotland for so long.

Apart from being a writer Defoe had another occupation as government spy, sometimes in Scotland. His Crusoe myth as distinct from the Selkirk adventure on which it was based includes also its colonialist aspect, natural enough in view of his role as spy and informer. This concerns the relationship with Man Friday. P. Ó C.

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If your last payment was for 1976, WE SHOULD LIKE TO REQUEST YOU TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION OR MEMBERSHIP PROMPTLY*, it will save us time-consuming reminders as well as uncertainty about the number of copies of CARN we need. PLEASE SEE THE BACK PAGE FOR SUBSCRIPTION RATES. We have not changed the price of CARN for the past three years in order to make it possible for all to buy it. The subscription and fees are fixed at a level which enables us to function as an organisation - we are not interested in just publishing a quarterly. Donations have enabled us to keep solvent in spite of inflation.

If you think some of the ideas expressed in CARN are not conducive to the aims of the Celtic League, we would like to know why: it is little use just saying you reject them. But remember CARN has only 24 pages....

If you fail to get your copy of CARN after a reasonable delay, don't omit to let us know. Notify us of eventual changes of address.

If you write asking for information other than about the Celtic League, if you need a quick answer (before your next copy of CARN is due), please enclose an international coupon-response - stamps are valid only in their State of origin. Short letters have a better chance of quick reply. We have no full-time, no paid officials.

If you are interested in getting the Breton-French summaries, and you are not on the Breton list, please send us £0.40p extra.

If your present subscription is valid for ONE, TWO or THREE MORE ISSUES OF CARN, may we suggest you make it valid for the full YEAR 1977 by sending us $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively of the total amount payable for one year. It would greatly simplify our book-keeping.

If you know of any business or firm that might be interested in advertising in CARN, considering its type of readers, please write to the secretary general.

Please send payments or enquiries to the C.L. * Branch secretary for your area. Addresses page 24.

Read in *An Phoblacht*, Deire Fomhair 19, 1976 (weekly organ of Sinn Féin Provisionals), article by "Freeman": "I would welcome a close association with Scotland, Wales and Mann - a confederation of our four countries. It is time that the memory of our common Celtic past and the desire to renew our links, in new terms, passed from being the exclusive property of Irish cultural nationalism and of the Celtic League into the mainstream of Irish political nationalism".

Exclusive property! We never claimed it, we have always been ready to share it, we have always been careful not to tie or associate ourselves too closely to any particular sections of the national movements. But, ceist amháin! Why leave out two other Celtic countries?

That is exclusivity! Agus ceist eile, in view of the next paragraph in the article: would the setting up of two sectarian States in Ireland really help to develop the tolerance and understanding between the Celtic countries?

We regret to announce the death of one of our Breton friends, Ronan Gwionmarc'h, aged 51: he had joined the Breton national movement at 16 and the Bezen Perrot at 18. He lived in exile in Spain for a few years after the war, was arrested on his return to Brittany and spent a year in jail, being given a relatively mild sentence on account of his youth. Knowing well Spanish, German and English, he quickly got a job as a "Commerce Director" in Blois, but he preferred soon to return to Brittany, where things did not go well for him. Two years ago he had to emigrate to Paris, where helped by a good friend he managed within a short time to find another suitable job. He had been active in the UDB, He was buried in St-Konan near Gwengamp, his coffin being carried by his war-time friends. We offer our sympathy to his wife and three children, and to his brother Yann.

We are also sorry to hear that one of our faithful and generous Scottish members, Major Peter Kellie, Muir of Ord, Ross-shire, was drowned in a boating accident last summer.

● Tom and Pat McVey, who wrote to Mrs. Denovan from Sacramento, Calif. offering to join the C.L. and to sell CARN in their shop, are requested to write again as they omitted to give their address. Or could one of our members living sufficiently near bring this to their notice?

[Continued from page 9]

probability (ur gredenn stadegel, un debegenn), but there is no feeling involved in that. We are not concerned with nation-building for the moment. You criticise our thinking for being difficult and removed from the facts of Brittany. It is difficult, I suppose, like every undertaking in waste, or as you may say, stony land. We have gone far from the facility which anybody can find in the themes which you and your nationalist friends are using, like the "identity" - taken from the dustbin of the Parisian or European thinkers, or the "one-step-ahead-of-the-people", a motto propounded by Lenin 60 years ago and no longer mentioned anywhere except as a joke... In the last analysis, beneath the film of Breton sentiment, the ideas of the nationalists are borrowings from what was live thinking 30, 50 or 100 years ago. We have shown and it is becoming more and more obvious that Breton nationalism never went beyond provincialism. Irony of history: what we are doing could some day be labelled "Breton thinking" and we being totally indifferent towards our "Breton-ness". We can agree on one thing only: whether patriotic Bretons want or don't want to use what we produce, we don't mind. It is no boasting. Because we are in contact with the live thinking of our time, and we loathe the provincial mediocrity of what is done in Brittany, a mediocrity equalled only by the satisfaction which some Bretons find in it. You persist in calling us your fellow-countrymen; that is all right, although I don't know if we should be thankful to you for that; we would like to have in you a contemporary...." [Translated from Breton.] G. E.

Have we here an illustration of human incommunicability? Every one talks only to himself? Or understands only what is already in him? How can one understand that a person who is indifferent to his Breton-ness takes the trouble to learn Breton and uses it as his means of thought and expression when it restricts his public immensely

compared to what he could have writing in French (which I suppose he knows as well)? Particularly when it is with contemporaries, not with "fellow-countrymen" he is concerned? Is it because he is a Breton (like it or not) and that to be a Breton in the full sense, you have logically to express yourself in Breton (except for the needs of propagating your ideas among people who don't know it)? If so, I embarrassingly agree, but I part immediately on the question of feelings (trivliadoù). Why should feeling have no place in our social or political involvement? I suspect that any rationalisations we make here have a basis in feeling. And while I do not suggest for a moment that the feelings which are abundant among many calling themselves nationalists are a substitute for required thinking, I would say that without strength of emotion, thinking is very likely to remain untranslated into anything concrete too! So far the main evidence of EMSAV is almost anonymous print. To be fully Breton, one must not suppress one's feelings any more than one's reasoning faculties. I can understand people loving their country (its people), and their language. However I wonder who is finding such satisfaction in mediocrity and provincialism. Indeed, we should be sparing of boasts. In CARN we try to record what is happening in Brittany that contributes to maintain or develop its Breton-ness. It may be precious little compared to what other peoples do. But we feel especially bound to this people. That is why we use "kenvroad(ez)" (compatriot) rather than the indifferent equivalent of "sir/

madam". If we were looking for "contemporaries" only, we might find more interested/interesting characters elsewhere. I don't think it can be fairly said, as far as the C. L. and its Breton branch are concerned, that we are divorced from the problems of the present. We have perhaps not got profound thinkers like EMSAV, but the very idea of the Celtic League itself and its aims are the antithesis of provincialism. Leaving the C. L. aside, and talking only of Breton "nationalists", there have been some, who were bold enough to try and break the provincial mould which held Brittany from the 15th till the 20th century and lift Brittany out of its dependence on at least its closest neighbour. It is true that provincialism is so prevalent in the "movement" since 1945 that one cannot discuss dispassionately the concept underlying the creation of the Bezen Perrot, but I thought G. E. considered Roparz Hemon's Gwalarn a breakthrough?

Since receiving this letter, I have seen and heard the concept of identity used by several writers and political figures not connected with national movements. I am totally unaware of what is to be found in Parisian dustbins, and I am not provincial-minded enough to follow Parisian fashions and laws, but I can say that identity retains its vitality and usefulness. Talking of borrowings, is this contact with the live thinking of our time a two-way flow of ideas? Or is Emsav only receiving and reacting, in other words on the edge of the provincial backwaters?

A. H.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

| | |
|----------------|---|
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