

# coypn

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## A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



**In this issue:—**

- \* **ALBA:** Ar Cànan 's ar Saorsa; Closures & Cuts; Bill for Gaelic.
- \* **BREIZH:** Burev an Iwerzhoneg; Bretons Sentenced; Visit of Gwynfor Evans.
- \* **CYMRU:** Tom Ellis ar y Groesffordd; Plaid Post Mortem; Preparing for 4th Channel.
- \* **ÉIRE:** Cúrsaí Gàidhlice; Ireland and England — Again; Irish in Education.
- \* **KERNOW:** Chekkenow yn Bretonek; Nuclear Threat; Cornish Bomb.
- \* **MANNIN:** Celtiee er Chellooish Sostangh; Military on Man; Yn Chruinnaght Festival.
- \* Psychological Effects of Language Destruction; For Nuclear Disarmament.

40p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES  
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# ALBA

## AR CÀNAIN 'S AR SAORSA

"Chan ann airson na glòir,  
no airson a' bheartais,  
no airson onoran a tha sinn a' sabaid,  
ach airson na saorsa a-mhain,  
nach geill duine math sam bith  
ach le a bheatha fhéin ....."

### Aideachadh Obar Bhrothaig 1320

Ach dé tha an t-saorsa a' ciallachadh?

Air feadh na h-Albainn, ré dà cheud bliadhna,  
tha feadhainn a' ciallachadh am facal "saorsa" ach ann an  
aon doigh i. ath-bheothachadh parlamaid na h-Albainn  
agus rìoghachd na h-Albainn saor a-ris o riaghaltas  
Westminster.

Bha iad a' cuimhneachadh nach b'urrain do na  
h-Amerigeanaich na Stàtan Aonaichte aca a stéidheadh  
gus an do chuir as na daoine aig an Rìgh Deòrsa III  
agus saoilidh iad gum bheil crìoch riaghailt Shasuin  
thairis air na h-Albainn a' ciallachadh an t-saorsa. Ach dhi-  
chumhnicidh iad dà rud. 'Sa chiad àite, bha na trì  
Aiteachais Amerigeanaich deug a bha nan Sasunnaich gu  
cul, 'nan cànan agus nan laghannan 'sa linn Rìgh Deòrsa  
III agus chan eil iongnadh ann gum bheil a' Bheurla  
Shasunnach agus an lagh Sasunnach acu gus an latha an  
diugh.

Rud eile, chan eil sinne 'nar Sasunnaich idir idir  
agus tha an lagh Albannach againn. A bharrachd air sin,  
tha aon cànan Albannach againn, bho stéidheadhadh  
Rìoghachd na h-Albainn ann an 503 A.D. le Fearghas  
MacErc, nuair nach robh facail Bheurla air a  
bhruidhinn feadh na h-Albainn gu léir.

Air an aobhar sin, tha an t-saorsa a' ciallachadh  
barrachd air a cur a mach à Alba na daoine aig Ban-  
rìgh Ealasaid II. Tha cànan Albannach againn  
cuideachd ri atha-bhèthadh o'n chreadhail do'n  
uaigh feadh na h-Albainn gu léir.

Tha iomadh doigh air cuideachadh na Gàidhlig.  
Dé mu dheighinn TEAGAISG na Gàidhlig? Tha fir  
agus boireanaich agus feadhainn òga gu leoir gun  
Ghàidhlig agus iad deònach ga ionnsachadh!

Ged nach eil sinn 'nar luchd-teagaisg uile gu  
léir, seo againn trì doighean-teagaisg air ar cuideachadh  
agus gach doigh a' dol an doirbhead.

Tha comhairle, leabhraichean-ionnsachaidh  
agus ceòl gu leoir ri fhaighinn o'n:-

Comunn Gaidhealach, Taigh Obar Thairbh,  
INBHIR NIS, IVI 1EU Alba.

The leabhraichean de gach seòrsa 'sa bhuth air  
an urlar as àirde aig:-

GAIRM, 29 Stràid Waterloo, Glaschu G2 6BZ, Alba.

Tha beul-aithris ri fhaighinn à:-

TOCHER, School of Scottish Studies, 27 George  
Square, Dun Eideann EH8 9LD, Alba.

Agus a thaobh glòir na Gàidhlig, na h-drain  
Gàidhlig; tha iad ri fhaighinn aig ceilidhean agus air  
claran gramhfonach anns gach deagh bhuth-ciùil ann  
an Albainn agus air VHF Radio Alba.

Is e sin da dhoighean-teagaisg as doirbhe o Iain  
MacAoidh, nach maireann, à Leòdhas agus à Glaschu.

'Sa chiad àite: feumaidh sinn bhì beusach agus  
feumaidh sinn toirt misneach aig an aon àm, do na  
luchd-ionnsachaidh. Chuir sinne seachad bliadhnanach  
agus bliadhnanach ag ionnsachadh na Gàidhlig ach  
tha ioma truaghan ann an dochas na Ogrades aca

fhaighinn an deidh bliadhna no dhà agus iadsan a'  
cluintinn a' chanain ach aon oidhche 'san t-seachdain!

Chan eil facalan sgrìobhte feumail 'sa chiad dol  
amach. Nochdaibh iad nithean ri fhaicinn (visual aids)  
i. dealbhan sìmplidh le dathan briagh; mar  
eiseimpleir, leanab; a' cluich le bucaid air a'  
ghainmleach. Nochdaibh iad, cuideachd, seann  
mhiosachan (calendar). No, 's urrain na luchd-  
ionnsachaidh dealbhan toirt do'n sgoil-oidhche o na  
dachaighean aca.

No, 'san àite mu dheireadh, 's urrain dh'an  
tidsear dealbhan sìmplidh a tharruing le strìochdan  
mhóra, mar sin le bhì ag ràdh riutha:-

1. sgeir - mhir - iasgach - slat 7c.
2. pairc - craobhan - feur 7c.
3. sgoil - leabhar - leughadh - sgrìobhadh 7c.

Ceasnaichibh iad le ceistean agus le freagairtean  
gun sguir gus am bi iad gam mèdrachadh. Misnichibh  
a h-uile fear-ionnsachaidh ri aithris a ris agus a ris mar  
sin.

Am faca tu a' mhuir? Chunnaic.

C'àite an bheil an t-iasgair? Tha e 'na sheasamh  
air an sgeir 7c.

Ceartaichibh an doigh-labhairt agus a' bhlas aca  
daonan.

An deidh sin, fèraichibh ceistean do gach neach  
agus iarraibh sreath fhacalan ann an àite facal 'na aonar.i.

Am bheil thu sgìth? Tha mi glé sgìth.

Mu dheireadh, gnàthaichidh iad fuaim nam facal  
agus freagraidh iad iad gu clisg agus gun dail sam bith.

Ath-sgrùdaibh (revise) a h-uile cail a rinn iad anns  
na leasain a dh'fhalbh.

Chan eil facal sgrìobhte feumail, fad ioma  
seachduinean. Nuair a bhios daoine ag ionnsachadh na  
Gàidhlig ann an ùine glé ghoirid, chan fhaic iad facal  
sgrìobhte no leabhraichean, ach aig crìoch nan  
leasan aca.

Tha mòr-chuid nan luchd-ionnsachaidh nach  
eil fhathast òg ag iarraidh:-

1. Facalan air am bruidhinn
2. Còmhradh
3. Ceartachadh a' blais aca.

Seo agaibh rud eile a tha glé fheumail - gum bheil na  
luchd-ionnsachaidh daonna a' cleachdadh ceistean agus  
freagartan a' rithisd agus a' rithisd "Am faca tu e? -  
Chunnaic. "7 c. Agus a' cumail còmhradh a reir a'  
chaitheamh-beatha aca i. na boireannaich agus na bùthan,  
goireasan, aodaichean, clann 7c; agus na daoine mu  
dheighinn na h-oibre na an dreuchd aca, a' siubhail  
tré dhuthchannan céin, cluich spòrs, an aimsir, draibheadh  
nan car, ag iasgach 7c.

'san darra àite, leasan caran beag nas doirbh - an  
seo bhiodh beagan de sgrìobhadh agus bithidh sibh a'  
toirt greiseag ceartachadh an sgrìobhadh seo. Anns an  
sgrìobhadh seo chleachdadh iad briatharan (verbs) mi-  
riaghailtich i. "Feumaidh tu ... am faca tu? ... chuala  
mi .... an robh thu? Bha ..." agus obair mar a tha aca  
anns an leabhar le Ruairidh MacFhionghuin (Teach  
yourself books GAELIC: Roderick Mackinnon ...  
Hodder & Stoughton).

San àite mu dheireadh, na leasan as doirbh,  
'se sin ri ràdh leasan agus cassettes tre'n phuist d'am  
b'ainm GAIDHLIG BHEO a tha ri fhaotainn o'n:-

National Extension College  
18 Brooklands Avenue,  
Cambridge CB2 2HN Sasunn.

Sgrìobh "Jake" MacDhonnaill a Camustianabhaig  
'san Eilean Sgiathanaich, nach maireann, GAIDHLIG

BHEÒ agus rinn e uamhasach math, rud nach robh doirbh ri thuigsinn bho'n a bha e 'na fhearteagais na Gàidhlig ann an Colaiste an Fhoghlum, Cnoc Iordain, Glaschu!

Mar a thubhairt sinn cheana ...

"... Char ann airson na glòir ... a tha sinn a' sabaid ach airson na SAORSA a-mhain ..."  
Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich

(Here we examine three teaching methods which can help in the teaching of the Scottish language. We also demonstrate that there can be no real meaningful restoration of Scottish autonomy without a reinstatement of the Scottish language to its rightful place throughout all Scotland).

## CEARTAS

Fad nan linntean tha an riaghaltas agus na cairdean aige air a bhith a' cur sios air na Gaidheil. Bha daoine a'smaoineachdadh gur docha gun gabhadh an riaghaltas aithreachas agus gu bhotadh iad airson a' Bhile a bha Domhnall Stiubhart a'feuchainn ri stiuradh troimh'n Pharlamaid.

Tha e soilleir a nis nach eil cairdean aig a' Ghaidhlig ann an Tigh nan Cumantan ann, agus nach teid aig an lagh ri coirichean ceart a thoirt dha na Gaidheil. Chan eil moran sluaghan air fhagail anns an Roinn Eorpa nach fhaod an cuid foghlum fhaighinn troimh mheadhon an canain fhein, nach fhaod programan telebhisein fhaighinn a chuile latha, nach fhaod sgrìobhadh chon ar riaghaltais, no oifigean an riaghaltais 'nan canain fhein. Ach tha na Gaidheil air aon dhe na sluaghan sin.

Bithidh na Gaidheil a'paigheadh an cuid chisean mar a bhitheas duine sam bith eile, ach chan eil do mhodh aig an riaghaltas a leigeas leis na Gaidheil na cisean a phaigheadh air formaichean Gaidhlig.

Paighhigh na Gaidheil cis an telebhisein ach chan eil de phrograman Gaidhlig anns a' bhliadhna a lionadh latha.

Tha na Gaidheil ainmeil mar sluagh a tha measail air an lagh, ach a' bheil feum ann a bhith measail air lagh a tha ag obair 'nad aghaidh? Tha muinntir Cheartas a'smaoineachadh nach eil.

Mar sin tha muinntir Cheartas ag iarraidh ur cul-taic. Is beag oirnn foirmeart agus lamhachas-laidir, ach mur an tog sinn ar guth a nis, cha bhith duine sam bith ann an ceann da fhichead bliadhna a bhitheas comasach air guth a thogail anns a' Ghaidhlig.

Tha Ceartas a'dol a thoiseachadh air soighneachan rathaidean a dhubhadh as, agus eile. Chan eil sinn ag iarraidh sin a dheanmah, ach thig oirnn a bhith nas treasa na tha sinn air a bhith fad uine ro fhada. Tha sinn an dochas gun cuidich sibhse le bhith a'sgrìobhadh litrichean do na paipearan, do Bhuill na Parlamaid, do Mhrs. Thatcher no rud sam bith eile a bheir smaoinachadh air luchd-riaghalaidh na duthcha seo air cho riaslach 's a tha ar suidheachadh. Air cho luath 's a sgrìobhas sibhse agus a chi an riaghaltas na th'ann do mhi-cheartas, sann nas luaithe a sguireas sinne do shoighneachan a chronachadh.

Chan eil sinn ag iarraidh cur as dha'a a' Bheurla, se tha sinn a'sireadh ach ceartas mar a thuigeas sluaghan beaga eile na Roinn Eorpa am facal.

Theid agaibhse pairt a ghabhail 'nar stri, le bhith a'diultadh formaichean Beurla a lionadh, no rud sam bith a shaoileas sibh fhein iomchuidh.

## ON THE GAELIC FRONT le Frang MacThomais

Perhaps the most important event of recent years to have the potential to affect Gaelic is the private Member's Bill of Donald Stewart, M.P. for the Western Isles, to enhance the status of Gaelic in Scotland. Mr. Stewart gained second place in the annual ballot for private members' legislation and his Bill stands a reasonable chance of becoming law, to give Gaelic the Statutory recognition it has lacked for so long. The main provisions of the Bill are:

"To provide that Gaelic-speaking areas shall be defined as A.D. 1981. areas under the Highland Region, the Western Isles Islands Council, Argyllshire and Inner Hebrides, and Perthshire, and that local authorities in such areas provide education in Gaelic; that the legal status of Gaelic shall cover the absolute right of persons to speak Gaelic in legal proceedings in Scotland, and the right to a Gaelic version of certain official forms and documents subject to ministerial order; and that a Gaelic Broadcasting Committee shall be set up to co-ordinate and develop Gaelic television and radio".

The problem is that private Bills are not meant to incur any financial obligations. Yet, by its very nature, the Bill cannot help but imply financial expenditure in the implementation of any interpretation of its requests. Already there have been some noises of opposition, both from Labour and Tory Scottish members, whose concerted effort may well destroy the only chance which Gaelic has to become an officially recognised member of the indigenous languages spoken in the British Isles.

What to my mind is most significant about the Bill is the lack of P.R. work behind the scenes and in public to raise as much sympathy for the definite civil and human rights which the Bill represents. Yet there has been no considered programme of educating the mind of the public and Scottish MPs, let alone the English and Welsh ones, to allow the Bill to go through without opposition. I could name many countries where the issue would have been given the best public airing. Chi sinn!

As an indication of the restlessness among supporters of Gaelic for action for the languages, an inter-university Scottish Council of Gaelic Students has been set up to campaign for the propagation of the Gaelic language and culture. This council succeeds a similar body set up in 1975 which campaigned vigorously and demonstrated for more Gaelic broadcasting time. The President of the new Council is Miss Margaret Mulholland who said recently: "We will be campaigning for an extension of Gaelic studies in all Scottish Universities, schools and colleges, and we will be pressing for more broadcasting time for Gaelic language and culture. We also hope that the National Mod will be extended to include such matters as debates, discussions and lectures".

[Ed. On its second reading on 13th Feb. the Bill while being passed by a majority of those present (37 to 19) could not proceed to the committee stage as less than a 100 members were in the House. It will now go to the bottom of the heap and has little chance of becoming law.]

## IRISH SUMMER COURSE IN CONAMARA

— see page 17.

## CLOSURES & CUTS.

The second year of the Thatcher regime is drawing to a close with not a glimmer of hope of release from this deadly grip. As was predicted by many, Scotland is suffering as usual more intensely. On all fronts the story is the same - closures, redundancies, cuts, cut-backs, threat of same and not only no sign of improvement but no sign that this means anything at all to the Westminster -- can one write "government" when of course our ills are caused because we have no such thing? Towards the end of last year we were being told that light was just ahead, the worst of the recession was probably past and anyway it was really worse now for the people in England especially the south-east, as they were not used to having to cope with such conditions. Well if that area can match anything like the closure of Linwood by Citroen-Peugeot then wonders will never cease.

Now while the Tories preside over what is the worst economic situation in Scotland since the thirties what are the Labour Party doing? They are promising that they will do "everything in their power" to prevent the closure. (Linwood) Now it will be interesting to report in the next issue of Carn what that will be. Unfortunately it does not look as if that would amount to much. When things were bad at the beginning of the seventies and another Tory government (who seem benign in retrospect) had brought things to near crisis point, the S.T.U.C. initiated two national Meetings and at the first in Edinburgh, in an unheated hall, the response rather amazed the organisers. Two speakers got standing ovations - Winnie Ewing and Mick McGaghey and the chairman and other trade unionists could have been mistaken for nationalists. What there was there was consensus, and that was one factor in creating the spirit of independence which lasted for a considerable part of that decade. There has been much discussion and heart-searching in the S.N.P. as to what they did "wrong" but from the point of view of what would have been best for Scotland it was the Labour party who did "wrong". They dreamt up "devolution" and caused needless confusion in the electorate. The situation at the moment in the early eighties is very different. There is no sign of consensus. Bill Wolfe suggested that a minute part of the oil revenues might be used directly in Scotland to create much needed jobs and get much needed work done. The S.T.U.C., who at the end of the year were preparing their submission about unemployment, poured scorn on this idea and declined any advice from such quarters. (not forgetting to add that any oil revenues that were to be got would be shared with their poor English brethren).

Meanwhile what about the Labour Party. ? Well one must give them full marks for persistence. The headlines in mid-December were "Labour to Resurrect Devolution" and further reading found that their devotion to devolution is such that a team of 50 had laboured for 8 months and come up with two important suggestions.

1. That any Assembly established in Scotland should be able to raise revenue over and above the already prescribed "Block grant."

2. That the office of Secretary of State should go. The Labour Party in Scotland will be having its annual conference in Perth in March, unless other events overtake them.

Only one Labour Party member in Scotland has announced that he will be joining the "agonisers" in the British political middle ground--

Mr. R. MacLennan, Caithness. Let us hope there will be an early opportunity for a by-election there. In the meantime the party who have the highest number of Scottish seats will continue to fight tooth and nail with words and committees.

The media have kept referring to "the Collapse of the S.N.P. vote" as if it had completely melted away but it has not done so.

It stabilised at between 14% and 17%; the District elections last year gave reasonable results and winning Glasgow Central in the by-election showed that the tide might be coming in again for the S.N.P. Taking certain other conditions into consideration - that Scotland has more than a 1/4 of a million unemployed - that Labour thirled to the Union, can do nothing about this (ghost-raising in Perth will be useless) and that the party who promised a better Assembly Bill have more important things to do, then the S.N.P. are the ones who should benefit from this. However they must be prepared. At a national council meeting at Arbroath on 6th Dec. last a move to expel two groups within the Party was overwhelmingly defeated. One of the groups was "Siol nan Gaidheal" and as it is open to nationalists not necessarily in the S.N.P. the question may arise again in relation to it. The other group was the "79 Group". The short piece about them in Carn 31 would have let readers have a basic idea of their stance. One of their members Jim Sillars left the Labour party to found the S.L.P. also reported in Carn. The "79 Group" were founded after an intelligent assessment of what will be required from the S.N.P. in the light of the 1979 results. That the leadership still do not see this is evident in the chairman calling on the Party not to "drift leftwards". Their annual conference in May may show who in the view of the members has been doing the "drifting".

## THE MEDIA.

Early in December there was a trial week of breakfast television and the plans now are that a company called "T.V. - A.M." having got the franchise will begin operating in 1983. This consortium which includes Peter Jay (former ambassador and Mr. Callaghan's son in-law) will naturally serve the whole of Britain from London. We all know what to expect though as a sop for the provinces there will be two five-minute "optouts" for the regions to cater for their needs.

Before then of course the long awaited Channel 4 will be in operation sometime in 1982. From what has been unveiled the Scots would be well advised to get started now to see if anything may be done about it. Lucky Welsh who had the fore-sight and determination to start long enough ago to have the matter settled. To give a vague idea of the problem here is a quotation. It comes from an article in the "Scotsman" of January 19th (1981). It was written by Douglas Eadie -- secretary of the

Association of Independent Producers (Scotland) at the end of an article extolling this "miracle" and explaining that the channel would be available to all --- on merit.

"We Scottish producers are geographically distanced from London, but probably better known and more highly respected there than at home. In Scotland, the economic marginality of our operation has up to now isolated us from the business community and Scottish patterns of cultural interest still seem peculiarly apathetic to the idea of indigenous film production or intelligent responsible television. We, therefore, have no wish to be ghettoised by belated nationalist demands for Scottish opt-outs from channel Four or for some kind of regular Jock-slot. Rather we are gearing up to compete with the best that London has to offer for the biggest possible share of the Channel Four opportunities. That way we'll be speaking with a Scottish voice not just to the rest of the U.K. but to Europe and the rest of the world." No comment required.

Radio continues to be an expanding business and Radio Tay has now joined Forth and Clyde with much the same formula. Radio Scotland continues to fluctuate between the sublime and the ridiculous. Near the former was a repeat of the series "Odyssey" from the previous year and a series "A Decade's Drama" which allowed us to relive that cultural promise of the seventies which was reflected in the upsurge of "national theatre".

The out standing series on T.V. has been Robert Kee's "Ireland" not finished yet, so comment held over.

## EDUCATION

The field where the Thatcher hatchet is most determinedly poised for action is education and the battle was joined most vigorously and successfully over the Tory plans to close two colleges of Education and merge two - The claim was that this was "facing reality" in the face of falling rolls in schools and the need for economy. When the Sec. of State George Younger was asked why he had arbitrarily made the decision himself and named the colleges involved he replied that it was better to have done it this way and not plunged everyone into disarray and uncertainty. (There being 10 training colleges for teachers at the moment).

However, all concerned, students and lectures have mounted a stiff opposition to this with, marches, protests and meetings but most importantly of all the homework that should have been done by the Sec. and the S.E.D. (Scottish Education Dept.).

They put forward a case that little money would be saved in any case and that if the money argument was to be used the college that should be closed is Graigi College (in the Secretary of State's constituency!) in Ayrshire, not Callanber Park and Hamilton in populous areas. One writer showed that with such a money conscious government if there are too many educational establishments and facilities they should be offered at a price to the education hungry peoples of other parts of the world.

However even that is doubtful, figures published recently have shown just how low our educational

attainments are. With over 40% of pupils leaving school at 16 we have the highest score in that area. The lack of any qualifications and poor qualifications especially in the Strathlyde area are a strong argument for retaining all the colleges and attempting to redress the balance in favour of those pupils from such urban areas as Strathlyde where a massive reduction in the teacher/pupil ratio, while of course "costing" more, would save much more on social ills later.

At the moment the closure project is halted (even the Tory members in the Scottish select committee at Westminster couldn't support it) and George Younger is calling for "consultations" on the matter.

The closure of many schools especially in the Highlands is a matter for concern, the Universities are beginning to feel the pinch of being under monetary control from south of the border and Glasgow University has made public a report showing how its image is being affected by its environment. The subject which raised most debates however was probably that on corporal punishment - the use of the belt or "towse" in Scottish Schools.

This is a perennial subject brought to the fore after two cases of belting in schools were taken to the court of Human Rights and the practice was ruled illegal.

## A Charaid,

A new Gaelic society call STRI was set up in Inverness last August to help promote and develop the Gaelic language and Culture in all fields.

Its main aims are two-fold; Firstly to get more Gaelic programmes on television, and secondly to take people together to form playgroups, to pressurise for bilingual schools, to set up a Youth movement, to help get better facilities for learners and so on.

We realise this won't be an easy task but we must try. For the person who never tried never succeeded and that is very clearly seen when it comes to Gaelic movements in Scotland.

Our first campaign will be on broadcasting and it will start in the spring of 1981. We are presently in the process of making leaflets, posters, badges, stickers and so on.

We realise that our second aim will not be easily achieved but if Gaelic is to succeed we must build a framework which can withstand the onslaught from the English language.

Many people have looked for a quick solution to the problems of keeping Gaelic alive i.e. an independent Scotland calling for Gaelic in every school, writing policies and so on. But deep down I think we all know that until we build a strong base and a steady structure, Gaelic will have little chance of survival as a community language.

STRI's membership fee is £4.00 per annum.

Is mise le meas

Fionnlagh M. MacLeod.

(Chairman STRI)

P.S. I do not believe that the SNP will make much difference in the fight to keep Gaelic as a living language for their policies and attitude of mind is firmly based on the economic questions and not on a combination of economics and language and culture as it is in most countries fighting for their own government. The sooner we realise this-the more we will achieve.

# BREIZH

## BUREV AN IWERZHONEG:

### Peseurt galloud en deus?

Eus an holl aozadurioù hag o deus sammet ar gefridi adober eus an iwerzhoneg ur yezh voutin ez eo Conradh na Gaeilge (Kevre ar Gouezeleg) an hini koshañ, an hini startañ ha ledanañ e frammadur hag an hini taerañ c'hoazh. Ur c'hengor (Comhdháil) Broadel savet 30-40 vloaz'zo evit kenurzhian obererezh an holl gevredigezhioù iwerzhonek a oa sujetoc'h d'ar Stad: n'eo ket deut a-benn da gaout an harp a oa ezhomm evit rein lañs d'an adsav. A bep seurt komisionoù, kuzulioù, poellgorioù, "levrioù gwenn" zo bet lerc'h ouzh lerc'h, o tisplegañ kinnigoù d'ar gouarnamant. Aneñ o zrevell. Mankout a rae ar youl bolitikel. Da gredin oa, evel ma lavaras an Tad Colmán Ó hUallacháin, ne oa ar Stad nemet oc'h ober van d'ober un dra bennak da c'hortoz ma vije marv ar yezh.

E 1975 e voe savet Burev an Iwerzhoneg (Bord na Gaeilge). Hag e 1978 e voe diazezet hervez lezenn. Ar gefridi lakaet dezhañ: rein lañs d'an iwerzhoneg evel yezh vev. Un aozadur a-berzh Stad. Hag efdusoc'h e vefe eget ar re all? Tud'zo a oa diskredik: daoust ha ne oa ket e soñj lemel digant ar c'h - Conradh hag ar c'h-Comhdháil o abeg-da-yezañ, ha kabestrant an emsaverien" en ur rein d'un aozadur doujus d'ar gouarnamant ar skoazell-ar'c hant a oa roet d'ar re-se?

Embannet en deus bremañ ar Burev un danevell vloaz divyezhek, o talvout evit ar pennad etre miz Du 1978 ha kerzu 1979. Setu un alberzh eus ar pezh a gaver e-barzh:

Un enklask graet e 1976 a ziskouezas o doa c'hoant 66% eus poblans ar Stad e chomfe bev ar iwerzhoneg, daoust ma oa an darn vrasañ ivez a-du gant an divyezhegezh! Dre vras evelkent ez eo re abaf, diegius pe zic'houzvez an dud-se evit pleustrin ar yezh. (Ha n'int ket taer a-walc'h evit lakaat ar bolitikerien da vout chalet).

Evit seveniñ e gefridi e fell d'ar Burev mont dre gaer eta: brudañ, hoalañ, kendrec'hin. Ezhomm en deus 'harp efdus a bep seurt kenreizhadoù: ar Stad da gentañ, an Ilizoù, ar c'hompagnunezhioù-kenwerzh, ar sindikadoù, ar c'hevredigezhioù kouerien, an aozadurioù a stourm evit an iwerzhoneg, ar skinwel, an embannerien, ar c'hoarivaou, h.a. Ezhomm zo d'ober bruderezh akuit ha skoazellañ e pep doare ar re a fell dezho ober gant ar yezh.

War ar Stad hag ar rannadoù-gouarnamant e rank ar Burev klask pouezañ da gentañ. Gant ministrerezh ar Gouzelva n'eus ket kudenn met ministrerezh an deskadurezh a rank bezañ gounezet da vennadoù ar Burev; anat eo ne c'hello ket an iwerzhoneg distreiñ e buhez ar gevredigezh ma ne vez ket desket mat er skolioù. Ar c'hentañ kendivizoù a zo bet gant ministr an deskadurezh. Da heul ez eus bet savet ur poellgor-ereañ a vo dezhañ diskouez pere eo penngudennoù ar yezh war dachenn an deskadurezh ha kinnig diskoulmoù.

En holl en deus dispignet ar Burev £86.000 e korf 14 miz evit emelloù an deskadurezh iwerzhonek. Harpet en deus Kevredigezh ar skolaerien/kelennerien iwerzhoneg o pourchas dezho servijoù, oc'h aozañ kentelioù d'o aliañ, o paeañ gop' un den a vo eicher ober war-dro o ezhommoù. Niver skourroù

ar gevredigezh-se en deus kresket eus 4 da 20 er 14 miz. Harp zo bet roet dreistholl d'ar skolioù holliwerzhonek, o c'hoprañ ur c'hargad a raio war o zro ivez.

Deraouet ez eus bet un arnod e peder skolvistri pe-vestrezed hag en ugent skol eilderez ha micherel evit gwelout penaos lakaat ar studieren hag ar gelennerien d'ober gant ar yezh en un doare diardoù. Digoret en deus ar Burev 13 skol-abardaez evit an dud deut, dre ar vro (kement-se en tu hont d'ar re a vez graet gant skourroù Kevre ar Gouezeleg).

A drugarez da harp ar Burev ez eo kresket niver ar skolioù-bugaligoù eus 30 da 72 er 14 miz. Dre e intrudu e voe aozet kentelioù evit renerien ar skolioù-se ha pourchaset dezho araезioù, servijoù (levrioù, ur gasedennad sonioù ha rimadelloù) ha rikoù all.

Daoust ma vez desket iwerzhoneg en holl skolioù ne vez ket komzet gant kalz eus an dud yaouank goude d'ar skol bout echu ganto. Fellout a ra d'ar Burev rein tu d'an holl, ha neket hepken d'an dud desket, d'e vestroniañ mat a-walc'h evit bout gouest d'ober gantañ en o buhez pemdeziek. Pourvezet e vo servijoù dezho gant ur gevrenn arbennik. N'eus netra a harpe muioe'h eget kentelioù dre skingomz ha dreistholl dre skinwel. E Radio Telefís Éireann ez eus tud avat hag a eneb ouzh an iwerzhoneg. Un danevell aozet gant an tri dileuriad a-berzh ar Burev hag a zo e-barzh bodad-kuzuliañ RTE diwar-benn ar programmoù en iwerzhoneg n'eo ket bet embannet c'hoazh. Ur rummad-kentelioù hag a dlee deraouiñ en diskaramer tremenet ne vo gwelet bremañ nemet goude an hanv.

Sammet en deus ar Burev ar gefridi kelaouiñ ar staloù a-zivout an embannadurioù en iwerzhoneg hag o dasparzhañ dre ar vro. Betek-hen eo bet graet al labour-se gant ar c'h-Conradh hag ar c'h-Comhdháil met n'o doa ket a-walc'h a c'hopridi evit seveniñ ervat al labour. Kompezet en deus ar Burev an diaesterioù a oa bet kaoz da ehan embann ar gelaouenn sizhuniek Amarach (enni dreistholl keleier eus ar Gouzelva). Emañ ivez o rein atiz d'ar c'helaouennourannvro evit ma embannint pennadoù reoliek en iwerzhoneg. Hevlene e vo embannet ur Barzhaz Iwerzhonek o c'holeiñ ar prantad 1600-1900. Ha koumanantet en deus ar Burev kelennerien skolveur da skrivañ levrioù diwar-benn Iwerzhoniz hag o deus graet labour a-bouez evit ar vro pe ar yezh er c'hantved-mañ.

(An Irish language Board was set up by Government Act in 1978 (An Interim Bord had existed since 1975). Its aim is to promote the Irish language and in particular its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. It accepts bilingualism. It seeks co-operation from government departments, national organisations and individuals in its effort to enable all to learn and speak Irish. It has now published its report for the period from October 1978 to December 1979, showing how its budget of over £700,000 was spent: almost half that sum was used for publicity in the media (e.g. using the slogan: Our Language – it is part of what we are); much was done also in the field of education (providing various services to schools and teachers' organisations).

A. Heusaff.



On Feb. 14th & 15th, a festival took place in Gwengamp in support of the campaign for amnesty for the Breton political prisoners — 10,000 people took part in this gathering. The Basque Country, Corsica, Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Occitania were represented. During the two days music and songs by numerous well-known performers alternated with political speeches demanding amnesty, the dissolution of the French State Security Court and the suppression of the political police bodies.

This unexpected success demonstrated the solidarity which exists between the prisoners and the Breton people.

#### CELTIC CONGRESS:

The International Celtic Congress (which differs from the Celtic League principally in that it confines itself to the cultural field and does not publish a periodical) will be held this year in Lannuon, Brittany, from July 18th — 23rd. For further information write to:

**Éire:** Eibhlín Ní Chathailriabhaigh, 83 Br. Sandford, Rannallach, Ath Cliath 6, Éire; **Breizh:** Lock Chapel, Roc'h ar Bleiz, St Martin-des-Champs, Morlaix 29210 Brittany; **Alba:** Mrs Doreen Sweeney, 51A Kirk St., Strathaven, Strathclyde; **Cymru:** Ms Mary Ellis, 4 Laura Place, Aberystwyth, Dyfed; **Kernow:** Mrs Ann Jenkins, An Gernyk, Leedstown, Hayle; **Mannin:** Mr. Ivor Crowe, Thie ny Cronkould, Ballynaloghey.

#### WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE THIS BATTLE

The DIWAN schools, now numbering 16 and employing 23 people, needed almost IR£150,000 to keep going in 1980. They got less than 10% of that from public (Cultural Charter) subsidies. Parents have to involve themselves so much in fund-gathering activities that they have no time to look properly after their children. They are greatly concerned to reduce this burden. The only way is to find enough supporters to send regular contributions by banker's orders — A first aim, set in December, is 2000 such contributors. Each school has to finance itself. A primary DIWAN School opened at Treglonou (NW of Brest) last autumn. A 16th infant school will start at Lesneven at Easter if enough funds can be gathered. The Breton branch of the Celtic League has appealed to its members to support it especially.

Anyone willing to help please send contributions to Alan Heusaff (see p. 24) — specifying 'for DIWAN'.

#### GWYNFOR EVANS IN BRITTANY

The Breton language organisation Kuzul ar Brezhoneg had invited Gwynfor Evans to visit Brittany early last October as part of a campaign of support for his planned hunger strike. The visit actually took place from November 17 to 22 and was hailed as a historic event for our country. The Welsh leader was welcomed in the Rennes, St-Malo and Nantes townhalls. In Rennes he was shown the Diwan nursery school, the old city, the Parliament building (most eminent reminder of the days of Breton self-government), the excellently laid-out Mirdi Breizh (Brittany Museum). He also saw the film "Stones v. Guns". In Nantes he was taken to the Diwan school (in a block housing 5000 people), to the City Archives where he saw historic documents relating to the times when Brittany controlled her own destiny, and to places which witnessed important events in our national past. He was given an official reception by the Rennes city council. At all functions, he spoke in Welsh, helped by Per Denis as interpreter.

At a fully attended press conference he addressed the Bretons as a people and denounced the policy of genocide pursued relentlessly by the French State (this seemed to shock some journalists, used as they are to the situation). He squarely asked: "If you want to survive as a people, how do you propose to ensure it?" He pointed to the Welsh example of non-violent but illegal action as being effective and justified when legal means failed. For 1500 years our two peoples could subsist without permanent structures of their own but now organs of defence were indispensable. On departing he stated how greatly encouraged he was by what he had seen during his tour and he expressed confidence in our country's future. He addressed us this message

"The Most Significant struggle in Brittany to-day, one which has European importance, is the struggle for the cultural national heritage. To preserve and transmit it and the values it represents to the future generations is the most urgent task now facing the Breton people. This heritage is being destroyed. If this is not stopped it will be a grave defeat for Europe.

The Breton language has been for centuries the means of expression of the Breton culture: it must regain its place. The school system and more recently television are the two main agencies used to destroy it. They must now be used to restore it to its rightful place. It is necessary to give the Breton language a fundamental and central position in education, a sufficient place in television and an honorable place in public life and in administration.

To succeed in this struggle, a strong movement characterised by an offensive spirit is needed. But one cannot save a language without safeguarding the life of the people whose culture is expressed by it. One must put before the people objectives which are important enough to inspire its will to struggle. That is, the people must have the power to create the economic and political conditions for renewal. The recent vote by the Nantes city council in favour of the unity of Brittany is already a victory. The Bretons must have work in their country and enjoy social justice. Economics and politics cannot be separated from the struggle for the language and the national cultural

tradition. The people must have self-determination. To achieve this is the historical challenge before the young Breton generation. It can thereby bring back hope and joy to this ancient nation".

### FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

By the time this issue reaches its readers, the French government will have put its media into top gear to urge the citizens to exercise their voting right in the presidential election. It is unlikely that there will be a candidate on behalf of the ethnic groups to spoil the game of the big-four: the system has surrounded itself with conditions such as the need for any candidate to be backed by elected representatives in at least 35 departments.

The main contenders will be sparing no trouble to win marginal votes by means of promises which they will afterwards discard without a qualm. Giscard played a good trick in 1977 when he vouched for a Breton Cultural Charter to redeem his party's chances in the coming general election. Who could believe that he wanted to throw his weight in support of its implementation after the evasions we have witnessed in the past three years on the part of his ministers over the place of Breton in education and on television? Mitterand spoke earlier in Kemper of the right to be different, thus winning many sympathies. But what has he done or even said since which would justify the expectation that he would translate that right into deeds? As for Chirac and Marchais, they come nowhere near recognising that the Bretons are in any way different from the French.

There never was and there still is not anything to choose between the French parties as regards the survival of the Bretons as a people and a nation. Should those who are concerned primarily with that go to vote at all? Some might want to do so because of their social interests and their preference for Right or Left. Question: will our country ever be freed if serving sectional interests takes precedence over the establishment of a tradition of independence in action. Independence is first a state of mind. Abstention may be criticised as negative. What then about writing "BREIZH" across your ballot paper? That would be a Breton vote.

A.H.

### BLACK OUTLOOK FOR UNEMPLOYED

The conclusion of a survey published in *Le Peuple Breton*, December 1980, is that of all the French (State) regions Brittany is the one most in need of job creation.

The number of Breton unemployed which was 45 000 in 1974 has risen to 112 000 by December 1979, much above the French average: 11% of the Salaried workers as compared to 8.4%. A year later there had been a further rise by 6% (although in June 1980 it had been seasonally down to 94 000, according to the January issue of P.B.?) Of the 6-7000 people affected, about 4000 are below 25 years of age. What prospects have these young people in life other than forced inactivity, discouragement of doing occasional odd jobs? Must they accept the idea being put across by the government propaganda that unemployment and its

increase are normal? Announcements like that of a new order for the St-Nazaire ship-yards or of an American-owned factory due to employ 200 - 300 workers in nearby Donges, welcome though they are, don't go far to relieve the gloom caused by the continuing closure of enterprises.

Nor do the figures above give the full picture. Many unemployed do not report their situation, Young rural workers who don't intend to engage in agricultural work have often no other opening than to stay on the farms where they are not needed. There is also pressure on women not to seek employment away from home. Part employment is on the increase: it is equivalent to the loss of 2000 jobs (car assembly or servicing, communications, footwear, canning, etc.). There are some 4000 pacts with employers whereby the latter pay 20%, and public sources contribute 80% of the wages which are lower than the ordinary guaranteed minimum. Unproductive services are being developed, e.g. the 800 jobs connected with the increasing militarisation of Brittany and the 1350 ones created by local authorities in 1979 to clear a backlog of maintenance and repair work.

In 1979 45000 people had contracts only for a limited duration. In such a climate of uncertainty, unsatisfactory working conditions can be imposed and pressure exerted on the workers not to join trade unions.

For the whole of the French State unemployment is expected to rise to one and a half to two millions during the coming four years. In Brittany whose population is 1/14th that of France it would reach the 200,000 mark, with one third of the figure in Loire-Atlantique. To be equitably treated, Brittany should get 1/8 to 1/10 of the jobs to be created. But government policy is geared in such a way that its disastrous effects will be felt more sharply in a peripheric area which in the past twenty years saw hardly any other activities being developed than those based on the overexploitation of workers (in "pirat-factories") or requiring little labour (intensive farming).

Two sectors of the Breton economy which have been particularly hit by the lack of credit are the fishing and the building industries.

To-day more than half the "French" fishermen are Bretons. Until recently fishing directly provided employment to tens of thousands of other workers (in canning factories and connected enterprises). With stocks in the vicinity of their home base almost depleted, the fishermen must look for new fishing grounds far away in the Atlantic and for this they need new boats and new equipment. But the French government and big parties are not particularly concerned about them, nor for the 65%-Breton crews of a merchant fleet which is losing ground before ships under flags of convenience: the debate in the French National Assembly on November 15, about the budget for the fishing and merchant fleet, was attended only by 15 of the 491 M.P's.

In the autumn, the Economic and Social Council of Region-Brittany unanimously voted against the restrictions imposed by the French government on loans for the building industry. They asked that credit policy should take account of the priorities adopted by the particular regions in the spheres of economic planning allowed to them by the central government. The resolution



was cursorily dismissed by the regional prefect. There was a big demonstration in Kemper on December 22 against a policy which has led to the closure of numerous building firms and to heavy losses for their subcontractors. 35 000 jobs are threatened in Finistere alone as a result of this crisis in the main Breton industry.

### THIRTY YEARS FOR WHOSE CRIMES?

The last of three trials of Bretons arrested in early Summer 1979 started on November 13 and ended in Mid December when the 9 men accused received sentences ranging from 2 to 13 years of imprisonment.. In some cases the terms exceeded those requested by the public prosecutor. Cumulating previously imposed penalties, Ch. Grall has now to serve a total of 30 years and Yann Puillandre, against whom participation in FLB actions could not be proved 15 years -- like P. Montauzier and L. Cheneviere. The legality of a term of more than 20 years for acts which caused no human casualty may yet be questioned. But it is nothing new for the French State to disregard its own laws and obligations (witness the non-observance of the clauses of the Breton cultural Charter).

That justice is here subordinated to political considerations is clear from the nature of the State Security Court as well as from a comparison of the above sentences with those given to certain murderers: 15 years to three Spaniards convicted of killing the Basque P. Elizaran on French State ground, 13 years to Serge Duval in Rouen for killing his solicitor, etc.

The trial was attended by some 150 people, mainly from Brittany. They demonstrated their support in various ways: singing the FLB hymn, shouting slogans, attempting to bar the prisoners' return to jail. K.A.D./Skoazell Vreizh Campaign. The association Kuzul an Distaoliadeg has for some time now been active canvassing support for an amnesty for the 20 Breton political prisoners. The committee Skoazell Vreizh (for Aid to their families) has likewise intervened with members of parliament. Its secretary P. Roy, is working in spite of his age and need of rest unsparingly in their behalf. He has now circularised the mayors of the 1350 municipal councils of Brittany with a request that they follow the example of the Pempoull and Plounevez-Lokrist councils: they passed a resolution demanding that a bill for amnesty be put before the French National Assembly. It argues that the FLB men were motivated by despair at the failure of the French government to tackle the problems facing the Breton population.

The witnesses for the defence included Michel Denis, ex-president of the University of Rennes, who referred to the anger caused by the suppression of the minority languages and the disregard for undertakings given in the Cultural Charter, particularly in the field of radio and television. (See also p.22)

Euro-MP and president of the Cotes-du-Nord department council Ch. Josselin said that all the other European States faced with similar problems had

found solutions instead of resorting, like France to repression. T. Huon, a teacher of English and French, first spoke in French to denounce the cultural genocide and was forcibly expelled when he went on in Breton. There were two witnesses from Plogoff.

During the past year Skoazell Vreizh received 112 000 Fr in donations and gave a total of 132 489 Fr in aid to the prisoners (29 385), their families, of which eight have 8 young children between them (32 308) and towards legal expenses (70 796). The association asks for continued support. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of men condemned to such long terms of jail for actions they believed necessary for the defence of our country. We read that they are making the best of their captivity by learning Breton (thanks to Material Menard). They would be comforted to receive greetings. Cards must be addressed to one of them in person. For instance, M. Menard, C.No 85 692 354, 1 Ave. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Cedex, France. Above all, we would urge readers to canvass support for the amnesty campaign from international personalities or bodies by underlining the fundamental injustice of the cases.

### KENDALC'H

On the 15th and the 16th of November over 200 Delegates took part in the General Assembly of Kendalc'h; three main themes dominated their debates and will orientate the activities of the Federation during the following years.

#### Promotion of the Breton Language.

It was decided that each member group of the Federation should help in supporting the Diwan School existing in it's area: For example, by urging their local councils to subsidise it. Reun L'Hostis, Chairman of Diwan, had come to explain clearly the situation to the delegates.

#### — Opening Towards The Outside —

This include forging links with other Breton cultural associations and naturally enough, reinforcing those existing with the other Celtic Nations. Exchanges with Eire, Alba and Cymru have already taken place in 1980.

#### An Naoned E Breizh

The General Assembly protested once again against the administrative separation of the Loire-Atlantique department from the rest of the country. It was backed in this occasion by a number of elected representatives, members of the city-council of St Nazer (Loire Atlantique), where the General Assembly was taking place.

Kendalc'h is a cultural association, federating many different groups, which aims at maintaining, spreading and developing the Breton culture, in its various manifestations, as such they do not wish to be involved politically despite their recognition of the fact that a cultural struggle depends on political motivations. This ambiguity led to their collaboration with the French Government in producing the "Breton Cultural Chart". Kendalc'h, besides being willing to educate and to promote, wishes to be a link between, and a meeting place for all the components of the Emsav, the Breton National Movement. This was clearly stated in their "Cultural Chart of Kendal'h", re-adopted in St Nazer last November. Some elements of the Emsav, however, feel

rather reluctant to become too closely associated with an organization, whose self-confessed neutrality may at times condemn it to inefficiency, in their own views.  
K.R.

### STONES VERSUS GUNS

This 112 minute film was made by a small team under the direction of N. and F. Le Garrec (Atelier Bretagne Films) operating in the thick of the demonstrations and clashes which a year ago marked the popular opposition to the Plogoff nuclear station project. First shown last Summer at the Minorities Festival in Douarnenez (W. Brittany) it is distributed by a Breton company "Polimaj" and is drawing full attendances in cinemas throughout Brittany. By the end of December it had also been screened in about 20 French cities. It has received very favourable reviews in numerous big circulation papers. For commercial reasons the Garrecs avoided a too militant approach. They chose a factual presentation, a view of the struggle from the inside, documenting the daily life of the people as well as the confrontation between them and a distant/power. The overwhelming police and military displays convey eloquently enough the anti-democratic nature of the government scheme.

### FOR A BRETON REPUBLIC

It has long been a tenet of radical Breton nationalists that no French party could be trusted to help Brittany to gain the kind of freedom necessary for her to remain a Celtic viable community. Yet many of those belonging to a younger generation of autonomists have been very disappointed at the failure of the French Communists and Socialists to agree to a common electoral strategy: they thought that substantial changes for the better would result if the Left came to power in Paris. For that reason, the Union Democratique Bretonne was associated a few years ago with the Left's Common Programme. Since 1978, the Communists and Socialists have sharpened their differences and an increasing number of Bretons see that they have nothing to expect from the French political game. The new party, Strollad Pobl Vreizh, is clear about that. In their recently published "Plateforme Republicaine Bretonne", \*they state: "We refuse all collaboration with the French parties. We advocate a break with the French system, a genuine dissidence."

SPV is therefore not interested in having a stool beside the armchairs of the French State's top brass. Their manifesto ends with the proclamation: "We are Bretons and we commit ourselves unequivocally to set up a Breton Republic. That is our will."

Thus they have renewed the link with Breton nationalism such as it was defined in "Breizh Dishual" in 1911: "We think that independence is a nation's first duty, that it is the very principle of every nationalist. When a people has lost its independence, its only aim should be to reconquer it. It should constantly claim it." These historic sentences are heavily printed in the manifesto. They express the party's philosophy in its most essential.

\*Price 5F.Fr. from S.P.V., BP 120, 29267 Brest Cedex.

**CELTIC LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP:** A fee of £1 will entitle additional members of a family to membership, excluding CARN.

## CYMRU

### TOM ELLIS AR Y GROESFFORDD

Erbyn i'r geiriau hyn weld golau dydd mae'n ddigon posib y bydd plaid newydd Roy Jenkins a'i griw wedi ei sefydlu. Fel gyda phopeth arall sy'n digwydd yng ngwleidyddiaeth Lloegr cafodd y dadlau o fewn y Blaid Lafur sylw mawr ar y rhaglenni newyddion Cymraeg. Cwestiwn arall yw pa mor berthnasol yw'r cyfan i Gymru, wrth gwrs.

Ond un a fu yn ei chanol hi o'r dechrau oedd Tom Ellis, A.S. Wrecsam, gan roi ryw arlliw Cymreig i'r holl helynt.

Ar ddechrau mis Tachwedd ymddangosodd llythyr ganddo yn y 'Times' yn cwyno fod y Blaid Lafur yn symud ormod i'r chwith. Bu raid iddo eguro ei gwynion wrth ei bwyllgor etholaeth bryd hynny. Ond aeth Tom Ellis gam ymhellach yn dilyn cynhadledd Wembley, pan gollodd yr Aelodau Seneddol Llafur yr hawl lwyri i ethol arweinydd, ac yn dilyn sefydlu'r Cyngor dros Ddemocratiaeth Gymdeithasol.

Mynegodd ei gefnogaeth glir i'r Cyngor hwn, gan ychwanegu y byddai raid iddo adael y Blaid Lafur os na fyddai pethau'n newid. Roedd hyn yn ormod i'w bwyllgor lleol ac ar Chwefror 3 pasiwyd pleidlais gref o ddiffyg hyder ynddo a galwyd arno i ymddiswyddo. Cyhoeddodd na fyddai'n sefyll eto fel ymgeisydd Llafur.

Mae'n amlwg felly iddo gymeryd cam tynged-fennol - a cham dewr hefyd, beth bynnag yw barn unrhyw un am ei ddaliadau. Oherwydd nid oes sicrwydd yn y byd bellach y caiff ei ail-ethol yn A.S. yn Wrecsam nag yn unrhyw le arall.

Er i Tom Ellis siomi llawer drwy ddewis peidio ymladd yn erbyn y Llywodraeth ar fater y bedwaredd sianel, erys cryn barch tuag ato yn y Gymru Gymraeg gan iddo wneud mwy nag un safiad ar fater yr iaith. Siaradodd ar lwyfannau Cymdeithas yr Iaith fwy nag unwaith ac fe'i beirniadwyd gan ei etholwyr ei hun am wneud hynny.

Ond y mae rhyw niwlogrwydd rhyfedd ynglŷn â'i athroniaeth wleidyddol sy'n ei wneud yn anodd i'w ddeall ar brydiau. Dywed, er enghraifft, ei fod ymhelli'r chwith, ymhellach na'r hyn a elwir yn 'chwith' yn y Blaid Lafur, a hynny er fod David Owen, Shirley Williams a'r lleill yn amlwg ar adain dde'r Blaid Lafur.

Ond mae'n gwbl glir ar ddau beth - ei fod am weld chwalu'r system ddwy blaid yng ngwledydd Prydain a'i fod o blaid Ewrop. Y gobaith gorau o chwalu'r drefn yn ei olwg ef yw drwy ddod i gytundeb gyda'r Rhyddfrydwyr, am y tro beth bynnag, a chreu ffrynt unedig ar faterion polisi allweddol megis Ewrop, amddiffyn a phwysigrwydd yr economi 'gymysg', er mwyn denu pleidleisiau'r 'tir canol' sydd, yn ôl y poliau piniwn beth bynnag, yn dir sylweddol.

Gwel Tom Ellis hefyd fod lle i Blaid Cymru ddod i gytundeb etholiadol gyda'r glymblaid newydd a'i obaith yw gweddnewid gwleidyddiaeth yn yr ardaloedd Cymraeg.

Mae bron yn siwr mai croeso llugoe'r iawn a gaiff syniad fel hyn o fewn rhengoedd Plaid Cymru. Wedi'r cwbl, holl bwrpas bodolaeth y Blaid yw canolbwyntio ar achos Cymru. Beth bynnag fydd agwedd y blaid newydd tuag at broblemau Cymru

erys y ffaith mai plaid Brydeinig (Seisnig) arall yw hi dyna fu hi o'r dechrau - a does dim gobaith iddi roi'n hachos ni o flaen popeth arall. A.G.

#### PREPARING FOR CHANNEL 4

The long awaited Fourth Channel Authority for Wales has now been appointed and has started on its work. The Fourth Channel Board for rest of the U.K. has been set up months before and the Welsh Board will therefore have to work very quickly to meet the November 1982 deadline.

The Chairman of the Authority will be Sir Goronwy Daniel, former Principal of University College, Aberystwyth and former permanent secretary at the Welsh Office. He is 67. He was first approached by the Secretary of State only three days before the appointment was announced on January 22 - four months after the Government first announced its decision to set up the Authority.

A week previously it was announced in several newspapers and on BBC news bulletins that the job would be given to Lord Emlyn Hooson, former Liberal MP for Montgomery. The news received a very cool response and it seems likely that there was considerable last minute behind the scenes activity.

The Home Office has been accused of a deliberate delay over the appointment. But it seems just as likely that they could not find the right man for the job, or someone willing to take it on.

The other four members of the Authority are Mr. Alwyn Roberts, Chairman of the BBC's Broadcasting Council for Wales, Professor Hugh Morris Jones, Chairman of the IBA Committee for Wales, Dr. Glyn Tegai Hughes, a member of the fourth channel board for the rest of the UK, and D.Ken Jones, managing director of a Japanese firm at Caerffili and a former rugby international.

The highly paid job of Chief Executive for the Welsh Channel was advertised in February; it is rumoured that the job will go to either Owen Edwards, present BBC Wales Controller, Gwilym Owen, Director of the Welsh Film Board and a well known TV personality, or Euryng Ogwen, a young independent film producer.

Meanwhile, both HTV and the BBC have been grilled by the Select Committee on Welsh Affairs which has been investigating broadcasting for the last few months.

Some MP's alleged Welsh language and nationalist bias on both HTV and BBC programmes. The charges stemmed originally from a survey of Welsh language news programmes for six months, counting the reference to each political party.

The figures for the HTV news programme. Y Dydd, was as follows: Conservatives 115, Labour 87, Plaid Cymru 63, Liberals 17. Tom Hooson, Tory MP for Brecon and Radnor, pointed out that the Liberals had more votes than Plaid Cymru in the last election.

But Geraint Talfan Davies, head of HTV news, refused to accept that a "cold arithmetic approach" could be taken to the problem of news balance. He attributed much of the difference between Plaid Cymru and the Liberals to the differences between their activities.

When the BBC appeared before the Committee,

Delwyn Williams, Tory MP for Montgomery, accused Plaid Cymru of infiltrating the BBC. He told Mr. Owen Edwards, BBC Wales Controller, "I firmly believe that Plaid Cymru has infiltrated the BBC Wales, whether with your knowledge or not and I do not know if you have had any connection with Plaid Cymru or not."

But the Chairman, Leo Abse, intervened, saying that the Committee would not tolerate "McCarthyite" techniques of questioning.

Nevertheless, Abse was undoubtedly pleased with Delwyn Williams's insinuations, knowing full well that whatever kind of muck is thrown, some will stick.

The Select Committee's obsession with these issues has cast grave doubts on the seriousness of the investigation. One member, Liberal MP Geraint Howells, has threatened to resign from the Committee if it does not alter its course.

Meanwhile, much attention has been focussed on the so called "deprivation" of non-Welsh speakers when the new channel goes on the air.

Several bodies have suggested that the English fourth channel programmes should be shown in Wales at off-peak hours but there seems to be some disagreement concerning the exact cost of such a scheme.

A.G.

AL LIAMM: Bimonthly, approx 80pp. The most important Breton language periodical. 60F Breizh and France, 70F other countries, but 100F airmail. To Yann Ber d'Haese, Pont Keryau, 29190 Pleyben. Money orders to CCP 4914-83B Paris.

#### PLAID CYMRU'S POST MORTEM

After the catastrophies of the referendum in March 1979 and the May general election, when Gwynfor Evans lost his seat and Plaid's vote generally slumped (CARN 26), a commission of five leading members was set up to seek a remedy. Eighteen months of deliberations have produced two reports. The majority Dafydd Wigley M.P., Eurfyl ap Gwilym, Emrys Roberts and Owen John Thomas - recommend that Plaid's obsession with elections and wangling some constitutional advance by pacts with other parties at Westminster, which occupied its thoughts during the seventies, should be abandoned: "We should never again place any faith in other political parties which are fundamentally opposed to our basic aims." We should build up a sense of Welsh nationality and a rejection of Britishness in all Welsh people, instead. That much is undisputable, but the majority report becomes more controversial when it argues that the method to do this is to "bring together the forces of nationalism, radicalism and socialism, by espousing a decentralist, community-based form of socialism not to be confused with the state centralism and British imperialism of the Labour party." Unfortunately the likelihood of such confusion seems considerable. The majority also recommend a move away from electoral politics into those of militant direct-action campaigns such as that which secured us the Fourth Channel for the Welsh language; given the utterly undemocratic way in which the English pervert the political system in order to stifle nationalist views, this is not a surprising suggestion. But their idea of adopting a policy of republicanism is.

Dr. Philip Williams, the member of the commission with the flimsiest command of the Welsh language, in his minority report argues that we should follow the path of the Irish in the 19th century: there was a place both for a group like the Irish Nationalists, winning mass support by electioneering, and Plaid Cymru should continue to try and occupy that place; and for a group like the Fenians, the Land League etc., who tried to save Ireland by other means, whose position is being taken in Wales by those who burn holiday homes. No formal links existed between the two groups, though Parnell was often to be seen on the Land League platforms and was a friend of many old Fenians. Dr. Williams thinks the policy of the majority will cause Plaid to fall between two stools; and it will do nothing to remedy what he sees as our worst failure: "In 1970 Plaid was winning ground throughout Wales. By 1979 support had increased still further in the Welsh-speaking areas but had fallen back sharply in the English speaking areas".

Opinion surveys showed that even in 1968 Welsh-speakers were more than 2.5 times more likely to support Plaid than English-speakers, but at least English-speakers did make up the majority of our supporters (A. Butt Philip The Welsh Question (1975) p. 152). Ten years later Welsh-speakers were five times more likely to support Plaid than English-speakers and now formed the bulk of its prospective voters (Denis Balsom Nature and Distribution of Support for Plaid Cymru Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde). Not that all Welsh-speakers support Plaid; far from it: only a quarter of them do. The result of these changes was that in the three solidly English-speaking counties, Canol and De Morgannwg (Mid and South Glamorgan) and Gwent, which together contain just 50% of the population of Wales, the number who voted for Plaid in 1979 was half what it had been in 1970. The risk Dr. Williams clearly sees is that direct-action and republicanism may do nothing to reconcile the English-speakers, who are after all 80% of the Welsh people and without them independence is impossible (as we found out at the time of the referendum): "For every active campaign on the language issue...there must be at least one...which is not related to the language and which involves the whole of Wales," he says.

A special conference of Plaid Cymru, to be held at Rhaeadr Gwy (Rhayader) on Saturday, 14 February, is expected to confirm the recommendations of the majority report (but this date is just too late for its result to be included in this issue of CARN).

Ifan Lloyd.

### ARSON CAMPAIGN RE-STARTS

The arson campaign against holiday homes has started once again and has led to fears of another raid by the police on nationalists similar to the raid that was carried out in April last year.

A movement calling itself "Meibion Glyndwr" claimed responsibility for the incendiary devices found in a luxury motor cruiser near Pwllheli and in holiday homes at Waunfawr and Capel Garmon. Two other devices were found in Pembrokeshire, one of which ignited while the bomb disposal experts were nearby.

Three people are at present serving sentences of up to two years for their part in the campaign - Eurig ap Gwilym, John Roberts and Alan Beeston. But it became evident during their trial that they were responsible for only two (unsuccessful) attempts to burn holiday homes.

### SECOND HOMES – CRIME AGAINST WALES

What Eurig ap Gwilym and his friends did realise, and have been punished for realising, is that a crime is now in preparation against the Welsh equal in enormity to anything that the English have done to them in the past thousand years: they are to be removed from their country wholesale. Between 1955 and 1970 the proportion of households in the United Kingdom owning a second home for holiday purposes rose from 0.5% to 2%. That still comparatively modest number of second-home owners caused, as article after article in CARN in the 1970s revealed, the total destruction of one Welsh community after another. All the evidence suggests that the demand of the English middle-class for holiday homes is nothing like satisfied: in France 18% of households had a second home by 1967 and in Sweden the figure was over 20%. To satisfy demand on that scale from the English conurbations of Lancashire and Birmingham will require every house in Wales, which after all only contains 5% of the houses of the United Kingdom. In one of the most significant books on economics published in the second half of this century, Fred Hirsch Social Limits to Growth (1977), the author argued that the demand was such as never could be wholly satisfied, but he showed in four pages of unanswerable logic (pp. 32-36) that trying to satisfy it means, given a free market, that the Welsh, having been impoverished by the policies of successive English governments, will now be expropriated and expelled from their land. We are in a cleft stick, for a revival of prosperity in England is likely to increase demand so much that in less than twenty years there will be nobody to watch the Welsh-language TV service, for which so many have struggled so hard, except English holiday makers; while no revival means continued unemployment in, and emigration from Wales, resulting in - much the same.

Eurig ap Gwilym and his tiny band of Cadwyr Cymru tried to prevent this crime by making holiday homes an unattractive buy for the English, thereby reducing prices to a level that Welsh people could afford.

Recently I read in an English Sunday newspaper an article full of indignation at Brazilians driving Amazonian Indians from their land by fraud and corruption, and approving the Indians for shooting Brazilians in response; and on the other side of English politics Stalin's deportations of Estonians, Latvians and other nationalities in his cattle trucks are well remembered. When performed by foreigners, such crimes are called genocide by the morally outraged English. Moral outrage is the only English export industry which is always flourishing; but its products are not for home consumption. The home market is supplied instead with generous quantities of hypocrisy.

Ifan Lloyd

## BILLE DON GHÀIDHLIG

Mar is eol do léitheoirí CHARN (féach uimhir 28, an talt i nGaeilge; uimhir 29 'On the Gaelic Front'), bunaíodh grúpa de theachtaí Párlaiminte ó Albain breis is bliain ó shoin chun tacaíocht a fháil do leathnú na Gàidhlice. Is cosúil go bhfuil toradh ar an iarracht seo cheana féin mar gur éirigh le Domhnall Stiubhairt M.P. an Bille don Ghàidhlig a chur os comhair na Párlaiminte i Londain ar an 13 Eanáir. Fuair Domhnall tacaíocht ó seachtar dteachta eile, an náisiúnach ó Cymru, Dafydd Wigley ina measc; Albanaigh iad an seisear eile ceathrar den Lucht Oibre, Caomhach amháin agus Liobrálach amháin.

Bille cearta don Ghàidhlig atá sa bhille seo ina éilítear cearta a gcúrsaí oideachais, i gcúrsaí craolacháin, chomh maith le aitheantas oifigiúil d'úsaí na Gàidhlice i gcúrsaí dlí agus riaracháin.

**Oideachas:** In ainneoin gur ritheadh móraíocht achtanna oideachais ó 1918 i leith, a chuir ceangal reachtúil ar na húdaráis oideachais in Albain an Ghàidhlig a teagasc i scoileanna na Gaidhealtachda, d'éirigh leis na húdaráis éaló ón gceangal sin gan móraí cur isteach ar feadh na mblianta. De bhri nár tugadh sainmhíniú reachtúil ar cad is 'Gaidhealtachd' níos ghlac aon údarás oideachais leis an dualgas i ndáiríre. Go fiú ar na mallaibh, dhiúltaigh údarás Oideachais Strathclyde muinteoir taistil Gàidhlice a cheapadh do scoileanna áirithe ar Oileán Muile, cé go raibh éileamh láidir ó na tuismitheoirí ar a leithéid. Ní fhéadfadh Roinn Oideachais na hAlban dearbhú a thabhairt gur Gaidhealtachd é Oilean Muile. Chuirfeadh bille Dhomhnaill Stiubhairt deireadh leis an muga maga seo. Tugtar sainmhíniú sa bhille ar 'Gaidhealtachd', agus airítear faoin teideal sin Inse Gall agus na hOileain Thiar chomh maith leis na ceantair Gaidhealtachda ar an mhór-thír. Feasta bheadh dualgas reachtúil ar na húdaráis an Ghàidhlig a theagasc ar fud na dúiche uilig.

**Craoladh:** Maidir le cúrsaí craolacháin, éilíonn an bille go mbunófaí Comhairle Craolacháin don Ghàidhlig, ar a mbeidh ionadaí ón BBC agus ón IBA le cathaerleach neamhspleach. Bheadh ar an gComhairle comhordú a dhéanamh idir na clár-sceidil ag an dá údarás craolacháin d'fhonn seirbhís chuimsitheach a chur ar fáil i nGàidhlig, an speictream iomlán mar adeirfeá i gConradh na Gaeilge. Bheadh athbheithníú le déanamh ag an gComhairle ó am go chéile le dearbhú go raibh an tseirbhís ag dul chun tairbhe na teangan, agus feabhsú agus leathnú a dhéanamh dá mba ga. Toisc go raibh Comhairle dá leithéid molta cheana don Bhreatainis mar mhalairt ar an bhealach iomlán Breatnaise, ní coir go mbeidh aon deacracht leis an gcuid seo den bhille.

**Dlí agus Riarachán:** Sa chuid seo den bhille éilítear gach ceart chun cásanna dlí a reachtáil go hiomlán i nGàidhlig, agus feidhm a bhaint as an Ghàidhlig in aon ghnó oifigiúil leis an rialtas; chuige seo níor mhór leaganacha Gàidhlice d'fhoirmeacha oifigiúla agus reachtúla a chur ar fáil. Níl fhios agam an bhfuil aon fhoirmeacha dhátheangacha le fáil in Albain faoi láthair, ach de réir mar thuigim diúltaíonn Oifig na hAlban litreacha a fhreagairt i nGàidhlig; dúirt oifigeach riaracháin gurb é polasaí na hOifige gach comhfhreagras a dhéanamh as Béarla.

Tugadh an dara léamh don bhille ar an 13 Feabhra agus d'éist me leis an díospóireacht ar an raidió. Teachtaí ó Albain amháin a ghlac páirt ann. Mar a bheifeá ag súil bhí

cuid acu ina choinne, teachta amháin a dúirt go raibh an Ghàidhlig slán sabháilte agus nach raibh aon ghá leis; duine eile a dúirt go mbeadh an Ghàidhlig a bhrú ar bhearloirí agus orthu siúd nach raibh a hiarradh. Ach bhí ar a laghad duine amháin den tuairim go mb'fhearr an tír iomlán a thabhairt isteach faoin mbille agus go naithneofaí an Ghàidhlig mar theanga náisiúnta na hAlban. Bhí Domhnall Stiubhairt féin sásta glacadh leis an moladh sin, ach bhí náisiúnach eile, Gordon Wilson, amhrasach, a rá go mb'fhearr gan dul ró-fhada ró-ghasta. Rinneadh cáineadh ar gach alt den bhille, ach go hairithe ar na haltanna faoin oideachas, ó thaobh costais de agus gan dóthain muinteoirí Gàidhlice bheith ar fáil chun an teanga a theagasc ins na scoileanna. Sa deireadh nuair a ghlacadh an bhóta bhí 37 ar a shon in aghaidh 19.

Ach ní léor an bhóta seo le go gcuirfeá an bille ar aghaidh go dtí Céim an Choiste, de bhri go raibh níos lú ná céad teachta ag glacadh páirt ann. Ciallaíonn sé go gcuirtear bille Dhomhnaill Stiubhairt go dtí bun an chairn agus ní fios cén uair a ghlacfar leis amach anseo. Feall na nGall arís, droch mheas agus easba suime a léiríodas sa bhille don Ghàidhlig mar a bheifeá ag súil ó Phairlimint impiriúilach.

[This article deals with the Bill on Gaelic introduced by Donald Stewart, M.P., for the Western Isles, in Westminster.]

## AN GHÀIDHLIG AGUS AN GHAEILGE AR AN BBC AGUS AN IBA

San eagrán deiridh de CHARN tugadh cuntas gearr ar an staidéar a rinne T. O'Brien agus Antony Alcock ar na bealaigh ina gcuirtear mion teangacha na hEorpa chun tosaigh ar na mór mheáin cumarsáide. Toisc go bhfuil cur chun cinn na Gàidhlice ar an meain cumarsáide ar cheann de phríomh éilimh sa bhille don Ghàidhlig, is fiú breathnú ar staid na Gàidhlice ar an BBC agus an IBA faoi láthair, agus é a chur i gcomparáid le staid na Gaeilge faoin dhá udaras craolacháin ceanna ins na sé chondae in Éirinn, mar a léiríonn O'Brien agus Alcock e.

**Raidió:** Sa mbliain 1979 craoladh sa mhéan 12.40 uair a chloig i nGàidhlig sa tseachtain idir an trí stáisiún raidió, siad sin, Radio nan Eilean, Radio Highland agus Radio Scotland. Tá sé de pholasaí ag Radio nan Eilean, atá suite i Steornabhaidh ar Oilean Leodhais, cur leis na huigireanta craolacháin i nGàidhlig; seirbhís dhátheangach atá ann faoi láthair. Níl aon tseirbhís i nGàidhlig ar cheann ar bith de na craolacháin trachtála loganta.

**An Telefís:** Chomh maith leis an clár teagaisc 'Can Seo' a chraoladh ar na BBC Telefís (agus Raidió) le linn na bliana 1979/80, craoladh clár leathuair sa choicíós i nGàidhlig ar an mbealach céanna, agus bhíodhas ag súil go ndéanfaí clár seachtainiúil de. Clár ilghnéitheach é le meascan de chúrsaí reatha, agallaimh agus ábhar éadrom. Tá socruithe ag an dá bhealach trachtála in Albain, Scottish TV agus Grampian TV, leathuair a chloig i nGàidhlig sa tseachtain a chraoladh eatorra; bheadh Scottish TV ag déanamh na gclár ar feadh dhá raithe den bhliain, Grampian ar feadh raithe eile, le athchraoladh sa cheathrú raithe. Agus cé go bhfuil an ceathrú bealach telefíse trachtála le bheith in Albain go luath, deir úrlabhráí de chuid an IBA nach féidir le lucht labhartha na Gàidhlice bheith ag súil le níos mó ná an leathuair Gàidhlice sa tseachtain san iomlán on IBA. Is mór idir sin agus an ceathrú bealach i Gymru, a bheidh go hiomlán i mBreatainis.

**Cláracha do pháistí agus cláracha oideachasúla:** In ainneoin an ghéarchéim airgidis, chuir an BBC airgead ar fáil ón lár eagras i Londain chun sraithchlár do pháistí a dhéanamh i nGaidhlig. Sin níos mo ná mar atá le fáil ag páistí na hÉireann ó RTE, nach bhfuil ag craoladh oiread is clár amháin i nGaeilge do pháistí i mbliana.

Ar an raidio tá an BBC ag craoladh ceithre sraithchlár oideachasúla le linn na scoilbliana seo 1980/81. Seachas 'Toiseach Toiseachaidh', clár teagaisc d'fhoghlaimoírí i ranganna sinsearach sa mbunscoil agus do bhunranganna sa mhéanscoil, a chraoltar ar fud na tíre, tá na trí cinn eile teoranta do Thuaisceart agus d'Iarthuaisceart na tíre. Is cosúil go bhfuil teanga-dheighilt a chothú ag an BBC anseo, teanga-dheighilt gur mithid deire a chur leis.

Go hathchoimre sin mar atá an scéal in Albain, agus gach súil go dtiocfaidh feabhas mór amach anseo, go háirithe má éiríonn leis an mbille don Ghaidhlig. Cuirimís i gcomparáid é le staid na Gaeilge ar na méain cumarsáide ins na sé chonadae in Éirinn. Tá sé iontach furust an comparáid a dhéanamh, mar nach bhfuil oiread is clár amháin i nGaeilge a chraoladh ar aon bhealach raidio nó telefíse de chuid an BBC nó an IBA ins na sé chonadae. Ní amháin sin ach tá an BBC tar éis dul siar ar an gheallúint a tugadh do Ghaeilgeoirí áirithe i mBeal Feirste breis is bliain ó shoin clár raidio a chraoladh. Tá cuid de na Gaeilgeoirí céanna ag smaointeamh ar chas dlí in aghaidh an BBC a thabhairt ós comhair cúirte na hEorpa um cearta daonna i Strasburg. Is cinnte go bhfuil cas an laidir ar son craoladh cláracha oideachasúla i nGaeilge do pháistí scoile. Tá an tseirbhís seo ar fáil ins na mion teangacha eile sa Bhreatain Mhór, agus ní ins na teangacha Ceilteacha amháin (níl tada sa Chornais) ach i mion teangacha na nimirceoirí ar nós Hindi, Urdu, Bengali agus rí. gan trácht ar na cláracha teagaisc ins na teangacha eorpacha eile mar atá Fraincís, Gearmainís, Ruisís agus rí. Ach tá an dearcadh stuacánta caolaigeantach céanna ag na hudasas chraolacháin i dtuaisceart Éireann is atá ag gach udaras eile sa taobh sin tíre. Tá seacht noiread páistí ag togaíl na Gaeilge mar ábhar scrúduithe ins na sé chonadae ná mar atá de pháistí in Albain ag togaíl na Gaidhlig. San iomlán tá breis is 27,000 páistí scoile ag déanamh staidéar ar an Ghaeilge ins na scoileanna ó thuaidh de réir na bhfigiúir a thug Bord Oideachais Tuaiscirt Éireann le haghaidh 1979/80, gan freastal ar bith a dhéanamh orthu ag aon udaras chraolacháin sa tír, ó thuaidh ná ó dheas.

Is beag cabhair do Ghaeilgeoirí na sé gconadae RTE, fiú dá mbeadh na cláracha i nGaeilge a gcaoladh acu (is dócha gur iolra é RTE anois) mar nach bhfuil cead ag RTE telefís craoladh thar teorainn isteach. Tá fáil ar RTE in áiteanna ar feadh na teorann, ach ní féidir Raidio na Gaeltachta a fháil i mBeal Feirste mar shampla. B'fhéidir gurb é seo an cas is measa uilig de shéanadh cearta sibhialta ar mhionlach atá faoi chois cheana ar mhórán bealaigh eile.

[This article compares the position of Gaidhlig on BBC and IBA with that of Irish on those channels in the 6 counties. The comparison is easily made — there is no Irish at all broadcast on radio or TV in the North.]

## ENGLAND AND IRELAND : AGAIN

Interviewed on an RTE news program on 10 February a Tory MP endorsed the deliberate vagueness of the communique issued as a result of the Haughey/Thatcher summit and said that the resultant talks should be — as they indeed are — behind closed doors and open-ended as regards

coverage — especially since they are not decision-making conferences.

No doubt many — and perhaps most would agree with him on that aspect; and many would even endorse the context of the talks and the soon-to-be-repeated summit itself, i.e. "the totality of relationships". Suitably vague one could say and sufficiently so perhaps to bring parameters (the number of shared attributes) back into correct English usage after its fashionable vagueness some time back when it was used so often instead of perimeters! There is no reason why the litany of shared attributes should not be spelled out and added to and hopefully used towards future peace. Even to start listing them can be helpful.

There are of course many 'buts', and it were better they were mentioned now and not thought of later when the study groups prepare their blueprints for future political action.

There has, for example, been talk of new institutional structures; of citizenship rights; of security matters; economic co-operation and measures to encourage mutual understanding. One wonders what could be meant with reference to citizenship rights given what has obtained in fact — even the six counties of north-eastern Ireland have had to dismantle their legal blocks against people from the rest of Ireland taking up positions across the borders (oaths of allegiance and so forth.) 'New Institutional Structures' has a studied vagueness about it that could be a useful angury if the English authorities were not going to allow themselves to be browbeaten out of them as they did allow themselves to be from the Council of Ireland proposed at Sunningdale. 'New Institutional Structures' are of course needed should any relationship be entered into: the Empire is gone, the Commonwealth is a fading entity in fact — factors which change the scenario and render any 'historical repeat' out of the question.

It is hard to know what is meant by Economic Co-operation. One should have thought that membership of the EEC was in fact to enforce this! But even there gas and hopefully possible oil within Ireland certainly, but Ireland as a dump for English nuclear waste — for example — certainly not. Hard guarantees would be necessary to ensure that Ireland's experience and English practice over the centuries would not be the norm again (bluntly Ireland will always be sacrificed in the interests of England).

"Measures to encourage mutual understanding" — here one can agree readily I expect. Report is that the Kee series series on BBC TV and RTE TV have been financed not by the BBC but by the Tory Government directly. If so, that would be one indication that the English Government are in fact determined on change and that they are cultivating an atmosphere favourable to change among their electorate. (It is noted that opinion polls now suggest over 60% in favour of English withdrawal from Ireland as against about 30% some few years ago.)

Look however at the phrase "security matters". The Tory already referred to mentioned the role of the Republic of Ireland — an acknowledged and an honoured role, he said, as an unaligned third world state, England — the UK, he said — was of course a strong and committed member of the Western Alliance. Any future relationship he said, would naturally envisage a partnership in defence — in effect joint participation in NATO: in other words Ireland is (yet again) expected to change, while England stays (the English compromise — very well exemplified in the celebrated partition of the Hugh Lane collection of Impressionist Paintings — is to wear the other party down until they

accept England's first thoughts on the matter). Now there is no doubt but that there has been steadily increasing pressure on the Irish Government to renege on its neutralist role and to join the league of Western imperialists, lapsed imperialists or neo-imperialists. (Norway is a strange exception to that list). There have been seminars and discussions, publications and the occasional kite from Dáil Éireann, but so far public opinion seems strong in favour of the now traditional position.

There was mention also, and this is of interest to members of the Celtic League, to "the totality of relationships between these two islands". Now leaving aside smaller offshore islands, this is to insultingly ignore Man as a possible interested party. And if we leave Man aside for the moment one feels that the phrasing is such as to emphasise the possible/probable exclusion of Cymru, Kernow and Alba from any part in the negotiations, from any significance in the deliberations. In other words the ignoring of Man, and the exclusion of any reference to the other Celtic countries under English sway is to set parameters to discussion rather than to address them to parameters.

Now, that the Irish government have been sliding from the concept/duty of benevolence to the other Celtic peoples has been observed these many years: and it is no good augury that the Irish Ministry for Foreign Affairs will be closely involved in these discussions. That Department is in fact the most anglicised and anglophone in the whole Irish Civil Service (while they can and do take action 're-say Afghanistan, they recently and insultingly said to Conradh na Gaeilge — who had written them on perfectly genuine business of theirs — that they had no duty towards the Irish language) and that least likely to show understanding of the nature and aspirations of Celtic nationalists.

And if that seems harsh, it must also be mentioned that the present Minister for Foreign Affairs in an address in the late sixties advised Irish exiles to become absorbed in England and advised Welsh and Scottish nationalists to resist from their campaigns towards autonomy. Maybe he has learned: at least he ought to be reminded that his policy then has not been forgotten — nor indeed is it now agreed upon.

Now into all of this the Rev. Ian Paisley has ridden down the Carson trail and deliberately evoked comparison with Carson and in his strutting and booming hopes to deliver the package Carson succeeded in delivering in his day. But the repeat is not on. This is not to say that Paisley is not dangerous, he is and very much so — the suggesting of Divine approval have driven many to berserkgangr. But it needs to be borne in mind that Carson was a Dublin born Unionist, not an anti-Catholic rabble-rousing preacher of hatred and conditional loyalty to the English throne (only while its occupant is Protestant). Carson was playing a game of larger politics in a wider context: he was after all to be minister material, something Paisley certainly is not in Tory eyes in England. He could also depend on the subs. and drums of Empire loyalists like Kipling and so forth in a time when the Empire was a power, something boasted of and something that evoked pride and attachment from great numbers. Carson too broke the law openly and flagrantly — but with the tacit acquiescence of an upper-class officer corps which no longer rules H.M. armed forces.

The trail one needs to follow in fact is not the Carson trail but the parameters of Irish experiences in the co-operation of "our twin heritages" as *Fortnight* called them long ago (14 May 1971). That can only come about with English withdrawal. The psychostasis of Ulster, and

especially of Ulster Unionism is a product — a direct one — of continued English involvement in Irish affairs.

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh.

## IRISH IN EDUCATION

In recent months both the Government Party, Fianna Fáil, and the main opposition party, Fine Gael, have updated their education policies and in the process given us the benefit of their views on Irish in the educational system. By this point of time in the existence of the 26 county state of course policy documents, or White Papers, on the position of Irish in education must be greeted with cynicism by those in the language movement who have any memories at all. However a brief glance at the theory, if not the practice, may be of interest to those in the other Celtic countries.

The Fine Gael document states that the party recognises the value of the Irish Nursery Playgroups (Naionraí Gaelacha) and would promote their expansion. In co-operation with voluntary committees new all-Irish primary schools would be founded on a planned basis and more secondary schools founded also, particularly in areas where such primary schools already exist. Encouragement would be given in other schools for the teaching of another subject through Irish and for its use in play, etc. In-service courses in Irish and in the teaching of the language would be provided for teachers at every level. The teaching and learning of Irish in the primary schools would be re-examined. The examination system would be organised to give pride of place to the spoken language. An Assistant Secretary in the Dept. of Education would be responsible for co-ordinating and promoting these policies in respect of Irish.

The institutions of third level education would be required to produce and implement positive plans in relation to Irish in the academic and administrative areas.

It should be noted that the above policies are a considerable advance for the Fine Gael Party. Whether they would be sincere in attempting to implement them if returned to power is another matter of course. It may be recalled that this party when last in government (1973-77), in Coalition with the smaller Labour Party, did away with the requirement that a pass in Irish be essential to pass the Leaving Certificate Examination (equal to GCE or Baccalaureat) at the end of secondary education. There now exists we are told in some schools that curious animal 'non-Examination Irish', (which can mean that some or no Irish is taught), and the percentage of pupils not actually sitting the examination has risen dramatically in the last seven years. Added to that is the drastic decline in standards of Irish observed and reported in schools.

The Coalition Government also during their term did away with the requirement of a pass in Irish as essential to enter the Civil Service and State or Local Administration. This meant that even the ideal of a bi-lingual state administration was abandoned — there had never been any serious attempt of course to achieve it in practice. At the time promises were made that positive measures would be taken to promote Irish now that the "compulsion" was removed. No measures appeared and such statements were obviously only sugar to sweeten the pill.

That Fine Gael have no regrets on this action was evidenced in a radio interview last year with party leader Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, when he boasted that he was the first Minister in the Coalition Government to implement the latter decision in his Department.

In recent years the growth in the number of

families in the Gaeltacht areas bringing up their children through English has been so marked that the subject has been openly discussed on the Gaeltacht radio. While many factors are involved it would seem clear that a lot of Gaeltacht people have no inclination to remain as a cultural reservation while they see no honest attempt being made to make Irish a community language elsewhere and decisions such as the above downgrading Irish on a national level undoubtedly helped create this attitude and contributed to the acceleration we are now witnessing in the decline of the Gaeltacht as a language community.

However, what of Fianna Fail – The Republican Party, (yes, that second part of the party title does actually exist!). Needless to say when returned to power in '77 they did not repeal the measures referred to above. One of the official listed aims of the party has always been the revival of the Irish Language – the White Paper published by the government puts it slightly differently – “the national aim is to revive Irish as means of communication so that the community will be genuinely bilingual”. There is no mention in the paper of pre-school playgroups. On primary schools we are told that the aim in relation to Irish is to ensure that every pupil on leaving should be able to use Irish as a means of communication on subjects in which he is interested! Pride of place would be given to the spoken language; some part of the curriculum should be taught through Irish and schools teaching a worth-while amount of the curriculum through Irish would be given additional assistance. An objective assessment on the standard of Irish in the primary schools would be carried out regularly. The same would be done at secondary level and continuity from first to second level ensured. Courses and examinations at secondary level would be re-organised to emphasise the spoken language and 33% of the marks in the Leaving Certificate Irish Examination would be awarded for the oral test.

In relation to all-Irish schools the White Paper states that the support being given to them will be continued and the needs of pupils who desire an all Irish education will be planned for. This is very much a tongue in cheek statement, as quite a number of those schools founded by parents and others in recent years experienced great difficulty with the Dept. of Education and their expansion is now being hindered through lack of co-operation or failure to assist in obtaining permanent sites. In recent months in fact a senior inspection in the Dept. made unfounded statements which could harm these schools. We are told that tests and teaching material for these schools will be given special attention – about time as the position there leaves much to be desired particularly at secondary level.

The White Paper proposes that a high standard in spoken Irish be required for applicants to the Colleges of Education (Teacher Training Colleges) and that a reasonable part of the professional course be taught through Irish. It would be intended to increase the number of in-service courses for teachers and to assist them to attend courses in the Gaeltacht.

It should be mentioned that at one time in these Colleges all the courses were taught through Irish, and there were special preparatory schools in the Gaeltacht areas to service them. Part of the present terrible state in the schools where pupils can pass through 12 years of learning Irish without achieving fluency must be due to lack of fluency on the part of a lot of teachers stemming back to the position of Irish in the Training Colleges.

In relation to the Gaeltacht it would be policy not to close or amalgamate Gaeltacht schools in future,

without taking note of the effect on the state of the language (!) (in the community). It would be intended that secondary courses fully in Irish would be provided for Gaeltacht children or others who received their primary education through Irish.

A special committee would be established to reconsider the question of the Irish and English curriculum in Gaeltacht schools.

The above are the main points from the White Paper. The recommendations themselves highlight the existing deficiencies. Many of the positive points have been pressed for by the language organisations over the years. Worthy recommendations and worth-while policies are one thing, the planning, organisation and co-ordination to implement them is another. There could be some significant improvement in the deterioration of the last decade if all the proposals contained in the White Paper are carried out (though they could hardly be said to be complete). It is up to the language organisations, particularly with an early election forecast, to ensure that politicians of both parties live up to their published policies and improve on them where necessary. It must also never be forgotten that while a policy of giving fluency in the language, through the schools must be a cornerstone in any revival policy, or in plans to promote the Irish language, that in itself is obviously insufficient. In fact leaving the job to the schools would only lead again to the same hypocrisy and disillusionment widespread years ago which facilitated the introduction of measures detrimental to the language. It is time the Irish people realised that if they wish their language to live (as against existing as some sort of “national monument” or token of Irishness on the fringe of society), they must ensure its effective promotion in all walks of life on a community basis. If this realisation does not come soon and action to follow it the language would seem doomed eventually to be regulated to the limbo of the few words or odd sentence now and then on the special occasions.

C. Ó L.

### R.T.É. PROTEST

In January members of Freagra held a demonstration at RTE headquarters in Dublin to complain once again at the small amount of time broadcast in Irish on the state TV service. One of the protesters partly scaled the TV mast to unhurl a banner demanding “15% in Irish now”. The position is still as last reported with no programmes at all for children. However the series of Irish teaching programmes promised for last autumn will now begin definitely, we are told, next autumn. The series will be co-ordinated with one on radio and the radio programme is to begin on St. Patrick's Day.

Freagra interrupted Garret Fitzgerald's address to Young Fine Gael's 3rd National Conference on Saturday, 31st January to query if it was the Fine Gael leader's excess respect for the Irish language that precluded him from delivering in Irish part of this speech to the educated youth of Fine Gael or if it was a presumption on his part that they would not understand it or that he himself was incapable of it or that, finally it was of no consequence to him. Is it of any consequence to the Youth of Fine Gael? Since Garret Fitzgerald replied that he would answer if he could hear the questions asked we're now giving him another opportunity to do so.

One of Freagra's members was assaulted and thrown to the ground by a Fine Gael youth as she left Liberty Hall where the conference took place. A. Ní R.



● The annual national Convention of Ógras (Conradh na Gaeilge's Youth Movement) was held in Eochail (Youghal) at the end of January. The well attended meeting heard reports of much progress made in 1980 with two new organisers active. Chairman Seán de Paor in his address asked for increased activity and commitment from the organisations branches and members. He attacked the recently released O'Sullivan Report on Youth Work for its complete lack of mention of any part or role for Irish amongst youth, and called for publication of a Government policy on Irish and Youth.

### IRISH SUMMER COURSE IN CONAMARA

Following the success of last year's course the course this year will be held during the fortnight beginning 16th August. The course will be run by the Comharchumann Cois Fharráige Co-Operative in their college, Coláiste Chonnacht, near An Spidéal, Co. Galway, (ten miles west of Galway City in the Conamara Gaeltacht).

The programme will include Irish classes for beginners, each day, with a total of about 30 hours in the fortnight altogether. There will be lectures on topics such as the Gaeltacht today, the position of the Irish language in the whole of Ireland, Irish History, and Irish Literature. The participants will be introduced to the Irish song and traditional music in informal sessions with the participation of local people. The course will include a trip to the Aran Islands and a tour of the Conamara area. The cost of the course including accommodation and meals for a fortnight plus the trips will be Ir. £190.00. The participants would be expected to arrive about tea time on Sunday, 16th August, and the course would finish after lunch on Friday, 28th August.

Those wishing to partake in this course should send a deposit of Ir. £25 (or equivalent) to the Irish Branch Secretary, Máire Bhreathnach (address on p.24) before 1st June.

### BIG MONEY HAS BIG PLANS FOR ÉIRE M. O'Hara.

One organization of the Rich and Powerful have turned their attention to Éire. This group is the Trilateral Commission, a private international organization composed of wealthy, powerful and well-connected individuals from the "trilateral" industrial world - Western Europe, Japan and North America. Like the purely European Bilderberg group, the Trilateral Commission was founded and funded by key sections of the ruling class to plan solutions to common problems and to influence governments to implement these plans.

The membership is awesome. Japanese members include the heads of Sony, Toyota, Hitachi, and Mitsubishi among others. North Americans include founder David Rockefeller; the President of the National Bank of Canada; the Chairman of Coca-Cola and several of the most powerful labor leaders in the U.S.

European membership is equally impressive. It includes Agnelli of Fiat, Baron Edmond De Rothschild, the Chairmen of Royal Dutch Shell, Barclays Bank and Rio Tinto Zinc, and former British Prime Minister Edward Heath.

With such members, it is not surprising this group's influence is enormous. This is most striking in the US where the Carter Administration was a Trilateral Triumph, and the Reagan one is likely to be the same. Within a month of

the election Carter (a member himself) appointed 17 members to positions of tremendous political influence in his administration.

A list of some American members who have been in government are:

Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, (Vice President) Andrew Young, (former Ambassador to the UN) Zbigniew Brzezinski, (Rockefeller protege who was the main force in US foreign policy who groomed Carter for the Presidency). Henry Kissinger (now a Reagan admirer) Harold Brown, (Secretary of Defense) Cyrus Vance, (Former Secretary of State) Michael Blumenthal, (former Secretary of the Treasury) George Bush, (former head of CIA and Vice President) John Anderson, independent candidate for President.

The avowed purpose of the Commission is to make plans for a new world economic order and to do it in a decidedly non-democratic way. According to a German journalist Theo Gomma, on the commission, a sort of European-Japanese-American establishment has come into being. "Problems can be attacked there in a way that is beyond the narrow scope of nation-state interests and transcend the time horizons of a legislative session." The nation-state and parliamentary democracy are obviously considered inadequate for bringing about this new world order. So a power "elite" decides on proper policy and governments are influenced to carry out their policy - without, of course, interference from democratic institutions.

Irish Members. Garrett Fitzgerald (leader of Fine Gael party and former foreign minister, also he is a member of Trilateral Executive Committee) Michael O'Kennedy, (E.E.C. Commissioner) Michael Woods, (Minister for Health and Social Welfare). Michael Killeen (Managing Director, Industrial Development Authority) Liam Lawlor (Member of Parliament.) Dan Murphy (Civil Service Executives Union) Kenneth Whitaker (Member of Senate, former Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland) Myles Staunton. (Member of Senate) Richard Conroy (Member of Senate). Senator Mary Robinson was a member but resigned last Autumn and denounced the Commission.

British members are much more powerful; in fact they are key members of the British ruling class. Lord Carrington, (Foreign Minister) M.H. Fisher (Editor, Financial Times) Ronald Grierson (Director, General Electric Co., Ltd) Lord Harlech. (Chairman, Harlech Television) Denis Healy (Former Chancellor of the Exchequer) Sir Kenneth Keith (Chairman, Rolls Royce) Henry Keswick (Chairman, Matheson & Co.) Mark Littman (Deputy Chairman, British Steel) Lord Roll (Chairman, S.G. Warburg and Co. Ltd) Lord Shackleton (Deputy Chairman, Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation Ltd.) Considering the difference in wealth and prestige, Irish members are obviously implementers of Trilateral policy, not key decision makers. Whatever Trilateral plans are for Ireland, one can feel sure that an Irish Revival is not among them.

Information about the Trilateral Commission (Membership list and publications as well as description of goals) can be obtained from them. No charge in New York. The Trilateral Commission, North American Office, 345 E. 46th St. New York NY 10017, European Office, 151 boulevard Haussmann 75008 Paris, France. There is a good new book on the subject "The Global Manipulators", by Robert Eringer (Pentacle Books, 6 Perry Road, Bristol 1, England).

# KERNOW

## CHEKKENOW YN BREONEK

Splan o an newodhow yn kever chekkennow yu pryntyes y'n ur-ma yn Bretonek — wel, pryntyes yn ran. Pur dryst yu bytegens nag yns-y pryntyes oll yn Bretonek. Yn le mayth us kemmys ha tus a dhefnyth Bretonek avel aga hensa yeth ny allaf-vy convedhes prag na ve chekkennow a'n par-ma a'y us.

Moy es henna, yth esa mur a varth dhym pan lennys-vy nag esa saw nebes arghanttyow a wrussa aswon chekkennow a ve scryfys yn Bretonek. Omma yn Kernow, nyns us cudynvyth bys y'n ur-ma gans an arghanttyow yn kever chekkennow yn scryfys yn Kernewek (mars us Sawsnek scryfys ynwith warnedha). Y whaytyr y'n termyn a dhe y fyth chekkennow aswonys yn Kernewek y honen ha wosa henna bones pryntyes lyfrow-chekken y'n yeth. My a wor nag us kemmys ha Kernewegoryon es del us Bretonegoryon, kens oll hag y fyryr orth cansrannow, ha raghenna y fyth moy anes ragonny dhe gowlwul an towl-ma.

Gwyr o an geryow a ve scryfys gans Jorj Gwegen yn 'CARN' Nr. 32 — "Res yu dhe'n Vretonegoryon bones sur yn y geve: y tal dhyn-ny oll ynnya dhe gafos lyfrow-chekken dywythek mara'n bus acontys arghantty...." My a gomentsa a goth dhe'n Vretonegoryon ynnya dhe gafos lyfrow-chekken pryntyes yn Bretonek y honen may fo moy cref an yeth y'n termyn a dhe. T.

It was good to read in CARN Nr. 32 about Breton language cheque books but it is difficult to comprehend why this was not the norm (in Breton speaking areas at least) in the past.

## NUCLEAR THREAT

One of Cornwall's district councils recently rejected a suggestion by 27 votes to 2 that they write a letter to the present Government opposing the siting of the manufacture of nuclear weapons in the district. Some of the councillors remarks are as follows: "the letter from the Manchester council was a despicable attempt at manipulation"; "If they want to send a request let them send it to the Kremlin"; "You could end up with nuclear weapons in one district and none in the one next door"; "I think the County Council should arrange public meetings to put people out of their worry".

It is not difficult to guess the politics of the above mentioned council and unfortunately it is almost certain that the remainder of Cornish councils will follow suit.

Away from nuclear weapons and on to the subject of nuclear power, CANA (Cornwall Anti Nuclear Alliance) is now looking forward to the idea of employing a full time officer (i.e. Secretary). Two world famous musicians John Williams and Paco Pena are donating the proceeds from a concert to the Alliance and it will be interesting to see how many candidates in the May local elections will be openly supporting the anti-nuclear movement in Cornwall.

## CORNISH BOMB:

Near the end of last year a Cornish magistrate court at St. Austell was very badly damaged by an explosive device. The explosion was claimed by a group calling itself 'An Gof 1980' who wished the action to be a warning to Muscovite infiltrators in the national movement and English councillors. The very words used i.e. Muscovite, etc., a reference to the talk about Trotskyist infiltration of Mebyon Kernow point to someone on the very fringe of

the national movement if a nationalist at all. It is arguable whether or not the action has benefited the Cornish movement by bringing it to the attention of the British press and TV but one thing is certain and it is that the police have used the opportunity to up-date their political files for Cornwall. Apart from interviewing ex members as well as present activists belonging to M.K., C.N.P., etc. they have called on members of the Labour Party, owners of radical bookshops, officers of the Cornish Council for Civil Liberties, and members of minority left-wing groups active in Cornwall.

J.P.

P.S. St. Austell Magistrate's Court was at the centre of the hearings for members of the Cornish Stannary Parliament (revived) in recent years.

## CONCORD BOOMS

What sensibly organised society would build an aeroplane, which runs at a loss, at a cost of millions of pounds in order that a small minority of its citizens can fly 2,500 miles half an hour quicker for the small price of £400-£500, whilst their elderly citizens continue to regularly die from hypothermia because they cannot afford their electricity bills.

Further, what sane country would then inflict an ear-splitting boom on those of its citizens who are not flying in that aeroplane and have the arrogance to route this plaything for the rich so that the booms are mainly inflicted on the citizens of one of its colonies.

You guessed it — every night at around 6 - 6.30 and 9 - 9.30 Cornish people's houses shudder as Concord flies overhead on its way to London or Paris. Cornwall is fast becoming England's sacrifice area — booms, nuclear waste off the coast, nuclear power stations, atomic weapons.

P.S. The English government's denials that Concord is yet another plot to demoralise the people of its first colony are less acceptable when one considers the mysterious fact that the booms stop in time for the tourist season! B.D.

## BRANCH A.G.M. AND LECTURE

The A.G.M. of the Cornish Branch was held on 17th January in Penzance with the best attendance for a good many years.

Officers elected were: Chairperson — Janet Williams; Secretary — Jenefer Lowe; Treasurer — Christopher Jeffry; Press Officer — Bernard Deacon.

It was decided to carry on with the programme of speakers from the other countries and a debate ensued on whether they should speak on cultural or political matters. The idea of a weekend workshop with DIWAN and DAL-LETH was also discussed and it is hoped that this can be arranged sometime towards the autumn.

At the moment the Cornish branch has a membership of mainly young activists, so we can look to the future with some degree of optimism.

It is worth noting that the retiring Chairman's Report was delivered in Cornish with a brief explanation in English at the end, this together with the newsletter printed bilingually is hopefully setting a trend towards the increased use of Cornish within the branch. J.B. Williams.

At the end of November, the second in our series of talks by members of the national movements in other Celtic countries was given by Michéal Ó Laoire of the London Branch of the League. Mr. Ó Laoire spoke about progress in Kernow, of which he showed considerable knowledge, and compared our difficulties with those

encountered in the other countries, particularly Ireland. He laid great emphasis on the inter-dependence of politics and culture, and also stressed the advantages to be gained from the use of co-operative and self-help schemes, quoting successful ventures of this kind in Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

The evening was rounded off with a concert by Bucca (with their new singer Karen Treneer), and singer Tracy Goody.

In fact, in recent months an experimental co-operative has been formed within the Cornish movement, named Restrelyk. It is intended to raise money for items of equipment, etc., urgently needed in a manner more direct than usual. In this, its trial year, it is sponsoring the building of a simultaneous translation system to enable us to hold more events through the medium of Cornish.

#### REVIEW

Ertach — Heritage of Cornwall, 'Bucca plays the Songs and Airs of Cornwall: — Introduction by Ted Gundry. Cassette tape.

Ertach, Cornish for 'heritage', 'birthright', is a collection of tunes and songs of Cornwall played by 'Bucca', a group of competent musicians comprised of the Davey brothers — Merv, Andy, Neyl, and Kytow — who have over the past few years made it their business to research into what there is of traditional Cornish music and song material from manuscripts, etc. Selections of these are skilfully and imaginatively played on this tape by 'Bucca', each item being introduced with relevant information by Ted Gundry. The instruments 'Bucca' uses include harp, fiddle, tin-whistles, and accordion, and in addition we are introduced to two traditional Cornish instruments, first the Cornish bagpipe, by Clive Palmer, a skilled craftsman, who cites the evidence for such an instrument in Cornish tradition, and by Ted Gundry the Crowdy Crawn, a hand-drum made of sheep-skin stretched over a hoop. Its initial uses, Ted tells us, was one of a corn sieve and a kitchen utensil for housing odds and ends in, and occasionally it would be used as a hand-drum when sessions would be underway. The Crowdy Crawn, to judge from the materials its made from and the uses it was traditionally put to, resembles more the Manx dollan than the Irish bodhran.

Very few traditional songs in Cornish have survived, as Ted informs us, and consequently a number of Cornish speakers recently have taken to composing songs in Cornish to traditional airs. On this tape 'Bucca' plays and sings one of them, Martesen, Martesen, composed by Tim Saunders. Some of the tunes have a decisive Breton flavour about them, as is to be expected from historical contacts between Cornwall and Brittany: such are An Try Marghak and Delyo Syvy, while others such as Syans Den Bal, recall the Manx traditional tune Eunyssaght Vona. It is in the playing of Syans Den Bal that we are treated to an expertly rendered solo on the Crowdy Crawn (ar no's 'Stockton's Wing'). In addition to some songs in Cornish 'Bucca' also sings one or two in English, e.g. the Truro Agricultural Show.

The selected material on Ertach gives a very good idea of what is available in the Cornish music and song tradition and has been presented by 'Bucca' in a professional and pleasing way, and as such can be recommended to those interested in this branch of Cornish tradition.

Available from C. Davey, "An Togo" Bardia Two, Southdowns, Redruth.

Price: Britain - £4.70 (inc. pp.) Ireland - £5.50 (inc. pp.) Brittany - 60ff (inc. pp.)

Cheques to be made payable to 'Ertach'. Sy C.

"THE CORNISH BANNER", Cornish Nationalist Party's Magazine. From: Trelispen, Gorran, Nr. St. Austell, 50p. Subscription £2.50 (Overseas airmail £4.00).

"THE CORNISH NATION", Mebyon Kernow's Magazine". From: 11 West St., Liskeard, at 25p. Each Plus Post, or £1.50 for 4 issues (Includes Post).

"AN WERYN", Cornwall's Independent Radical Magazine. From: 23 Basset St., Redruth at £1.20 for 4 issues ( - Includes Post).

"The Cornish Nationalist Party has formed a branch of the party in Brittany. The organiser is Morvan Coarer, of 24 rue Copernic, 44000 Nantes, a 17 year old student who is the son of a senior druid of the Breton Gorsedd. The branch has already been joined by several young Bretons, from St. Malo, Lannion, Brest, Quimperle, Nantes and other parts. The object of the branch is to encourage Cornish and Breton links and to work towards Celtic unity. It is seen as perfectly legitimate for Bretons to join the CNP since many are descended from emigrants who left Cornwall and south-west Britain for Brittany in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. Anyone interested in joining the branch should contact Morvan Coarer at his Nantes address or James Whetter at Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall."

#### M.K. BRANCH REFORMED

The inaugural meeting of the newly re-formed Helston & District Branch of Mebyon Kernow was held at the Red Lion, Helston at the end of January 1981. Richard Jenkin, MK National Chairman, presided and firstly asked the National Secretary, Pedyr Prior, to explain the organisation of the Party. Branch Officers were then elected.

The meeting was addressed by Colin Murley, who was the Mebyon Kernow candidate for the St. Ives Constituency in the 1979 General Election.

Concluding he said:

"At the present time, the imperialist English are threatening Cornwall on two fronts. First, they are denying us the right to our own identity; second, by their foolhardy economic policies, they are forcing Cornish people to leave our country in search of jobs and housing.

"In Mebyon Kernow, Cornwall has a political party which is determined to resist these threats. We are adamant that the Cornish people have the right to a Cornish future in their own land. And we will fight by every democratic means to protect that right."

Fires of Lan Kern: In CARN 32 at the end of a brief review of this book it was stated "If it is true that the film rights have been sold for £500,000 ..." (Ed. underlining). We have since been informed that there has been no question of film rights selling for such an amount, and if the publication of the above speculation has caused any distress or inconvenience to the author P. Beresford Ellis (a long time supporter of the Celtic League and author of "The Cornish Language and its Literature") we would apologise for that. The report was taken by our correspondent from a Cornish magazine.

● Readers of CARN in the San Francisco area who are interested in learning Irish or Scottish-Gaelic or attending courses on Celtic culture should contact the Institute of Celtic Studies, PO Box 44, Oakland, Ca. 94604.

# MANNIN

## CELTIEE ER CHELLOOISH SOSTANGH

The recent BBC television series of "Nationwide" programmes of the Celts raised widespread interest. It also gave some of the usual implications that the Celts have always been a quaint minority.

Va claryn mychione ny Celtiee er dy gerrid er chellooish Sostnagh, er yn chlaar shen "Nationwide". Cha vaik mish ooilley ny claryn, as myr shen foddee nagh vel ny reddyn ta mee gra mychione ny claryn slane cairagh. Shegin dou gra ec y toshiaght nagh mie lhiam "Nationwide". Ram jeh ny reddyn sy chlaar shoh, t'ad jeh beggan scansh — moddee oddys goaill arrane as y lheid! Veagh shen mie dy liooar, agh ta bunnys dy chooilley nhee jeant er agh ard-vooralagh. Er lhiam magh jean ny BBC dy bragh scapail veih shoh: sleih sonnaasagh ayns Lunnin jeeaghyn neose veih'n chiamble oc er yn theya sollagh heese. Shoh dhyt my roie-vriwnys.

Er y fa shoh, v'eh ny red mie dy noddagh "Nationwide" jannoo claryn mychione ny Celtiee er chor erbee, ga nagh noddagh oo jerkal rish cairys da ny Celtiee ayns claar jeant ayns ard-valley yn chenn noid. Ny yeih shen as ooilley, t'eh jeeaghyn dy row cairys dy liooar ayns ny claryn as dy row eab jeant dy hoilshaghey magh cooishyn ny Celtiee y laa t'ayn jiu. Son shickyrys, va reddyn quaagh ayn. Myr sampleyr, dooyrt peiagh ennagh dy row yn Vritaaniish yn chengey Celtiagh stroshey ec y traa t'ayn. As t'eh sheiltyn dy row lught "Nationwide" coontey eh myr red quaagh dy row club ayns Caernarfon raad nagh row Baarle lowit (S'cosoylagh nagh row ad toiggal dy nhegin da sleih Bretnish scapail veih Baarle eer sy valley shen).

Ach cha nel mish son goll er mychione ny reddyn beggey ayns ny claryn. Ta mee son soie er yn smooingh undinagh fo ny claryn: dy row (as dy vel) ny Celtiee myr mynlagh aitt er ny h-oirryn jeh ny hellanyn shoh. Ayns ny claryn, ren ad jeeaghyn caslys-cheerey dooin ren soilshaghey magh raad ta ny Celtiee ec y traa t'ayn. Va ooilley ny "Celtiee" ayns Nerin ayns ny Gaeltaghtyn! Foddee dy vel shoh kiart my t'ou croghey er yn chengey dy phrowal dy vel oo dty Cheltiagh. Ach, my t'ou jannoo shen, cha nod oo gra dy vel ooilley yn Thaloo Vretnagh Celtiagh, myr va "Nationwide" jannoo.

S'goan yn peiagh ta toiggal dy row ny Celtiee ayns shoh roish ny Sostnee. As, dy jarroo, s'goan yn peiagh ta toiggal dy row (as dy vel) ny Celtiee scanshoil sy cheer haink y ve Sostyn. Ta mee credjal dy vel yn chooid smoo dy leih (Sostnagh as Celtiagh) smooingh dy row Baarle rieu goll er loavrt dy chooilley voayl as dy row mynlee quaagh loavrt nyn jengaghyn aitt ayns poggaidyn Celtiagh.

Oddagh oo gra dy lhisagh yn shennaghys shohve jarroodit — as ta lught-reill Hostyn er nyannoo nyn gooid share eh y loobey dy bollagh. Agh, myr hoilshee claryn Celtiagh "Nationwide", ta sym vooar ec Sostnee as Celtiee sy chooish. Sleih t'ayns y vrastyl Yernish ayns ayns Lerpool, t'ad gaoill yindys mooar dy chlashtyn dy row Celtiee ayns shoh eer raish ny Rauee! Ta raad foddey ain ry hooyl rosih vees cairys ec ny Celtiee ayns liaryn-scoill.

Brian Mac Stoyll.

## AN ENVIRONMENTALIST VIEWPOINT ON MILITARY TRAINING GROUNDS

(Increased concern in Mannin about abuses by the U.K. military of areas of outstanding importance (environmentally), prompted us to ask Allen Moore to put the environmentalists point of view. Allen Moore is not a member of Celtic League (Mannin), Manx Sec).

Despite the onslaught of civilisation, many places have remained relatively unspoilt by building or exploitation for various natural resources. Animal and plant communities have been able to develop which are ideally suited to the environmental conditions; and in these more enlightened times, many of these areas of ecological or aesthetic interest are officially protected from disturbance or exploitation. Thus, there are many areas protected as nature reserves by Government bodies and public societies, etc; plus larger areas protected by Acts of Parliament as National Parks and areas of outstanding natural beauty.

Despite this protection, on paper, many of these are misused by a wide range of Government, business and public activities. Exploitation for mineral, timber and water resources arouses much debate; being contrary to the spirit in which these areas received protection. Their usage by the military is less often questioned, but it can be just as damaging, and it restricts access for recreational and research purposes.

By the very nature of the Military's activities, their training usually takes place in areas which are remote and sparsely populated. Many of the areas are also National Parks, Nature Reserves, etc. The statutory purposes of National Parks, for example, are the protection of natural beauty and the promotion of public enjoyment; whilst Nature Reserves are often set up to preserve rare fauna and flora. Why should those of us who have peaceful interest in these wildemess areas object to military use of the same? It is not just for selfish or pacifist reasons! Sometimes, there may be a real risk to human life or health; not all ammunition used goes off, and intact missiles are frequently found when the Military moves on. Around some larger training grounds eg. in the Northumbrian and Yorkshire Dales National Parks in N. England, I have seen warnings in the form of red flags when the training is taking place. This effectively denies the public access to several square miles of moorland. In Mannin, military training frequently takes place on the Ayres near the Jurby Camp on Manns northern coast and no such warning is given, so one can have the peace of a walk through the area shattered by a series of explosions and shots, as happened to me this summer. I encountered about twenty army cadets and a few older individuals roaming about the sand dunes and beach, firing at random. On questioning the sergeant in charge, I was informed that it was "an official cadet training ground". This struck me as a little incongruous, as the Ayres are of great ecological interest. They contain the only Tern colonies in Mannin, and have very many unusual plants, these include rare lichens and perhaps a dozen species of orchid; including one, the dense flowered orchid, which is only found on the Ayres and in Connemara. Yet, without any public discussion, the army have unlimited access to the area. Low flying air craft, on military training flights, can also be a menace, not only in Mannin but also in the other Celtic

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Countries. While in both Scotland, in Glencoe and Glen Nevis, and in the Snowdonia National Park, the ground on which I stood was shaken by military aircraft flying low over-head. The noise made in these mountains in winter and early spring has been known to start avalanches which, of course, may be fatal to someone climbing below.

As well as being damaging to human interests, military training can be detrimental to the fauna and flora, or even the very fabric of the landscape. Though the military are supposed to obtain permission to build roads and buildings in National Parks, they frequently do so illegally. This damages the landscape and the atmosphere of remoteness. In Prince Charles' (who apparently has a reputation as a conservationist) Duchy of Cornwall lands in the Dartmoor National Park, the military are licenced to batter the moorland with shell fire. One of the terms of the licence is that they must not destroy any antiquarian remains, however walkers in the area bear witness to the fact that there are flagpoles thrust into tumuli, and prehistoric settlements with shattered stones. The military also usually fail in their promise to make good all damage they cause. At the Ayres, it has been known for troops to be parachuted on to tern nesting areas; and the heath has been set on fire, with no thought for the unique flora. It should be noted that individuals, on these exercises, are not so perfect that they would not shoot at the birds either!

The military posturings of the U.K. Government can hardly be regarded as necessary or desirable. The continued use of wildplaces in the Celtic countries, or in other areas, can only be regarded as an abuse and an imposition. These lands should be reserved for peaceful use only and be looked after so that future generations can also enjoy them.

Allen Moore

## YN CHRUINNAGHT

People in the south of the Isle of Man go in for gardening and flower arranging. In Ramsey they go in for the Manx language, culture and history.

A sweeping generalisation, of course. But it is not surprising that Ramsey plays host to a Celtic festival each year - nor that the festival has the support of Ramsey Town Commissioners (the local council).

Yn Chruinnaght (pron. UN-KRUN-YAK) is going into its fifth year in its present form. Its antecedents date back to the 1930. The one-day purely Manx affair has given way to something much bigger now. Dancers, musicians and singers came from Kernow, Éire, Cymru, Breizh and Alba this year to take part in a week of festivities.

Without the initial support of Ramsey Town Commissioners, Yn Chruinnaght could not have been built up. Support last year also came from the I.O.M. Tourist Board and the I.O.M. Arts Council. With this support Yn Chruinnaght can make its mark.

Last year the festival began fully to realise its potential. There is a long way to go before it can catch up with the FESTIVAL INTERCELTIQUE DES CORNEMUSES or the National Eisteddfod. But it seems to have found its direction. The town of Ramsey is supporting a festival which is a decided asset to the town, the Island and Manx culture in general.

For the Isle of Man, it is an opportunity to see artists from other Celtic countries who would not otherwise visit our Island. Their performance gives an added impetus to our efforts. It sometimes makes us look to areas of our culture which have been overlooked.

Yn Chruinnaght is important to the Isle of Man because it proves we do not live in a Vacuum. There is something in our culture which is unique. It is of interest to others, just as theirs is to us. Yn Chruinnaght provides a platform for performers from other Celtic countries. It also provides a platform for Manx performers. It is up to Manx artists to prove they can hold their own in this situation.

Responsible for re-establishing this festival is Mona Douglas, well known for her work in folklore throughout the Celtic world. Last year she was International President of Pan Celtic. Mona was involved in the original festival. Her enthusiasm and hard work has inspired many more people to enjoy the richness of their Celtic culture. She has driven them on to make the positive step of re-establishing Yn Chruinnaght.

It is the range of approaches to a common Celtic heritage that makes Yn Chruinnaght so interesting. The very diversity paradoxically emphasises how much the Celtic nations have in common. Anything that brings the Celts together in a common aim is no bad thing. Yn Chruinnaght is Mannin's contribution to the celebration of Celtic culture.

Bob Carswell.

## 1981 Festival

The celebrations are spread over a week, beginning with the Manx competitions, the opening of an exhibition of arts and crafts, as well as classes for literature (in Manx and English), both the written as well as the spoken word. As the week gathers momentum, the festival sees the gathering grow, and the teams of dancers and musicians contribute to the formal concerts, the folk nights, workshops, indoor and outdoor displays, lunchtime sessions, and music far into the night. Ramsey's carnival night is also held during this week, and the Inter Celtic flavour gives a very special atmosphere.

Each year new friendships are made, and old friends are welcomed. This year the Pan Celtic dancers from Cill Áirne will be back in greater strength than ever, and the C.C.É. of Clontarf will be visiting us for the first time. Mervyn and Alison Davey will be bringing their Cornish Roadshow, and the Cymric Glee Choir from Port Talbot have expressed a keen interest in coming. We hope, too, to be welcoming a Pipe Band and a traditional fiddler from Scotland, and the Cercle Celtique Brizeux are hoping to send representatives. Already, there is a waiting list for 1982, but we're also keen to hear from any individuals or groups who would like to take part in this or any other year. Dates for 1981 are 18-25 July and more information can be obtained from the Secretary, 17 Brookfield Avenue, Ramsey, Isle of Man. There is available, on loan, a 30-minute film of Yn Chruinnaght 1980, on 8mm (Super 8) sound/colour or VHS videotape.

Fenella Bazin.

## CELTIC LEAGUE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League will be held this year during the week-end 28th/30th of August in Peel, Isle of Mann. Members are asked to notify their branch secretary as early as possible of their intention to attend, specifying if they want accommodation to be booked for them. They are also invited to submit matters for discussion at the AGM not later than July 1st.

### RENEWAL NOTICE:

To our members and subscribers: please check if your membership fee or subscription is overdue (they normally should be for the calendar year). We request anyone concerned to renew promptly so that time consuming reminders will not be needed. We may soon have to increase our rates as postage goes up by 25% on April 1st, but the ones given on p.24 still hold. Any additional donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

## THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FOURTH WORLD

Wednesday, 29th July – Friday, 31st July, will see the meeting in London of the First Assembly of the Fourth World. To us the term "Fourth World" means all those nations or, as our enemies would prefer to call us, ethnic groups of tribes who do not have the privilege of choosing to belong to the First (capitalist), Second (socialist), or even the Third (under-developed) Worlds, because their affairs are run for them – and this certainly applies to most of the Celtic nations. This assembly interprets the term far more broadly so as to include any group in favour of decentralisation or against giantism, e.g. supporters of co-operatives and workers' control, ecologists, and opponents of nuclear arms. The Celtic League, feeling that a sufficient number of these subjects were at least of peripheral interest to its members and their aims, has decided to take part in the assembly.

It is intended to set up a General Council of the Fourth World, which will try to implement, by propaganda and by lobbying, the decisions of the assembly. This may, however, turn out of less importance than the opportunity given for contacts with other oppressed nations (representatives of the Tibetans, Armenians, Nigerian federalists, Canadian Indians, etc. are already expected); and the chance to expose our ideas and develop them under friendly criticism and in the light of what we learn from others. At present the Celtic League is proposing to put forward a paper for discussion on the value of the languages spoken by smaller numbers of people to civilisation, and the necessary conditions for the survival of such languages.

Members of the Celtic League who want further details should send a stamped addressed envelope (international reply coupon if outside the U.K.) to Ifan Lloyd, 73A Boileau Road, London, W.5, England.

## FOR EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The Celtic League has taken its stand on the question of nuclear energy and nuclear armaments in a 1980 - AGM resolution which included support for the campaign for a European nuclear-free zone.

This is an issue on which we must cooperate with other organisations. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has put forward proposals for a congress of all the European peoples to press for the removal of

nuclear weapons from the territories of all European States, East and West. Plans were announced in Amsterdam last November. The Foundation's appeal to elected representatives, churchmen, social and cultural leaders to back its initiative has already received a favourable response from numerous countries, from Iceland to Turkey, from Portugal to Poland. It is now inviting the tens of thousands of supporters to get together on a national or regional basis to help in organising, funding and popularising the conference.

Without losing sight of its own aims, the Celtic League should back this campaign to the best of its ability. The worsening international situation makes it urgent. In other days, it can be argued that wars involving England and France provided opportunities for the Celtic countries to change their status. I submit that they have now nothing to gain from a sharpening of tensions which would almost inevitably lead to nuclear war between the superpowers. (Even short of that they would divert our people's attention from their national problems). That type of war would most likely annihilate what subsists of our nationalities and cultures. However much we may differ in our judgements of the capitalist and the communist ways of life, we should ask whether they present such absolutely marvellous qualities or faults that their defense or rejection justifies a showdown that would kill hundreds of millions within a few days and render life unbearable or impossible for the rest of mankind. What sort of freedom for instance would be left to enjoy if our biosphere is irremediably poisoned by radiation and all norms of social life break down with the disruption of communication and supply lines, disease, starvation? Whatever our political beliefs, do we not uphold them in the expectation that there will be people around to benefit from their eventual realisation? And which oppressive regime does not some day collapse or evolve towards a tolerable form? But nuclear war is final! Or its social aftermath will be far more disastrous than any upheavals due to the loss of oil supplies or the necessity of equitably sharing finite resources. Nations have until recently lived without petrol!

I am aware of the sneer ("your opposition does not matter") and of the outcry ("better dead than red"). Huge interests, shortsighted greed, the momentum of complex economies, the limitations of statesmanship, all combine indeed against sanity. But let us Celts not succumb to fatalism nor be daunted by the odds. We must link up with the millions of others concerned and bring concerted pressure to bear on policy makers. Events in Iran, in Poland, in the USA during the Vietnam war, show that mass determination can compel rulers to listen, or to resign.

I propose therefore that our members and readers write to our branch secretaries with a view to participation in the campaign and eventually in the E.N.D. Conference. And that they watch for confirmation of the decision to choose June 21 as an International Day of Support for this conference: On that day, people are to demonstrate their opposition to the continuing arms race by simultaneously holding public rallies, marches, perhaps fireworks displays symbolising their unity against the danger of war in Europe.

A. Heusaff.

## THE 1980 WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE I.A.D.M.L.C. IN BAILLEUL

What is IADMLC? That is, I suppose, the first question raised by the head-line. It is the International Association for the Defence of Menaced Languages and Cultures, which held its bi-annual congress in 1980 in July at Bailleul. And where is Bailleul? It is in the portion of Flanders around Dunkirk which the French siezed in 1678, but whose inhabitants continued to speak Flemish (for instance, the grandfather of the famous French writer, Andre Malraux (1901-76), was a Dunkirker who hardly spoke a word of French) until the recent French policy of genocide began. The Ministry of the Interior did its best to discourage the town-council from giving hospitality to the conference and the proceedings were haunted by plain-clothes policemen.

What does IADMLC do? It tries to get international agreements made for the benefit of cultural minorities and, much more difficult, to persuade governments to act in accordance with those which exist. Its activities since its last congress in Barcelona in July 1978 which are relevant to Celts included: writing to the Irish authorities in April 1980 to get rid of obstacles to establishing an Irish-language school in Dublin; approaching the French Ministry of Education, after the debate in Strasburg on Language and European Co-operation in April 1979 had led to a declaration in favour of the rights of minority languages as "part of the cultural patrimony of Europe", to protest at France's evasion of the Breton Cultural Charter; and in August 1978 Scottish Welsh and Cornish organizations were visited to try to enlarge IADMLC and its area of action.

Since 1976, when the Italian section suggested concentration on the European institutions, IADMLC has had considerable success in this field: its lawyers drafted a Charter of Minority Rights and some fifty Members of the European Parliament (Common Market) showed some sympathy for the cause, including an English Conservative M.E.P. called Paterson, who has produced a very favourable report on minority languages. The four Welsh M.E.P.s were united in their opposition to the Charter, accusing IADMLC of encouraging disruption and the like. The congress was addressed by Dr. Maurits Coppieters of the Flemish Volksunie, who, together with Mr. N. Blaney of Ireland, has formed a group of nationalist and regionalist M.E.P. at Strasburg; and by Dr. Yvo Peeters, who gave a full account of the European institutions in relation to ethnic minorities, including both the Council of Europe, whose Convention on Human Rights is most important, and the Common Market, which is rather less favourable - Dr. Peeters indeed showed that its Regional Fund is largely a fraud. The emphasis on Europe during the conference was such that I felt the Berbers, Estonians, Kurds and other minorities represented there who could not hope to come under the European institutions must have gone home rather disappointed.

The Celtic League sympathizes with the aims of IADMLC, our languages and cultures include some of those most menaced with destruction in the world. That was why Micheál Ó Laoire and I were at Bailleul as observers on its behalf. The League, however, has political aims, which IADMLC does not share and which would greatly reduce its effectiveness, if it did adopt them. Its Breton secretary, Marcel Texier,

suggested to the congress that IADMLC should try to become a mass-movement, embracing such organizations as the Celtic League; but there is surely a place for an international organization acting on behalf of the human rights of ethnic minorities, without antagonizing those who at present hold power by too close an association with those, like us, who think that their power ought to be destroyed.

### Psychological Effects of Language Destruction

The most significant paper delivered at the conference was that of Dr. Le Drogou, a Breton psychiatrist, which demonstrated how mankind needs the freedom of communities to exist. He began his account of the Psychological Consequences of Linguistic and Cultural Alienation by explaining the two groups of mental disorders: neurosis - when the patient is conscious of psychic conflict and unhappiness, doesn't suffer from delusions about the outside world, but adopts involuntarily a defence mechanism to solve the conflicts, e.g. asthma, alcoholism, hysterical paralysis, sadism; and psychosis - when the patient is quite happy and convinced of his normality, though suffering from delusions and exhibiting a deeply disturbed personality and conduct, e.g. paranoia.

That collective mental disorders can affect large numbers in a "sick" society is held not only by many psychiatrists but by other scientists, for instance by the ethologist, Konrad Lorenz, whose *Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins* (English translation: Mathuen 1974) was cited by Dr. Le Drogou to support his view that a society which puts into question all its values and beliefs will produce epidemic mental disorder. And what could put the values of a society more into question than its abandonment of its language?

He cited many examples of neurosis connected with cultural deracination and language-loss from his clinical experience. Two neurotic disorders were especially prevalent among the Bretons and, it seemed to Dr. Le Drogou, in my opinion correctly, among other Celtic nations: alcoholism; and an undervaluation of the father in the family. (This might seem to contradict what I wrote in "The Social Status of Women in Wales" in CARN 29. Not necessarily however: women deprived of activity outside the home almost inevitably acquire enormous, indeed excessive, power within it. The social importance of women may well be in inverse relationship with their psychological importance). Both these syndromes have been noted in other conquered nations: e.g. alcoholism among American Indians who are losing, or have lost, their language and culture; the non-existence of the father in so many American Negro and West Indian Families. Dr. Le Drogou is not the first to remark the interesting connexion between the two syndromes in a Celtic people: in 1946 R.F. Bales demonstrated that among Irish Americans, who have an alcoholism rate nearly three times the American average, there is a strong correlation between this condition and excessive emotional dependence on the mother.

If that was one warning for Celts about how not to bring up their children, Dr. Le Drogou had another directly relevant to readers of CARN. He told of one patient who had a Parisian mother, who wanted nothing to do with any other language than

French, an Alsatian father, and who attended a German school (in Alsace during the years 1940-44). The conflicts set up by this patient's mother had ruined his life. We are used to this kind of cruelty being done in the interests of the French and English languages, but the psychological destruction will be just as malign if it is done in the interest of a Celtic language. I have known two or three cases of misguided patriots in South Wales trying to segregate their children from the English language, with results which, I suspect, will prove as disastrous as in the Alsatian case, as the children involved seemed very lonely and also guilty because, inevitably, they did know English. Artificially to discourage a child from learning any language which it would naturally learn is a pointless cruelty, since, as is explained with numerous examples in "Gosod y Sylfeini" by Jac L. Williams Trioedd (1973), even rather unintelligent children can learn three languages fluently by the age of five without one getting in the way of the other.

The examples given of psychosis came mostly from African patients, whose cultures have been disrupted by the French and their neo-colonialist successors with a savage brutality not seen in a Celtic country since the Famine of the 1840.

The argument often used by our enemies, that nationalists are elitists only interested in the cultural concerns of the professional middle-classes, was demolished by Dr. Le Drogou. It is the most disadvantaged, those with the lowest educational levels and the most fragile personalities, who suffer most from cultural alienation. While the Irish middle-class moves easily into the smarter suburbs of London, the Irish working-class provides an unduly large proportion of the inmates of its prisons and mental hospitals, a situation which does not in the

least trouble the most famous of Irish emigrants, Conor C.O'Brien, who preaches internationalism in the London Sunday newspaper which he edits. None of which surprises the psychiatrist who knows that the ethnic group forms values: the Ego is created by identification with others. Those who have a satisfactory childhood and a fairly easy life thereafter can throw away such crutches. The ideal of psychiatrists such as Freud and Erikson was a personality which could exist in splendid isolation of any community, but most humans do not achieve such perfection and, if the society and language on which their values and identities depend are destroyed, they will suffer, as is apparent among some Celts today.  
Ifan Lloyd.

### **BBC GIVES DAFYDD IWAN A BOOST**

Just before Christmas BBC Wales took the unprecedented step of banning a song by Dafydd Iwan, even though the song had been played on Radio Cymru three or four times. "Magi Thatcher" is a satirical song which was described by the BBC as an "attack on the leader of one political party by a leading member of another party." The voice of Mrs Thatcher, accompanied by loud cheering, can be heard between the verses saying "the lady's not for turning" and "I have only one thing to say."

The publicity which inevitably followed gave the record a big boost, just in time for Christmas. By the end of January it had sold 5,000 copies. But this is still far behind Dafydd Iwan's best selling song, recorded during investiture year, 'Carlo'.

**CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M., 28th - 30th August, Peel, Mannin.  
Write to any Secretary for further information.**

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### **MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS**

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are £3.00 STL for Britain; £3 IR for Ireland; 35 FF for Brittany (this includes the Breton/French supplement "Kannadig Keltiek"); £3.25 STL for Continental Europe in general; £3.50 STL (or equivalent for non European Countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the following.

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Cymru: Tomos Ifor Williams, Ty'n Pwll, Rhostrehwfa, LL77 7AZ, Gwynedd.  
Breizh: Jorj ab Herve-Gwegen, Kerberenes, Hent Pont ar C'hastell, 29260 Lesneven.  
Subscriptions to: CCP2 204 24N Rennes.  
Éire: Máire Bhreathnach, 58 Br. an Bhainbh, Cabrach, B.Á.C. 7.  
Kernow: Jenefer Lowe, Boundy's House, Lower Lelant, St. Ives.  
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