

coypn

SUMMER

1979

No. 26

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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40p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
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EDITORIAL

A QUESTION OF IDENTITY

The results of the general election were very disappointing for the Scottish and Welsh nationalists. (The former lost 9 out of 11 seats, and the latter 1 out of 3. The Conservatives who won 7 seats from the SNP, are totally opposed to any form of self-government for Scotland and Wales.)

After the big leap forward in 1974, many of our Scottish correspondents were confident that they would be free within five years. We were loathe to express scepticism, but now may be the time to warn against expectations of such important changes, within so short a span, in times to come. It is conceivable that certain events, say in the wider international field, might favour the movement towards greater reliance on ourselves. But in view of the excessive conservatism (fear of change, lack of self-confidence) of our peoples, and of the power to influence them which status-quo supporting agencies hold, election results should be treated cautiously, setting higher store by slow but sustained gains than by sudden landslides. The discovery of the North Sea oil undoubtedly justified the SNP in expecting increased support. Yet it was literally too volatile a foundation for the consolidation of the Scottish nation. It was too valuable for an old, wily State to relinquish its control over it without using all the means at its disposal to prevent the loss. And it was already being burnt fast!

It may be objected that cultural characteristics are also a tenuous foundation when trying to attract the "masses" but we are inclined to believe that Plaid Cymru withstood the ebb of popular support relatively better than the SNP because they give greater importance to the cultural basis. (We are aware however that in terms of total votes, the SNP lost only 1/3 of its 1974 support, and that they would have scored better results under proportional representation.)

Before the election, Saunders Lewis was reported as saying that the Welsh nation could gather more hope of survival from the action of the imprisoned members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg than from that of Plaid Cymru. Albert Fry, following his election as president of Conradh na Gaeilge, stated that the role of this organisation was primarily a spiritual one, and declined to speak in English on Radio Telefís Éireann — an institution which is playing a notoriously denationalising role.

The economic arguments are of course important, but one must not rely on them to consolidate electoral gains. The powers-that-be are in a position to bring about economic improvements — even if only temporarily — if they see disaffection reaching a critical level in our countries. But they will not concede our cultural demands. It is they alone which provide a firm basis for our claims to Statehood and institutions of our own. We must temper the economic arguments with our cultural motives, and strive to convince our compatriots of the values attaching to our being different, our identity.

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

* **CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M.** will be held in Caernarfon, Cymru, on August 3rd — 5th. (See page 23).

ALBA

THA:

An Co-Thional Albannach.

Hi ri ri
Tha e tighinn;
Hi ri ri, ni tha bhuainn.
Co-thional de Ghoill 's de Ghàidheil
Riaghlas Alba glic is buaidh.

Hi ri ri
Tha e tighinn:
An Co-thional a ta bhuainn,
Chan e foill no fuath do Shasuinn
A thug casan dha'n a' ghluasd-s'.

Hi ri ri
Tha e tighinn
Chiad Di-ardaoin de'n a' Mhàirt;
Ged robh cur is cathadh breun ann
Eiribh. Eiribh. 'S abraidh "Tha".

Mhaithean 's mhithean
O eiribh
Air Di-ardaoin le sunnd is sùird,
'S chithear aon uair eil' thu. Alba
'Nad thigh fein an ceann a' bhùird.

Ni h-ann
Le mi-run do dhuine
No do chinneach to fo'n ghrèin
Co-thional tha sinne 'g iarraidh
Gu bhith riaghladh ar thigh fein.

Cum am mi-run
Am bitheadh
Rium mo choimhearsnach le eud;
Seadh, a chionn a bhith ri 'g iarraidh
A bhith riaghladh mo thigh fein.

Hi ri ri
Tha e tighinn
A' chiad latha de'n a' Mhàirt.
Ged robh cur is cathadh breun ann
Eiribh. Eiribh. O abraidh "Tha".

Murchadh MacPharlain.

Seo agaibh brosnachadh do no Gaidheil na h-Albainn, mar a rinn Iain Lom 'san sheachdamh linn deug, no Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair 'san ochdamh linn deug.

Bhrosnaich Murchadh MacPharlain na h-Albannaich uile ge leir (Gaidheil agus Goill) ann a' bhàrdachd seo, ri abair THA anns an Referendum air Son Co-thional Albannach (Scottish Assembly) 'fhaotainn. Dh'fhoillsich am paipear-naidheachd lathail 'An t-Albannach' a' bhàrdachd seo le eadar-theangachadh 'sa Bheurla. Fhuair sluagh na h-Albainn buaidh anns an Referendum air a' chiad latha de'n Mhàirt 1979, ach mheall Sasunn sinn, rud nach eil neònach idir, bho'n a tha na Sasannaich daonnan a' mealtainn nan Ceiltich! Chuir suas Seòras Cunningham, B.P. Labourach, Islington, Lunnain, an riaghailt mhaslach dà-fhichead per centach — rud eu-comasach — cha d'fhuair Mairearad Thatcher 40% agus tha ise 'na bana-priomhair Shasunnach a nis!

Aig an aon àm, bha ceud B.P. Labourach fada nas toilichte le Mairearad Thatcher 'na bana-priomhair an àite Seumais Callaghan, na a bhi a' toirt Co-thional Albannach do na h-Albannaich. Bha Tam Dayell 'na bhrathadair cho dona

ri Seoras Cunningham — agus tha na trusdairean seo ag ràdh gum bheil iad 'nan Albannaich!

Taing do Dhia tha na baird a' deanamh dheagh bhàrdachd 'sa chanain Albannaich an latha an diugh nach eil cho doirbh ri fhaotainn idir.

Tadhalaibh no sgrìobhaidh gu ruige GAIRM, 29 Sràid Bhatairliu, Glaschù G2 6BZ, Alba no gu ruige Buth a' Chomuinn, Tigh Obair Thairbh, Inbhirnis, Alba no Buth a' Chomuinn, Sràid Chrombail, Steornabhagh, Eilean Leodhais, Alba.

Tha bàrdachd agus òrain anns an t-seann nòs ri fhaotainn le beul-airthris ann an TOCHER, Sgoil Eolais na h-Albainn, 27 George Square, Dun Eideann EH8 9LD, Alba.

Tha moran de Bhàrdachd ùr ri fhaotainn. Cha mhor nach eil i ri fhaighinn anns an GHASAET STEORNABHAGH/STORNAWAY GAZETTE, 10 Sràid Frangain, Steornabhagh, Eilean Leodhais, Alba. Tha bàrdachd (agus rosg) gu leòir anns an raitheachan ainmeil Gàidhlig, GAIRM, aig an àite acu, shuas.

Dh'fhoillsich CEIRNINI CLADAIGH (Claddagh Records Ltd.) Somhairle Mac Gill-eain a' leughadh cuid de a bhàrdachd fhein d'am b'ainm "BARRAN AGUS ASBHUAIN".

Tha daoine a' gearran nach eil mòran baird an latha an diugh cho math ris na baird 'sna laithean a dh'aom, bho'n nach eil iad uile a' deanamh bhàrdachd a tha an slugh comasach a sheinn. Is docha gum bheil sin ceart gu leoir air uairean, ach chan eil sin fìor a thaobh ar caraid Murchadh MacPharlain (Bard Mhealaboist).

Dh'fhoillsich Beltona Records dhà chlar uamhasach taitneach le criomagan na bàrdachd aige, "SCOT-FREE na h-Oganaich" (Canan nan Gàidheal & Chor a Ghritheach Dhonn) agus gu h-àraidh "THE GREAT GAELIC SOUND OF NA H-OGANAICH" (Mi le m'uilinn & Mar na mara & A Mhorag leat shiubhlainn & Oran cladaich).

Sgrìobh Murchadh MacPharlain (Bard Mhealaboist) leabhar na bàrdachd aige d'am b'ainm AN TOINNEAMH DIOMHAIR' Dh'fhoillsich an GASAET STEORNABHAGH an leabhar seo — air son nòt — postachd an asgaidh.

"Thig crìoch air an t-saoghal

Ach mairidh gaol is cèdl

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich.

ON THE GAELIC FRONT Le Frang MacThomais

It is often said that when a community starts to look at itself in a critical way, life begins again. This is what is happening up and down the length of the Western Isles, with the formation of local co-chomuinn (co-operatives). From Vatersay, Barra, through the Uists to the community of Ness in the north of Lewis, these co-operatives have been formed in the last year or so. Their objectives are simple enough: to undertake any kind of activity which will strengthen the identity of the people within a community with their cultural and environmental background, and to offer the means whereby young people can find employment without going outside their home area. These co-chomuinn have already produced a significant interest in the areas in which they have been established and individuals have been able to shrug off the years'-old feeling of being neglected. By helping themselves much has been done to create the necessary psychological attitudes needed to offset years of neglect. It can only follow that Gaelic, the base of culture in the islands, will benefit too, in that the language will be used to some purpose in the new enterprises now being got off the ground, as a means of

business communitation.

Gaelic on the island of Skye has in recent years seen a serious decline, the effect of being too near the Scottish mainland and therefore suffering from the annual influx of tourism which is monoglot. Compared with the Western Isles where, save in Benbecula, there are Gaelic speaking populations of well over 90%, Skye has fallen to the 70% and below mark. In the Spring of 1978 the first moves were made to harness and give direction to some of the interest in matters Gaelic which has clearly been developing in Skye in recent years. At a delegate meeting in Portrigh, a working Party (Comunn Obrach) was formed, and its members elected.

The functions of the Comunn Obrach are inevitably various; it is certainly not a mere talking-shop. Already four posters have been produced, lapel badges are being prepared, and plans are afoot to invite local school children to involve themselves in preparing further publicity materials.

That of course could be regarded as "icing on the cake" action, but such materials do have an important function, not only in visibly reminding visitors that Skye is a bilingual island, but in developing the consciousness of local people who have too long been taught to regard Gaelic as a second-class language.

Less public functions of the Comunn Obrach include research, study and recommendation. What do the people of Skye want? What can they learn from other places where similar difficulties have already been tackled? How should we exploit the opportunities afforded us? The Highland Regional Council's attitudes to bilingual education in Skye were particularly closely observed. Regarding the Bilingual Pilot Scheme in six out of 20 Skye primary schools as only a beginning, the Comunn Obrach is currently examining means where-by expansion of the scheme might be facilitated. If such research proves fruitful, recommendations will then be submitted to the Regional Council for consideration.

Educational attitudes are crucial to the survival of our language and culture, but also important are official attitudes in the wider context. How will public organisations such as the District Council, Forestry Commission, Electricity Board, etc. respond to the challenge of bilingualism? Part of the Comunn Obrach's function is to encourage these and private companies which operate in the Island to make a positive response.

Television is to be used for the first time to teach Gaelic to people throughout Scotland, enabling them to obtain a basic grasp of vocabulary and phrases. Canadian and Austrian broadcasting organisations have also expressed interest in the series of 20 programmes which form one of the most substantial educational projects ever undertaken by BBC Scotland.

A film unit has spent three weeks in the Western Isles and north-west Highlands gathering material in the Gaelic speaking communities. This will be related to studio presentation of sketches illustrating the language and a fully dramatised serial, using the words that have been taught by Mairead Ross, who will present the programmes. She is the director of Fir Chlis, the Gaelic theatre company who will perform the Sketches and the weekly story sequences.

It is the first time that BBC Scotland have produced a language-teaching series comparable to the television courses in French, Spanish and German which have been

made in London, and the project has a budget to match that of "Allez France" and similar programmes. In each 25-minute programme, there will be a section devoted to various aspects of contemporary Gaelic life and culture. To give the widest possible view, the film unit has visited Ardnamurchan, Skye, Tiree, Barra, Eriskay, South Uist, Lewis and Harris. For teaching purposes, the Skye dialect will be the one generally used in the programmes.

The course has been laid out by Dr. John Macleod, lecturer in Celtic studies at Glasgow University, and it is designed for beginners who will be introduced to about 400 words and given some understanding of the structure of the language. It has been stated that it was not designed as some kind of 'O' grade course in Gaelic leading to examination. It should provide an understanding of a living language and tradition, as well as enable people to conduct a casual conversation and deal with necessities.

The title of the series is 'Can Seo' ("Say This").

WHEN "YES" IS "NO"

M.D.

"If the Tories think they can keep Scotland in the Union against the will of the Scottish people then they have a shock coming." The year 1979 has not been too propitious so far and with a Thatcher government in control now it must be of some comfort to us that these words quoted were spoken in May 1976 by Mr. William Whitelaw, now the Home Secretary and that the arch enemy of devolution, Mr. Teddy Taylor, is not in a position to challenge them.

Everyone knows now of course that the referendum result was:— Yes 1,230,937 votes (33%); No 1,153,502 (31%). Yes majority 77,435. These figures have been all things to nearly everyone but the outstanding fact is that until the rules were changed that would have been a clear Yes victory. The rule that makes Yes - No was the 40% rule, i.e., that the Yes campaigners would need to get the support of 40% of the total electorate. Now if this did nothing else it made people examine the electoral role and many varied were the discrepancies found in it. The government made the minimal allowance for this and it is obvious that the organisation for electoral reform could spend a lot of time on that. However looking back with hindsight now perhaps Callaghan and company are sorry they ever let that amendment through. CARN 20 was the last one to give a mention of devolution so to give a very brief resume of events of 1978 — the Bill became an Act on the 31st July 1978 after surviving as one commentator put it, "a thousand Cuts" and an account of its journey through parliament at least revealed the thinking of its opponents (not to mention its half-hearted supporters). The referendum campaign against the Bill really started then and its lack of logic — on the one hand deploring what an impotent organisation the Assembly would be and on the other, warning that it was a recipe for — higher taxes — more bureaucracy and constant conflict with Westminster did not deter the enthusiasm and lack of regard for fact of the "antis". By the autumn it was clear that Callaghan and Co. thought their work was done — their announcements were always admonitory — we'd never get an opportunity like this again for a long time — and despite the fact that an educated electorate would have given a truer vote they did not publish a booklet or even a pamphlet on what the Act really stated.

Apart from the lack of information no wonder the electorate were dazed. There was more publicity given to the effects of a possible Assembly in England than in Scotland. Tam Dalyell dreamt up the "West Lothian Question" (he being the M.P. for that place). The problem was how could it be accepted that the Scottish M.P.'s in Westminster could influence legislation appertaining to England only when English M.P.'s could not do likewise in an Assembly in Edinburgh? Now there would have been a simple remedy for this which would have saved us much boredom — reduce the number of Scottish M.P.'s at Westminster. The divergent results of the recent election have shown why a Labour Government indulging in a devolution charade anyway would never consider such a solution.

The "No" people certainly started earlier, seemed to have vast sums of money to spend (and were very coy about giving its origins) and were very expert in using the media to the full while objecting vociferously to anything they thought might harm their crusade. They managed to stop party political broadcasts in the run up to the referendum because that would have been 3 for and 1 against (the Tory party being that one with a few honourable individual exceptions). The alignments produced some very strange bedfellows — notable the "no's" from the Labour party — how did Brian Wilson that ardent revolutionary ever manage to mount a platform with the scourge of the social-security scroungers Ian Sproat? However the smartest piece of propaganda for the "no's" came from a gentleman of the church. The Rev. Mr. Andrew Herron objected to a statement which was to be read by ministers from the pulpit — on a technicality — a matter of interpretation. This affair dragged on for some time and culminated in headlines in the ever obliging popular press "Church Changes its Mind on Devolution". This was not true — the Church of Scotland has been for devolution for the past 30 years and still is but who can tell what effect these headlines had on thousands of Scottish voters?

The "yes" people unlike their opponents could not agree to take partners for the referendum though in fairness to the others it must be stated that the pronouncement of Mrs. Helen Liddell (Sec. of the Labour Party in Scotland) that "they would not soil their hands" in co-operating with the other parties or groups must have had a discouraging effect. There were many post-mortems afterwards and passing blame but it was obvious that efforts varied from region to region. The Labour party campaign was patchy and at local government level reluctant or non-existent — the STUC was more genuinely committed and hard work was put in at factory level — the SNP was more consistently hard working but with two SNP members in the Tayside area the "No" vote there was very disappointing. To counteract that, getting a "Yes" vote in Highland Region was quite an achievement as it might have been expected to follow the trend in the other "country" regions where fear campaigns had been conducted on the dreadful effects of being bossed from the socialist Strathclyde area.

There are 12 areas and the division was as follows:—
 Yes: Central; Fife; Highland; Lothian; Strathclyde; Western Isles.
 No: Borders; Dumfries and Galloway; Grampian; Tayside; Orkney; Shetland.

THE ELECTION – WHEN 'NO' IS 'YES':

or how to vote

Labour and get a Conservative government. The hard facts and figures of the election will be history by the time this is being read so perhaps comment for readers who so far have been able to read only the headlines about the demise of the SNP and the "turning of the tide" against that party might be more helpful.

The SNP lost 9 of their 11 seats and are left holding Dundee East (Mr. Gordon Wilson) and the Western Isles (Mr. Donald Stewart). The margin by which the sitting members lost their seats to the Conservatives was not great at all and in one or two instances the vote actually went up. These were the N.E. "fishing and farming" seats and the south west. Where the seats were lost to the Labour Party in Dumbarton East and Clackmannan and Stirlingshire East the margin was greater and reflected the swing to Labour in Scotland. However it did not show the "virtual annihilation" of the SNP as Mr. Bruce Millan is reported as saying. There is no doubt that where the party candidates were one of the challengers the vote slipped back and the coming summer months (the annual conference having been post-poned from May to September) will be a time for analysis and planning. Not back at square one of course – but with 17% of the vote in Scotland (and under any other electoral system that would mean probably about the same number of seats they had before), and with a Tory government in Westminster to whom the Scottish electorate gave a resounding "NO" the conditions could be ideal for the next SNP upswing.

To aid this one area cries out for reform – the media. Not much can be done about getting a fairer reportage in most of the newspapers except the "Scotsman" which particularly in its correspondence columns gives a reasonable airing to the "independence" view. Radio and television are another matter and now it is time to start pressurising for an alteration in the rules which are cited as the reason why the SNP may not have more "time". Withholding licence fees or part thereof might concentrate the minds of the authorities on this problem. 17% of the electorate might also be 17% of the BBC licence fee in Scotland. This is an area which (unlike the electoral reform one) the SNP would have to tackle alone. The Liberals in Scotland are counted as one of the "Big Three" and their faces and figures are over-represented on our screens and air-waves.

The situation at the moment is that Labour with 41.86% of the votes have 44 seats (it would be 30% with P.R.) – the Conservatives with 31.32% have 22 seats and that is the correct number proportionally – the SNP with 17.24% have 2 seats but might have 12, and the SLP, none of whose candidates got in with the first past the post system, would have 1 seat, (none of their 3 candidates were elected but Jim Sillars got a huge vote and was just short of the official Labour candidate). The Liberal representation is still 3 members but on percentages they ought to have 6.

Mr. Teddy Taylor lost Cathcart to Labour – the upset of the day for the Tories so in the place that would probably have been his in Mrs. Thatcher's cabinet is Mr. George Younger, a "middle of the roader" in Tory devolution circles so we can only wait to see what sort of a mandate he and his party think they have. He is at Westminster on the votes of 34.5% of the electorate in his constituency and his party have the votes of less than a third of the Scottish electors. M.D.

BREIZH

WAR BE DU E SKOY AN ITRON?

E dilennadeg miz mae ar "Rouantelezh Unanet" ez eo aet ar maout gant ar Virourien: 43 sez o deus muioc'h eget an holl gostezennoù all a-gevret. Ha setu lakaet an Itron Thatcher da bennvaodiernez. Ur vaouez leun a c'hred evit adreizhañ stal ar rouantelezh hag evit he lakaat da c'hoari ur roll bouezusoc'h an aferioù ar bed. Ha barrek e vo da gas da benn he mennadurezh? Gant he muianiver bras a gannaded he devo tu da sturiall he lestr hep kaout aon e ve troc'hohlet a-barzh pemp vloaz. N'he devo ket ezhomm da varc'hata dalc'hmat gant strolladoù bihan, evel ma ranke Callaghan ober, evit lakaat danvez-lezennoù da dremen.

An dud he deus dibabet da vinistred a dle bezañ arouezius eus an tuadur a fell dezhi reif d'he levierzh. Ar re varrekañ ha dezho ar muiañ a skiant-prenañ zo bet lakaet e karg eus an darempredoù diavaez, pe e lec'hioù ma vint gouest da gontrolliñ divizoù ar vinistred all. Ar re-se a zo stummet diouzh hengoun impalaerel Bro-Saoz. Dishañval diouzh al "Labourizien" hag a doa emezelet d'ar Gumuniezh Armerzhel Europat (K.A.E.) gant kalz morc'hed ha diegi, ar Virourien a gred ez eo emsavad d'o Stad bezañ e-barzh. Prest int da genlabourat evit ober anezhi ur c'henurzhiaur postek, gant ma vo reizhet divizoù'zo. Da skouer, ar c'hevroad a rankont paeañ da Gef ar Gumuniezh a gavont kalz re uhel; ha re uhel ivez prizoù ar boued. An embregerezh dieub zo un dra zispar, d'ho meno: ret eo enkaat tachenn – emell ar Stad, lezel frankiz da bep hini da c'hounit ha da gorvoiñ kement ha ma c'hall. Arabat 'ta harpañ embregadegoù toc'her, na c'hallont krakveañ nemet diwar-goust ar Stad. Arabat skoazellañ ar gouerien da vrasaat ar menez amanen hag al lennad win. Ar Saozon, evel pemp eus Stadoù all ar G.A.E., a sell ouzh houmañ evel un amsavad (substitute) d'o zrevadennadoù kollet. Ha darn eus an trevadennoù kozh, ha rannvroioù'zo eus tiriad ar Stadoù, zo koulz hag adtrevadennoù.

Keuz o doa ar Virourien Vreizhveuriat o welout ar C'Hallaoued hag an Alamaned o vont war-raok gant ar steuñvad europat tra ma chome o gouarnamant etre'n daou, muioc'h c'hoant dezhañ da darvañ ar savadur eget da geveliñ. Bremañ e vint a-zevri e genstrivadeg met n'eo ket Gaollourien a zo anezho: n'o deus ket ezhomm eus un 'Europa' dizalc'h oc'h amparañ ur bloc'had a-ziforc'h diouzh Stadoù Unanet Amerika, gant Kornog-Alamagn da varc'h ambilh. Dereatoc'h eo dezho harpañ "strategiezh an tri zu" diazezet war ar c'henober etre Japan, ar Gumuniezh Armerzhel Europat hag ar Stadoù Unanet, ar re-mañ o vezan er penn a-raok hag ar re nemeto kreñv a-walc'h da herzel ouzh ar Soviedoù. An It. Thatcher a zisfiz diouzh an Distenn: ar Rusianed zo atav e soñj astenn o beli d'ar bed a-bezh. Keuziañ a rae-hi en abeg d'an diouer a zarempredoù kefridiel etre Kenurzhiaur ar Feur-Emglev Norzhatlantel (K.F.E.N.) hag ar G.A.E. Republik Iwerzhon ar Stad nemeti ha n'emañ ket en daou genurzhiaur war un dro. Betek-hen e kav da Iwerzhon ez eo dre hanterouriezh Kenurzhiaur ar Broadoù Unanet e c'hall ar gwellañ servij ar peoc'h. Moarvat n'eo ket bet pouezet war c'houarnamant Dulenn da emezelañ e K.F.E.N. nemet e vez bep ar mare laosket ur sarpant da nijal evit gwelout

hag ez eus atav enebiezh kreñv ouzh ar mennad, pe c'hoazh e vez kaoz er c'helaouennoù eus ur genreizhad-difenn "europat" a zeufe da heul emdroadur ar G.A.E. d'ur c'hevread politikel start. N'eo ket renerien an daou strollad bras iwerzhonat, pergen re Fine Gael, a vefe a-enep, met ne gredont ket digeriñ re vras o genou gant aon da sachañ war o strolladoù talabao ar re a soñj e tile ar vro-mañ startaat he darempredoù gant gant ar broioù war ziorren evit degas muioc'h a reizhder er bed. Padal, emañ Iwerzhoniz er G.A.E. ha ret e vo dezho asantiñ d'an heuliadoù. Keit ha ma chom an arme saoz er C'Hwech Kontelezh, ez eus digarez evit nac'h kemer perzh en ur c'henurzhadur-difenn a-gevret gant Breizh-Veur, met ma vernfe da c'houarnamant London en em dennañ ha sturiañ ar rannvro-se war-du un emglev gant ar peurrest eus Iwerzhon, setu moarvat ar priz a vefe goulennet.

Kudennoù pouezusoc'h eget hini Norzh-Iwerzhon he deus M. Thatcher da ziskoulmañ da gentañ. An IRA he deus skoet taolioù garv nevez'zo hag a ziskouez bezañ gouest, evel ma tisplege ur pennkadour saoz en un danevell kuzh hag a zo bet laeret, da genderc'hel da stourm e-pad pemp bloaz c'hoazh da vihanañ. Ne ra forzh, a lavar ar Bennvaodiernez, Norzh-Iwerzhon a chomo stag ouzh Breizh-Veur keit ha ma fello d'an darn vrasañ eus an dud eno. Anvet he deus da sekretour-Stad e N.I. un den, Humphrey Atkins, ha n'en doa betek-hen lavaret grik a-zivout ar pezh a c'hoarvez du-hont. Evit ar mare ne ray nemet selaou, divizout gant ar bolitikerien norzhiwerzhonat ha kreñvaat nerzhioù ar urzh hag al lezenn. Un den hegarat eo, gourdon da lavarout traoù disheñvel da dud disheñvel, hervez ezhommoù ar politikerezh.....

An hini a oa sekretour araozan, Roy Mason, ne reas netra evit degas tostoc'h an diskoulm. Da Iwerzhoniz eo en em glevout, a lavar ar Saozon: int zo aze evit mirout outo a n'em zrailhañ, panevet o arme e vefe lazhadeg Setu o digarez. Kredañ a reer diouzh an tu all ez eo an harp a ro ar Saozon d'an Unanourien hag a gennerzh anezho en o c'hilpennegezh, o nac'hañ kemmañ an disterañ tra en o saviad. Goulenn a ra bep ar mare politikerien ar 26 Kontelezh e tisklêrfe ar Saozon o mennad d'en em dennañ "ur wech bennak" eus Iwerzhon; kinnig a reont diwall gwirioù ar Brotestanted dre ur reizhadur kevreadel. Netra, a respont an Unanourien! Ni zo Breizhveuriz! An darn vrasañ eus ar Saozon n'int ket chalet gant ar gudenn, met ar rummad a ren ne zinac'hint ket buan kenvroiz ken feal.

Iwerzhoniz ar Stadoù-Unanet zo bremañ kenurzhiet ken mat ma'z int deut a-benn da ober d'ar stadrenerien du-hont teurel pled gant ar brezel e Norzh-Iwerzhon. Un den hag a lavarer ez eo, goude Carter, an hini galloudusañ, T.P. O'Neill, zo deut d'ober un droiad hag en deus komzet gant stadrenerien Vreizh-Veur hag Iwerzhon. Disklêriet en deus e Dulenn e ranko Iwerzhon bezañ unanet, abred pe ziwezhat. Fuloret ar Saozon!

Daoust hag e ray gouarnamant M. Thatcher van outañ? Pegen pouezus bennak e ve mouezhiou Iwerzhoniz evit J. Carter, heman ne c'hall ket rediañ ur c'hevreadad ken talvoudus ha Breizh-Veur (evit kas da benn ar strategiezh trizu, m'eman-efi dres unan eus ar bennluskerien anezhi) da ober ar pezh na fell ket dezhañ. N'eo ket ar re a hiraezh da vare an impalaeriezh saoz da daolo kuit a youl gaer ur c'hornad-douar ken tost d'ar vammvro.

Neuze, evit Norzh-Iwerzhon, muioc'h a urzh hag a lezenn, setu ar segred evit ur pennad mat c'hoazh

moarvat. Gouez d'un O'Neill all hag a oa e penn Norzh-Iwerzhon pa grogas ar brezel-mañ, n'eus diskoulm ebet d'ar gudenn.
A. Heusaff.

(An attempt is made here to recognise the direction that will be taken by the external policy of the new London government, particularly in respect of the EEC and of Northern Ireland. It can be assumed that Mrs. Thatcher will promote a closer co-operation between the EEC and the USA as part of the "trilateral strategy" and that she will use this to counter the mounting pressures from the Irish-Americans for an Irish solution of the Six-County problem.)

THE BRETON CULTURAL CHARTER

A Cultural Charter was granted to Brittany by the French government over a year ago. Its original draft was prepared at the invitation of President Giscard d'Estaing by the Economic and Social Council of the Rennes Region in consultation with the Breton cultural organisations. It was vetted, and pruned, by the Regional Council composed of a majority of pro-government people. It suffered drastic amputations at government level before returning for adoption by the Regional Council and the five Breton departement councils. Almost all the Breton organisations expressed disappointment and scepticism with the final text.

This account was postponed in order to see whether those measures which were to become effective in the Autumn of 1978 were actually being implemented. One would then have an idea of how faithfully the deeds of the State administration would agree with the written pledge given by an electorally hard-pressed government.

However, as a result of the prolonged Irish postal strike, information is too scanty for such an assessment. We limit ourselves to a factual summary of the text of the Charter, with some comments. The words in inverted commas reflect a French phraseology which we find difficult to translate.

Preamble. The charter constitutes on the part of the state, the Regional Authority and the councils of the five Breton departments an act of recognition of the cultural "personality" of Brittany as well as an undertaking to guarantee its free "blossoming". It answers the desire expressed by the Bretons and their elected representatives to have their identity respected. It is a step towards the "taking charge" by the Region of its own cultural policy. It is in line with a general evolution of the States in favour of regional personality (1).

The cultural "personality" of Brittany has always expressed itself in an original manner in all aspects of social life: human relations, modes of expression, popular arts and traditions bear the mark of it. The Breton language is one of its fundamental components. However, culture in Brittany cannot be expressed only in traditional or rural terms. A genuine Breton culture needs to look outwards and towards the future.

The purpose of the Charter is to put an end to the "divorce" which existed between a regional culture, that

- (1) The distinction between "personalite" and identity is not explained.

is still rich and lively but risks turning in on itself, and a dominant culture which too often ignored it. It aims, by means of appropriate measures, at "irrigating" the cultural and social life of the region with the characteristic elements of the Breton culture. Keeping in mind the main requirement i.e. to give to the Breton language and the gallo dialect (2). and to their specific cultures, the means needed for their development, including teaching and broadcasting, the charter will make it possible

- to catalogue, preserve, study and analyse the Breton cultural elements and to propagate them;
- for the cultural network to take them into account;
- to distribute evenly the cultural material throughout Brittany;
- to encourage cultural creativity by means of contracts, orders, prizes, competitions, etc.

It intends to give to the various cultural organisations, which have shown so much courage and selflessness, the means to develop and strengthen their action (3). A Breton Cultural Council will be created to advise the authorities about the activities which should be sponsored and the best way to use the finances available. Decisions will be reserved to the competent authorities, but the State undertakes to "deconcentrate" its power of decision to the level of the region, the Charter being a "privileged" link between the State and Brittany.

Education. The government, considering that the Breton language and culture express an aspect of "the deep personality of Brittany", agrees that their value and dignity should be recognised by giving them a place in the schools in accordance with their importance in the human and cultural fields.

A. Culture. The cultural heritage of Brittany will constitute a subject to be taught in French at all levels of the education system in the whole of Brittany; new curricula will provide for a study of local culture -- history, geography, economy and, in the secondary schools, Breton literature and art. These measures will apply to the gallo country whose cultural wealth should be exploited. The Regional Centre for Teachers Documentation will help to gather the required material.

B. Teaching of Breton (4).

The study of Breton will remain optional: to the study already allowed in the first and second years will be added, from September 1979 onwards, the study of

- (2) The gallo dialect still spoken in the rural areas of Eastern Brittany, derives mainly from Latin and seems to diverge only superficially from standard French in structure and vocabulary. Compared to the struggle for the Breton language, little was done up to now to gain recognition for it.
- (3) The aid will be channelled mainly through the cultural associations which extend over the whole of Brittany.
- (4) Note that the onus for organising Breton rests on parents and voluntary teachers. There is an improvement in the time allowed for teaching the language, but the haphazard way of training teachers, the lack of plans to create a university degree in Breton or Celtic studies, the refusal to help the DIWAN kindergartens, the silence concerning other essential demands made in the original draft, contradict the main requirement acknowledged in the preamble.

the language and culture in the 3rd and 4th years. The subject will be included in the option lists supplied to parents and, where teachers volunteer to teach it, the hours will be part of their normal time tables.

The existing optional Breton test in the GCE (baccalaureat) examination will be maintained. However the subject can be taken as equivalent to a second living language in all types of baccalaureat. Thus the continuity of its study is established throughout secondary schooling.

2) Teaching of Breton in primary schools.

"Initiation" (beginners) classes will be organised at the rate of one hour a week in the time allowed for the "activites d'evenil" (activities to stimulate the mind), wherever parents so request and competent teachers are available. Advisory teachers will gradually be appointed in the departments concerned from October 1978 onwards.

C. The training of teachers will be facilitated by the Department of Education which will see to it that their numbers will take account of the recorded needs

- 1) for primary schools: training courses for teaching the Breton language and culture will be organised for voluntary teachers in the framework of the existing refresher courses; training colleges will offer students the opportunity to acquire the same skill, all the students in the training colleges of Brittany will be trained to teach the Breton culture through French.
- 2) for secondary schools: the existing short courses will be developed; they will last 3 or 4 days and will prepare for teaching either the culture or the language. The number of vacancies will be doubled as from 1978.
- 3) to contribute to the training of teachers for the two levels, a correspondence course will be organised under the aegis of the National Centre for Teachers Documentation. An experiment will be carried out in 1978 with a view to generalising the scheme by 1981.
- 4) the universities of Brittany are to be encouraged to develop historical and cultural research relating to Brittany.

Broadcasting. Increased use of the Breton language and culture on radio and television is one of the main conditions for their "blossoming". However the signatories consider that any progress in that field can only be gradual.

A. Radio. The amount of time for the Breton language broadcasts is to be increased gradually. In addition to the two daily 10-minute broadcasts from Brest-Tredudon there will be two weekly 45 min programmes which could be mainly for farmers, young people and school children and devoted to the teaching and propagation of the language and the culture. A daily 5 min broadcast in the Gwened dialect will be made from the Vannes transmitter.

B. Television. The fortnightly 20 min Breton language programme broadcast on two channels will become weekly and could be devoted to matters of language and culture. The 90 - second item broadcast hitherto twice a week will be replaced by one of 3 minutes and one of 5 min. The number and duration of such programmes will be increased from 1980 onwards under conditions to be determined in the light of experience (5).

C. A radio-and-television committee composed of elected representatives and qualified persons will advise on the planning of regional programmes and on the

technical aspects of policies.

Cultural Heritage. The following projects will benefit over the coming 5 years from credits for equipment which will be contributed equally by the State and the Regional Authority (each contributing annually the amounts in brackets) : Completion of the Kendalc'h Association Centre at St-Vincent-sur-Oust (1.000 000 Francs) ; restoration of religious buildings (900 000 F) ; Aid to the Regional Domestic Art Centre, Loktudi, for research and adaptation of traditional Breton architecture and interior furnishing to present day conditions (250 000 F) ; building of one ethnographic museum (300 000 F) ; planning of a Breton Cultural Institute (100 000 F) ; planning of a Regional "Conservatoire" (school and Museum) of music and Breton sports (25 000 F) ; a Regional Technical Agency which will have the task of gathering and lending material and equipment to those engaging in cultural activities (training, exhibitions, festivals) 400 000 F). This agency will be administered by a council composed of 25 members, 8 representing the State, 8 the region and the departments, 8 the main towns and one the cultural associations. It will be answerable to the Interdepartmental Council and will keep the Cultural Council (see below) informed of its activities. For the operation of the charter, the State will contribute 1 500 000 F annually and the five departments together will bear an equal share (6).

Procedure for the attribution of the credits.

The various contributors will decide by common agreement how to allocate the credits for equipment and for operation, after advice from the new Breton Cultural Council which is to be composed of 61 members : 6 representing the Regional Council, 3 the Economic and Social Council, 3 for each department; 9 for the towns of more than 30 000 people, 10 for the specifically Breton cultural organisations, 6 for other cultural associations, 4 for the University presidents, etc. The four highest State officials in charge of administration, education, cultural affairs and radio-TV in Brittany will take part in the work of this council (7). A committee on which the State and the five Departments as a group will be equally represented will propose how to allocate the credits for equipment (8).

(5) Instead of 23 minutes a fortnight there will be 24 mn a week of Breton on television... The demand for a new radio channel devoted to Breton matters, for a 20 mn magazine twice a week, and for a 5 mn daily bulletin of news in Breton was not accepted. Nor was the proposal for a Breton fourth TV channel. There is to be no decentralisation of the "audio-visual" means.

(6) In all, the state will contribute annually 4 500 000 F (£500 000) for the development or rather the preservation of the Breton culture. In 1977 it granted for cultural purposes a total of 800 million F. Proportionally, the Bretons should have received 7% of that total, i.e. 56 M'F. To the 4½ M. for the Charter should be added about 10 M. received under general cultural headings. That Brittany gets only one quarter of what it is entitled to proves that its people are treated as second rate citizens.

(7) Contrary to the demand made in the draft, the Cultural Council will have no powers of decision

in matters of cultural policy or financial allocation. Note how the State reserves representation on all advisory bodies and control of credit attribution.

(8) We have tried to summarise accurately the text of the Charter, but many of its passages are sufficiently vague to allow differences of interpretation. One cannot be sure whether Brittany means the historic nation or just the four departments of the Rennes administrative region. The Loire-Atlantique Council decided to share fully in the operation of the Charter, yet it "need not pay" as much of the costs as the other department, and it is underrepresented on the inter-departmental committee and on the Cultural Council. Brittany proposed, the French state disposed. The Charter is a thing handed down without genuine discussion. A step towards the control by the Bretons of their own cultural policy ? It could be a long way at that rate of progress. A. Heusaff.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Of the 22 Bretons who were arrested in the early Summer of 1978, six were released before the end of the year and two were sentenced to 15 years of jail each in November. It was rumoured that the others would be tried in February, then in April, then in June. But it appears that Corsicans are first to be dealt with. The Bretons' turn may well not come before the Autumn. They are not looking for justice from this French State Security court which is an instrument directly subordinated to the government. Justice would mean sentencing all those who direct the apparatus of destruction of the Breton nation. Let it only be pointed out that it is contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights, of which France is a signatory, to keep people in jail for so long without trial unless there is a "national" emergency. Or should one conclude that that State is being shaken to its foundations by the Bretons' and the Corsicans' attacks? It is clear that the government wants to make the prisoners, whether they committed such attacks or not, serve whatever terms of imprisonment it deems suitable for political reasons. They may or may not be tried, but they will have been punished. So were those under the Ancient Regime who did not conform to the rule of an absolute monarch. There are now two Bastilles: Fresnes and Fleury-Merogis.

Gerhard Peresse, having done 10 months, was released "en liberte provisoire" early in May. Was he held as a hostage for his father, whom the police failed to arrest as he lives outside the State?

The situation of the 23 Breton prisoners was described in a report by a representative of the Breton Prisoners' Solidarity Committee at the weekend conference on Political Prisoners held in Liberty Hall, Dublin, in May. It was attended by people from several countries. The conference dealt mainly with the plight of Irish and Basque prisoners and called for solidarity between the organisations engaged in national or social radical struggles in the face of increasing inter-State police co-operation. A. Heusaff.

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

CYMRU

CYFNOD NEWYDD YN HANES YR EISTEDDFOD

Bu 1979 yn flwyddyn ysgytwol i Gymru mewn mwy nag un ystyr er nad ydym ond hanner ffordd drwyddi eto. Cawsom eira a rhew a streiciau ar ddechrau'r flwyddyn, cawsom ergyd go drom yn y Refferendwm ar Fawrth 1af ac wedyn yn yr Etholiad ddau fis yn ddiweddarach.

Yn union rhwng y Refferendwm a'r Etholiad cawsom ergyd arall — er fod llawer ohonom yn hanner ei disgwyl — sef penderfyniad Cyngor yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol i sefydlu'r brifwyl ar un safle barhaol o 1982 ymlaen.

Roedd hi'n ergyd o fath gwahanol i'r ddwy bleidlais. Doedd hi ddim yn fuddugoliaeth i'r gwrth-Gymreig; buddugoliaeth i chwyddiant oedd hi a doedd neb, am wn i, yn llawenhau. "Mae'n biti, ond dyna fo, doedd dim dewis" oedd yr agwedd gyffredinol.

Oherwydd amseriad y penderfyniad, rhwng dwy etholiad dyngedfennol, efallai nad yw arwyddocad llawn y newid wedi gwario arnom eto. Dim ond tair eisteddfod 'symudol' gawn ni eto, a ninnau wedi arfer dod i 'nabod cymdogaeth newydd bob blwyddyn — Caernarfon eleni, Dyffryn Lliw y flwyddyn nesa a Machynlleth y flwyddyn wedyn.

Yn yr un lle fydd hi wedyn, Aberystwyth yn ôl pob argoel. Bydd eisteddfodwyr selog yn 'nabod y dre fel cefn eu llaw ymhen dim amser — ei thafarnau, ei siopau, ei neuaddau, ei theatrau, heb son am ei phobl. Yn Aber y bydd calon y genedl yn curo, neu galon y Gymru Cymraeg o leiaf, a bydd rhai yn siwr o fanteisio ar y cyfle i anghofio am Gaerdydd a chyhoeddi'r dre yn brifddinas y Fro Gymraeg. A dyna fydd hi, er na fyddai'r dre am weddill mis Awst yn dod yn agos at deilyngu'r fath anrhydedd.

Rhagwelir pob math o ddatblygiadau yn sgil sefydlu'r Eisteddfod. Gwella adeiladau a chyfleusterau, llefydd chwech heb fod yn drewi ac yn y blaen. Dyna'r cysuron a gynigir i ni. Ond mi fydd hi'n chwth iawn ar ôl yn hen drefn. Bydd yr awyrgylch yn o debyg o flwyddyn i flwyddyn a chollir yr elfen genhadol, a fu'n rhan mor bwysig o'r eisteddfod, yn llwyr. Ai'r yn bobl a welwn hefyd o flwyddyn i flwyddyn?

Ydi, mae hi'n biti. Ond doedd dim dewis. Gadewch i ni rwan fynd ati i wneud y gorau o'r sefyllfa. Mae'r Eisteddfod yn dal gennym ni, mae hi'n fyw ac mae hi'n ffynnu. A thra bo'r Eisteddfod yn ffynnu bydd yr iaith Gymraeg yn ffynnu. A.G.

PERMANENT SITE FOR THE EISTEDDFOD FROM 1982

Apart from the Devolution Referendum and the General Election itself the most important single issue concerning the Welsh language in recent months has been the future of the National Eisteddfod, the biggest and most spectacular festival in all of the Celtic countries.

Last August the Eisteddfod Council decided to commission a special report on the future of the festival by professional accountants, Deloitte Haskins & Sells of Cardiff. Their report was published in April and came to the firm conclusion that the present system was not an option, mainly because of the enormous cost of moving the Eisteddfod pavilion from North to South every year, around 63% of the total costs at the present time.

The two practical solutions, according to the report, were a move every three years or a marquee, but both

were rejected by Eisteddfod sub-committees and the Eisteddfod Council. They decided that the only choice was to establish a permanent site from 1982 onwards. This decision will have to be confirmed by the Eisteddfod Court, the main governing body of the Eisteddfod, in July, but it is highly unlikely that the decision will be reversed.

The Eisteddfod Director, Mr. Emyr Jenkins, rejected the report's conclusions for several reasons. A marquee would not provide sufficient space for a large choir and orchestra and the present ceremonies could not be held on the same scale. Bad weather would be a major problem and comparisons with the International Eisteddfod are inappropriate since the National Eisteddfod lasts nine days as opposed to four days.

There is also a very great danger of giving the impression that the National Eisteddfod is suffering a set-back, another example of the deterioration of the Welsh language.

As far as the three year plan is concerned, financial losses would not be solved and the site could not be developed as it would have to be moved eventually in any case. There is also a danger that people living far from the Eisteddfod site would not come to the Eisteddfod every year.

That problem would be solved if a permanent site was found which was central to the whole of Wales. Aberystwyth seems the more likely site at the moment, although Machynlleth, 20 miles away, is another possibility.

The National Eisteddfod has moved from one part of the country to another since the end of the last century, bring a new awareness of the Welsh language and culture to those areas. There is no doubt that establishing a permanent site is the most profound change in its history and many people are worried that the 'missionary' role of the festival will be lost for ever.

Every one agrees that keeping the Eisteddfod on the move is the ideal solution but these matters have to be decided in the light of financial considerations. It seems that the only way the Eisteddfod could be kept on the move is a generous government grant. That a Tory government would even consider such a proposal is inconceivable.

CYMDEITHAS LEADERS RELEASED.

The time has come to intensify the struggle for the Welsh language — that was the message of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Rhodri Williams and Wynfford James after their release from Abertawe (Swansea) goal on March 23, after serving four months of their six month sentence.

Both were imprisoned last November for conspiracy to damage broadcasting installations. Rhodri is a research student at Aberystwyth and Wynfford now works for the Sain recording company (he was interviewed for the job during his imprisonment!)

The main task now, they said, was to attract more people into the ranks, especially those people who had been active ten years ago. Nationalists in general should be persuaded to take part in actions involving civil disobedience.

● Welsh branch meeting was held in early March. Zonia Bower was elected Chairperson and Gwyn ap Thomas re-elected as Branch Secretary. An external correspondence secretary and an A.G.M. organiser were appointed. Ways and means of promoting the C.L. were discussed.

ST. DAVID'S DAY DEBACLE

Only six months ago I wrote in CARN 24 that there was still a prospect that the Welsh Assembly would be set up. At the time this seemed reasonable: the latest opinion-poll (September) still showed 41% in favour, 41% against and 18% don't-knows. So what happened to produce a 4-to-1 against vote on 1st March?

Firstly, the two months before the referendum were the coldest January and February for 32 years. Although some supporters were brave enough to plod through snow-drifts delivering leaflets, canvassing, which is a far more effective way of influencing people (most leaflets go unread into the waste-paper basket), was almost impossible; no-one would stand on a freezing door-step for long enough to be converted. That left the argument to the mass-media; and most Welsh people read newspapers published in London and watch television produced by and for Englishmen.

There was growing fury with trade unions, and with the Labour government which is associated with them, because of strikes and picketing during the winter. In consequence, an opinion-poll published just before the referendum showed Conservative supporters at 43%, the highest figure it has ever reached in Wales. Even those who remained loyal to the Labour Party (44%) were probably delighted to have an opportunity to express their irritation with the government by voting against its scheme, or staying at home; the turn-out was low (58%)

In addition many were deceived by suggestions that there would be some other scheme if this one were rejected; for instance, in a debate televised on the night before the vote Leon Brittan, the Tory spokesman on devolution, promised that "there will be further and better proposals". The Conservatives have no intention to make any such proposals; but we should, I think, remind them of this promise in the years to come.

But all these influences applied in Scotland as in Wales and didn't prevent a majority in favour of an assembly there. Since the publication of the Kilbrandon Report on the Constitution in 1973, we have seen an erosion of support for devolution by one-third in Scotland, but by two-thirds in Wales:

Proportion favouring devolution	Scotland	Wales
Kilbrandon Attitude Survey	73%	59%
Referendum 1st March 1979	52%	20%

Long term errors by Welsh nationalists are partly responsible, but the skill with which the opponents of devolution conducted their campaign and the incompetence of its supporters were the major factors in this winter's events.

The Unholy Alliance

Shopkeepers and other small businessmen terrified that a Welsh Assembly meant a socialist dictatorship (Plaid Cymru is to blame for encouraging these fears) threw themselves into the arms of Neil Kinnock and other Labour M.P.s, whose objection to devolution was that it would impede the imposition of socialism by Westminster. While Cymdeithas yr Iaith militants stood aloof from the campaign (see CARN 24), the smear that an assembly meant fewer jobs and second-class citizenship for English-speakers was used to panic people into voting against it. Those who objected to more expensive bureaucracy in Caerdydd allied with those who feared the loss of their positions in local

government bureaucracy if the Assembly streamlined the latter to save money.

While the opponents of the Assembly had more money and more space in the mass-media, its supporters might still have won had they not been both divided - when the Labour "Yes" campaign held a meeting in Caerfyrddyn (Carmarthen) they did not invite the local M.P., Gwynfor Evans - and talking above the heads of most of the population. After this and the Common Market referendum I think there is some evidence for Lloyd's Law of Referendum Results: the side with most intellectuals loses. While the opponents skilfully played on people's fears, the supporters, instead of offering some great hope for the future to counter-balance the risk, talked about "accountability". Nobody had heard the word before; it meant putting the civil servants under the control of the local politicians.

The proportion voting in favour in each county was:

Gwynedd	34.4%	W. Glamorgan	18.7%
Dyfed	28.1%	Powys	18.5%
Clwyd	21.6%	S. Glamorgan	13.1%
Mid-Glamorgan	20.2%	Gwent	12.1%

Some pointed out that the higher the proportion of Welsh-speakers in a county the larger the number who voted for the Assembly. More detailed reports of the voting suggested that in English-speaking areas where there are Plaid Cymru councillors the "Yes" vote reached respectable levels - hence the relatively high vote in Mid-Glamorgan; while in Welsh-speaking places without Plaid M.P.s or councillors it sometimes dropped to pitifully low levels.

The aftermath

Whatever arguments we use against our opponents, we must not deceive ourselves: when offered a meagre amount of autonomy, other Celtic people have voted to take it, even if they were then deprived of what the majority had voted for - 56% of the Bretons in April 1969, 52% of the Scots this March, the Welsh have voted by an overwhelming majority for the Act of Union of 1536. However bad the Wales Act 1978 was, I can't but agree with Elystan Morgan, leader of the Wales for the Assembly campaign and a Plaid member for 17 years before deserting to become a Labour M.P. and minister: "We have succumbed again to the fear and lack of confidence which have been in our nation for a long time."

Should Plaid have avoided this battle? I don't think the rank and file members or Plaid Cymru voters would have understood a decision to take no part. I certainly underestimated the difficulty of selling administrative devolution to the man in the street. We should never try again: the word "devolution" should be dropped from our vocabulary and any proposal offering less than what the Scots have just voted for shouldn't be touched with a bargepole.

What happens next? Some Plaid leaders already fear that, if no way forward can be quickly found, their younger followers may resort to violence. If our nation is doomed to extinction, some may say with Dylan Thomas:

"Do not go gentle into that good night

But rage, rage, against the dying of the light."

The editor of The Guardian, the main newspaper of the English ruling-class now that The Times is suspended, recommended such a policy on 3rd March as soon as the referendum result was announced: "Compared

to the federalist demands of several million Spaniards, the Scots and the Welsh are but feeble Speakers' Corner agitators." In other words, if Plaid Cymru were backed by the ETA gunmen, perhaps people would take as much notice of it as they take of the Basque Nationalist Party.

That such sinister advice comes from the English press ought to make anyone tempted to violence think twice. The boozy, garrulous and ineffective extremists of the Welsh National movement, will not turn into the dedicated, silent teetotalers of the IRA, but they will make splendid material for futile little organizations, rapidly infiltrated by agents provocateurs from the Special Branch (English political police), so as to provide show-trials like those of the Free Wales Army etc. in 1969, in order finally to discredit the Welsh national movement. In this case our nation will end neither with a bang nor with a whimper, but with loud jeers and guffaws.

There is, however, no reason for such gloom if the various parts of the Welsh national movement can rapidly revise their policies and public-relations to suit the mood of the Welsh people. We also need a new patron-saint. Are there any nominations?

Ifan Lloyd.

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS IN WALES

There was much to be said for the nationalist M.P.s at Westminster uniting to force a general election on the Labour government, which had relied on their votes to stay in office for five years and had then refused to provide assemblies for our countries, and doing so at a time when Labour was likely to be — and it was — defeated. No English political party should try and play that game again. There was something to be said for Plaid Cymru M.P.s supporting the Labour government until it had carried out the rest of the terms of the "Non-pact" (see CARN 24). What I can't justify, especially to Scottish readers, is that the Plaid M.P.s urged the SNP to propose a motion of no-confidence, which it did on Wednesday, 21st March, and then, on Thursday the 22nd, being reminded that, if they didn't get the act compensating slate quarrymen with silicosis, their seats might be at risk, they decided to support the government. Plaid has often criticised English political parties for their dishonesty, but this demonstration of Celtic disunity shocked even some English journalists, who said it gave new meaning to the verb "to welsh".

This was a bad beginning to the general election campaign, which, thanks to the abstention of the two Irish M.P.s who normally vote with Labour, the government was unable to avoid — it lost by one vote. So the election was held on 3rd May. Plaid's share of the vote fell for the third general election running; it was 25% down compared with October 1974. Gwynfor Evans lost his seat at Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen). This wasn't unexpected for he had won the seat with the aid of Tory voters who wanted to keep the Labour candidate out in 1974, having seen Plaid supporting the Labour government for 4½ years, they returned to their own candidate, letting Labour in though its vote fell (from 38.1% to 35.8%). Plaid's other two M.P.s have returned to Parliament, Dafydd Wigley having increased his vote at Caernarfon from 42.5% to 49.7%.

There were only two other seats in which Plaid increased its share of the vote: Geredigion, where Dr.

Dafydd Huws increased it from 13.2% to 14.5% though there were other Welsh-speaking areas where Plaid's vote diminished only slightly; and Rhondda, where the Moral Rearmer, Glyn James, recently fitted up with a corruption charge by the local Labour Party, a plot which exploded in its face, increased the vote from 8.3% to 8.4%. This was an achievement in English-speaking Wales, where generally our vote declined severely.

The Conservative Advance

The Historical importance of this election is not the decline of Plaid Cymru, which we can reasonably hope to reverse, but the success of the Conservatives: they won a larger proportion of the Welsh vote (taking into account their not standing in Gorllewin Caerdydd) than ever before; they won 11 seats, a larger number than they have won in Wales since the electoral Reform Act of 1867 (which granted the vote to some 35% of adult males for the first time).

Some blamed it on English immigration but, though this was probably decisive in Mon, it was unimportant elsewhere. While the Conservative vote in Britain as a whole jumped 23% upwards from its October 1974 level, in Wales it leapt up 35%, and some of the most spectacular increases were in areas with almost no immigrants such as the Valley seats between Castell Nedd and Caerffili, where Plaid Cymru used to be the main challenge to Labour and Tory candidates lost their deposits. This time the Conservatives pushed Plaid into third place in all five seats; in Aberdar, for example, their vote has risen from 7.2% to 17.3% of the total poll.

It is easier to explain what is happening as the result of social developments which I will show in a little table.

Employment in Wales	1950	1973
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	4.5%	2.8%
Mining and manufacturing industry	51.1%	37.4%
Professions, crafts, service industry.	44.4%	59.8%

(from "Wales, A New Study" ed. D. Thomas. 1977)

What it illustrates is that in a little over two decades, some 15% of the Welsh labour force left the industrial proletariat for the services and white-collar work. Sociologists would expect such people to go on voting for the party of the industrial proletariat, the Labour Party, for some years out of family tradition and habit, and then to look for a new party to support. This indeed seems to have happened. For decades upto 1966 nearly 60% of the Welsh votes were cast for the Labour Party in each general election. Since then the percentage of votes for each party (and in brackets the number of seats it won) has been as follows:

	Labour	Plaid	Liberals	Tories
1966	60.6% (32)	4.3% (0)	6.3% (1)	27.9% (3)
1970	51.6% (28)	11.5% (0)	6.8% (1)	27.7% (7)
Feb, 1974	46.8% (24)	10.8% (2)	16.0% (2)	25.9% (8)
Oct, 1974	49.1% (23)	10.8% (3)	15.5% (2)	23.9% (8)
1979	48.6% (22)†	8.1% (2)	10.6% (1)	32.2% (11)

† including the Speaker.

In the late sixties, before Plaid adopted socialist policies, it was effective in taking votes from the socialist party, because it offered not a class, but a nation, with which those moving out of the industrial proletariat could identify themselves – a very attractive identification for those inevitably rather uncertain what class they belong to. (Evidence suggests that such groups provide most of the SNP's present support, a point which those like Margo MacDonald, who want it to adopt more left-wing policies should consider.)

Then, from around 1972 onwards, Plaid took up a definitely socialist stance and ceased to attract. (Who could it attract? A genuine socialist would vote for a Labour government in Westminster, which would have the power to implement socialist policies quicker.) So in 1974 it was the Liberals who took a big bite out of the Labour vote. The last five years have seen a remarkable demonstration of incompetence by the Labour government, the doubling of unemployment in Wales, inflation and industrial strife; yet the Labour Party hardly lost any votes! But no alternative was offered to the Labour Voter: Plaid was socialist so promised more of the same; the Liberals, though classless, helped maintain Labour in office for much of the period 1974-9. So the irritation of voters was only expressed at the expense of Plaid and the Liberals, from whom the Tories took large numbers of supporters. It is consoling for a nationalist that, judging from the smaller loss of Plaid votes, a national identification is more resilient than whatever self-identification the Liberals give a person.

If this analysis is correct, the Tories are going to have difficulty in hanging on to their new recruits: quite apart from the disillusionment produced by their now being the party in power, Welsh Tories are the most snobbish in the United Kingdom, not the kind of people their new supporters will identify easily with (they tend to despise their Prime-Minister as "a shopkeeper's daughter"). At the next election, perhaps in October 1983, The Conservatives will lose a lot of their support and it looks, on present trends, if the Labour Party is overdue to lose some of its voters; so at least 12% of Welsh voters will be looking for another party to support. Which will they choose, Plaid or the Liberals? Given that these people are mostly looking for an identification outside the working-class, it is unlikely to be Plaid with its present policies.

We have seen in the last three months two consequences of Plaid's swing to the left after 1972, which must make even dedicated socialists pause to consider its wisdom: It has lured socialists with nationalist sympathies away from the Labour Party, with results which we saw in widespread opposition from that party during the referendum campaign; and it has made Plaid incapable of resisting the Tory advance. This in turn means that the Conservative government has no reason to do anything for Wales. Though SNP supporters are so disappointed about their loss of parliamentary seats, Scotland is in a far better position than Wales, and not just because they have many more voters than in 1970 while Plaid has many fewer: half a dozen Tory M.P.s hold their seats by small majorities from the SNP. The Conservatives will soon be bringing forward their own version of Scottish "devolution" to try and hold on to them. But in 10 of the 11 Tory seats in Wales Plaid candidates lost their deposits, and in Mon, where John Lasarus Williams held our vote up to 20.3%, the Tory got 39.0%, so Mrs. Thatcher has no

urgent reason to do anything for us.

She may do much for us, without intending to, if she can reduce the air of economic crisis and imminent disaster which besets British politics. In the last thirty years there have been ten general elections, in only three of which Plaid Cymru has gained ground. All three were rather low-key, not marked with a feeling of fateful decision between parties offering rival philosophies of life; they were in 1955 (the day of "Butskellism") and 1970. When considering why the Irish Nationalists found it so easy to build up their party in the 1860s and 1870s and why it is so difficult for us to do the same thing, part of the explanation is that nobody considered that the battles between Liberals and Conservatives mattered; the difference between Gladstone and Disraeli was only a question of personal character, rather like that between American presidential candidates nowadays, producing much sound and fury and signifying nothing; so it was easy to persuade the Irish people that Ireland did matter. The job of Plaid for the next four years is surely to persuade people, not that socialism is important, nor that capitalism is important but that Wales is all-important.

Local Elections in Wales

Also on 3rd May were held the elections for the 37 district councils in Wales. As they were held at the same time and place as the general election - which has never occurred before - a large number of voters, mainly Labour voters, who never usually appear for the local elections, did so this time. Plaid therefore lost ground: in 1976, when these elections were last held, Plaid won 126 out of about 1,500 council seats. At the time of writing it had won 67 seats in the new councils and held a net loss of 45 seats. (Because of recounts, newspaper omissions and uncertainty as to who are official Plaid candidates, these figures aren't quite complete).

Plaid lost the one district council which it controlled - Merthyr Tydfil. This is one more blow to morale but, to be frank, our council in Merthyr neither behaved like nationalists - they turned down a proposal to change the name of the town back to its Welsh form from the English "Merthyr Tydfil" - nor like practical politicians who wanted to keep their seats - one major motive of those who voted them in was the hope that Plaid would allow tenants of the council to buy their homes from it, but the Plaid councillors did not do so. At the last minute, when the new elections were impending, they passed a resolution that council-houses would be sold in future, but this death-bed conversion was as unimpressive as death-bed conversions usually are; probably most of the voters never heard about it. The Plaid councillors considered it enough that they didn't sell planning permissions and council-tenancies like Labour politicians. It isn't. Ifan Lloyd.

DOLGELLAU FOLK FESTIVAL: The first inter-Celtic folk festival will be held in Dolgellau, Cymru, on July 27th, 28th and 29th. Artistes from all countries are expected to attend. Concerts and competitions will be held including ones for choirs and the Celtic harp. For entries and information write to Ywain Mysya, Penbryn, Dolgellau, Cymru.

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

ÉIRE

NA CEANTAIR IMEALLACHA

An Straitéis is gá chun pobail na hEorpa a thabhairt ar chomhchéim

FÉINRIAIL: Sí an fheinriail croílár na straitéise agus ciallaíonn sí go bunúsach neamhspleáchas ón gcóras lárnach, an córas ar a bhfuil an naisiún stait agus an caipitleachas iartionsclaíochta cathrach bunaithe. Ní chóir go mba bealach é an fheinriail chun dreach daonlathach a chur ar an gcóras seo, nó dul i dtreo naisiúin stait nua a bhunú ar aon dul leo siud atathar ag iarraidh. dhíothú. In ionad sin, bheadh an fheinriail a úsáid d'fhonn eagar a chur ar shaol na ndaoine agus deis a thabhairt dóibh a gcursáil fein a stiúru ar bhonn chultuir agus dílseachta reigiúnda go speisialta. Ní feidir a ra go bhfuil aon bhealach amháin dlisteanach chun an aidhm seo a bhaint amach. In ainneoin pobail imeallacha na hEorpa bheith sa staid stairiúil céanna ní hionann reiteach ar a gcuid fadhbanna; mar sin fein tá treoirlínte áirithe nach mór leanúint dóibh i ngach cás.

Féinriail ar son forbairte: Mar a d'úradh cheana se an bac is mó ar pholasáil reigiúnda in Iarthar na hEorpa an easpa saoirse ó smacht an lair, go hairithe i bhforbairt agus i mbainistíocht an mhaoin aicionta. Mar shampla den easpa saoirse seo luaitear na boird lárnach atá bunaithe chun an tairgead a cuirtear ar fáil do na reigiúin a láimhseáil, boird nach mbíonn na pobail fein pairteach iontu go díreach ná go hindíreach fiú, orthu ta Ciste Reigiúnda na hEorpa. Mar chéad cheim i dtreo na feinrialach caithfear cumhachtaí stiúrtha, bainistíochta agus forbartha an chiste a thabhairt do bhoird aitiúla ins na reigiúin agus iad faoi smacht ag ionadaithe tofa. Tá ga le ionadaithe tofa chun breabaireacht agus bíúrochas a sheachaint. Is ar na 'Cassa per Il Mezzogiorno' is mo ata tracht ag Petrella, ach thig linn teacht níos gaire don bhaile agus Udarás na Gaeltachta a lua chomh maith le 'Comhairle nan Oilean.

Sa gcomhthéacs seo freisin ba gha Ciste Reigiúnda na hEorpa a athru agus ina áit 'Gníomhaireacht Forbartha Conasctha na hEorpa' a chur ar bun faoi cheannas Dáil na hEorpa, agus bheadh an párlimint freagrach as dréachtadh polasaithe dearfa maidir le forbairt imeallach na hEorpa.

Ba chóir conarthaí comhoibríthe a shíniú idir na reigiúin a bhfuil comhleas acu, m.sh. idir Éire, an Bhriotain agus 'Iardheisceart Sasana' (an Chorn) (ní mhiníonn Petrella caide an comhleas seo ag trí cinn de na tíortha Ceilteacha, ach dearfhainn fhein go mbeadh cursaí iascaireachta go mór i gceist anseo) Le go mbeidh eifeacht leis na moltaí seo ní mor neamhspleáchas airgeadais a thabhairt do na reigiúin imeallacha.

Citear do Phetrella go mbeadh an dílarú cumhachta le cur i gcrích tríd ceimeanna tomhaiste mar atá: I daonra na bpobal imeallach a mheadu agus deireadh a chur leis an eisimree trí forbairt talmhaíochta agus iascaireachta gan bheith ag brath go hiomlán ar an tionsclaíocht bia; bíonn mibhuntaiste i gcursáil tradála ag na reigiúin nach bíonn ach bia a sholathar acu ta tairthí maith ag na tíortha ceilteacha ar na mibhuntaistí céanna.

2. cuid de na seirbhísí teicneolaíochta a lonnu ar an imeall chomb maith le forbairt teicneolaíochta a dheanamh ar achmhainní aicionta na reigiun, m.sh forbairt ar fhuinnimh greine ar chosta na Meánmara, agus ar fhuinnimh taoide (agus gaoithe, deirimse) ar chosta an Atlantaigh Thuaidh.

3. athlonnu tionscal chun solathar cothrom seirbhísí (scoileanna, oispideil, aiseanna traenála agus bainistíochta) a chur ar fáil ins na reigiúin d'fhonn saol na ndaoine a shaibhriú, agus d'fhonn an caipitil daonna cuí don phlean iomlán a chruthu ar an Iathair.

Straitéis Chothromaithe i dtreo an Deiscirt:

Ta Petrella den tuairim go dtarlódh comhoibriú idir na pobail eorpacha sa deisceart agus na hArabaigh dá mbeadh féinriail ag na pobail sin. Ta ga len a leithéid de chomhoibriú leis an Mheanmhuir a thabhairt slán.

Straitéis Chothromaithe i dtreo an Iarthar:

Ta na tíortha Ceilteacha uilig san aireamh anseo agus is orthu is mo ata se ag diriu, cé go luann se iarthuaisceart agus iardeisceart Sasana agus ní luann se Mannin in aon chor - ní fheadar cén fath, de bhri nach bhfuil sé san CEE b'fheidir -:? Ce go seanann Petrella go bhfuil, no go raibh ariamh roimhe, an tabhacht leis an aitheantas Ceilteach ina gcreideann daoine airithe (sinne sa CC is dócha) ta se sasta admháil go bhfuil a leithéid ann agus go bhfeadfadh se cultur na hEorpa a shaibhriú in athuair. Seachas an cultur ta suíomh tabhachtach ag na tíortha Ceilteacha le haghaidh iomportála amhabhar ar a mbeadh an Eoraip ag brath. Molann se ceangal idir Éire, Alba, Cymru agus Iarthuais-ceart Sasana (thig linn Mannin a chur ina áit siúd) timpeall an Mhuir Mheann agus idir Cymru, Kernow, Breizh agus Éire timpeall an 'Mhuir Cheilteach'; sin agus ceangal níos dlúithe eatorra agus Meiricea Thuaidh, an tAontas Soiveideach agus na Soiveideach agus na tíortha Lochlannacha.

Féinriail ar son eagsulachta: Go bunúsach seard a chiallaíonn seo go gcaithfear aithint nach bhfuil aon mhórchultúr ná aon mhionchultúr san Eoraip agus go bhfuil comhchearta cultúrtha ag gach saoranach Eorpach. Ciallaíonn sé chomh maith cuidiú leis na cultúir laga teacht slán agus seanann se an ideolaíocht bhreagach adeir nach comhreiteach idir aontas agus eagsulacht, nó gurb ionann dul chun cinn agus aongheitheacht. I dtéarmaí praiticiúla ciallaíonn se aitheantas a thabhairt do chearta mhionlaigh ar eolaas, úsáid agus forbairt a dteangacha agus a gcultúr i gnach gné den saol. Chuige seo níor mhór Comhairle Cultúrtha a bhunú, go hairithe ins na 'reigiúin' ata gan fhoras cultúrtha dúchasach agus nach bhfuil aon aitheantas polaitiúil acu-go fóill.

Thig linn aontú le Petrella nuair adeir se nach mbeidh ionadaíocht ag naisiúin agus ag pobail na hEorpa i bPárlimint tofa an Chomhphobail. Bhí se níos géarchúisí fós sa mbreith a thug se (breis is 2 bhliain o shoin) go bhfeicfeadh Londain chuige nach néireodh le naisiúnaithe Cymru agus Alba guth neamhspleách a fháil san Eoraip. Ach sí an Fhrainc is mo a cháineann se mar gheall ar díspeagadh mionlaigh, agus ionsaíonn se go gear an nós imeachta ata ceaptha don Toghchan Eorpach sa bhFrainc. i. aon toghcheantar amháin a bheith sa tír iomlán sa doigh nach feidir leis na Briotáinigh agus mionlaigh eile aon ionadaíocht a fháil. In ainneoin na mbacanna agus na gconstaic ata a gcur ag tíortha mar an Fhrainc agus Sasana, dar leis go dtiocfaidh bru on imeall agus go mbeidh ceist na 'reigiúin' ina cheist bheo amach anseo i bPárlimint na hEorpa. Ce nach mbeidh iontu ach dream an bheag - idir 15 agus 20 ar a mhéad-cuirfear iachall ar na hionadaithe reigiúnda a gcuid

fadhanna a phlé agus bru á chur ar son pholasaithe Eorpaigh i leith chultúir mhionlaigh. Sa mheid sin tá níos mo dochais ag Petrella as an bpairlimint céanna ná mar ata agamsa agus ag go leor eile ar m'aithne. Ach is cosúil nach bhfuil dochas iomlán aige fein as mar deir se nach feidir leis na hathruithe teacht laistigh den choras polaitiúil atá ann, tá ga le foras nua agus molann se Aontas Conasctha na bpobal láreorpach a bhunu, ina mbeadh guth radacach ar son na nathruithe atá molta aige; measann sé leis nach leor go dtarlódh na hathruithe seo laistigh de na tiortha fein, tá gá leis an tacaíocht idirnáisiúnta.

Admhaíonn Petrella go bhfuil an leagan amach seo den 'Eoraip Nua' útoipeach agus nach bhfuil bua in ann dó gan dearcadh nua agus cul a thabhairt leis an gcoimeadachas leis an gearr radharc agus an rud ar a dtugann sé impiriúlachas na céille agus an realachais.

In the second article based on the pamphlet 'The demands of the Periphery' by Riccardo Petrella, a strategy is outlined which could result in equality of development of the 'regions' and national minorities in Western Europe. This must necessarily involve a transfer of power from the centre, giving political autonomy to these people, with local control of financial resources; it also means cultural autonomy with the recognition that all cultures and languages are equal.

Petrella deals with the strategic position of the Celtic countries, and although he denies that the Celtic identity has the significance that some attribute to it he admits that it can enrich European culture. He also proposes new interdependent relationships between the Celtic countries, based on common interests in the development of their economies.

Brid Heusaff.

THE NORTH

If the General Election proved anything in the North it proved that the Loyalists are becoming more loyalist and that many Nationalists no longer care what happens from now on.

Ian Paisley, having won two seats from the Official Unionists may be seen as the Arch Druid of Loyalty to the British Crown. One might say immediately that Unionists are divided but if one said so one would be quite wrong. The conflict between Paisley and the Official Unionists centres on one thing — who will be leader at Westminster and who will control the new power system in the North, if such a system is to come about.

The Loyalist Community are of two minds as to which is the best choice — to be assimilated completely in the United Kingdom or to wait and see if there is any chance that they can rebuild the old order again — "I wish I was in Dixie".

Ian Paisley strongly supports the rebuilding of Dixie — power to the Protestant people and the Catholics back in the cotton fields where he thinks they should be. In the meanwhile that able fox, Enoch Powell, is letting it be known that the time has come to seal the Union permanently lest there be any chance that a Nationalist majority might ever break it.

What is occurring between Paisley and Powell is a power struggle and if the ordinary Loyalist doesn't recognise that he will pay dearly to find it out in the end. There was a time when Lords and Captains of noble blood could fool Loyalists — they showed that that was not too difficult — as long as there was one Republican society in the six counties. Big Ian and the big Unionist farmers are now playing the same trick. Plus ça change

There was something odd about the elections in the six counties. Everybody was running about speaking about the problem of violence while those responsible for most of the violence were busy making bombs as if nothing were going on.

Note however that a change has taken place in that violence. Certainly, the bombs are still with us — even that most deadly of weapons, the car bomb, has re-appeared — but it would seem that the Provisional IRA leadership has turned to a new policy which is aimed at killing a British soldier, a UDR man or a member of the RUC every day if possible. It seems that the message has got home that nothing is felt in Britain if three hundred shops are blown up, but if one Tommy is killed notice is taken.

It was quite a propaganda coup for the Provisionals when they came into possession of the secret document which some fool in the British Army had sent to the North.

It is an interesting document in more ways than one. If it is studied carefully it can be seen that little has changed in British policy on the North since Mr. Maudling spoke of "an acceptable level of violence". This document accepts that the Provisionals have the capacity to continue their campaign for quite some time yet. Some people took the wrong meaning from that document — they assume that it meant that Britain is ready to leave the North. This is not the case at all, in my opinion. This was a military paper which was attempting to make an accurate assessment of the strength and capabilities of the Provisionals and whatever one might think, the estimate was accurate — although it is difficult to believe that the Provisionals could bring ground to ground missiles into the warfare. Indeed from their point of view they are not the sort of weapons usable in the kind of war they are waging. Remember all the publicity they made when they introduced the M60 machine-gun into the North. Do we hear anything of them now — you may be certain that you do not and will not — they are all in the possession of the RUC and the Gardai. There is one thing about the Provisionals, they can learn a lesson and they have learnt this lesson a long time ago. They will not buy guns or equipment which are too heavy to carry, too big to hide and too difficult to train their volunteers in.

Gradually some of the best trained and most dedicated Provisionals are coming out of jail and the British Army and the RUC know this. What the RUC would like to do would be to go into areas like the Bogside in Derry and the Ardoyne in Belfast and take between twelve and twenty men out of those areas. And as you would understand, the R.U.C. couldn't care what happens to them as long as they are not "available" during this period of fighting. That is the estimation of the R.U.C. of the strength of the Provisionals. Unlike the British Army the R.U.C. don't count the teenagers in the organisation at all. The Royal Constabulary chiefs believe that all that has to be done is to get rid of the main educated leaders and that the young lads will go back to the dances and football which engaged them before this whole insurrection started..... either that or they will be kept busy signing on for the dole.

If there is one amazing thing at this period in this year of violence it is the control which the Loyalist paramilitary groups are exercising on themselves. Imagine for yourself for a while the atmosphere in the North, if you

were a member of the UDA (Ulster Defence Assoc.) or the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force). There is a group abroad destroying your own city, killing your friends who are members of the UDR or the RUC, your neighbours one might say.

This group tells you they are non-sectarian and are operating for your own benefit in the long term — because at the end of the day you will be ruled by Southern Catholics for whom you feel nothing in common. Imagine the feelings in the heart of that person.

It is a miracle that there have not been as many Catholics as Protestants (even if they were in uniform) killed. And don't let anyone try to tell me that it was fear of the Provisionals which was behind this lack of activity. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. The paramilitaries are afraid of the RUC because they succeeded in breaking up two cells who were responsible for most of the sectarian murders in Belfast and Portadown. But apart from that one of the largest paramilitary groups has turned towards politics or towards a political philosophy of some sort and this takes us to the most interesting evolution which has come to the fore in the six counties. The UDA, the organisation which organised the Loyalist Strike which brought down the power-sharing executive is largely dominated by two people at present. Andy Tyrrie, the Chief of Staff, and Glenn Barr from Derry, who claims he is a socialist. They have founded a study group to prepare a foundation for an independent state in the North. In this independent state the Loyalists would have to abandon their loyalty to Britain while the Nationalists would have to abandon their aspiration to a United Republic. Peaceful coexistence would be an alternative to war they think. Curiously enough some of those who were supporting the Provisionals, like Paul O'Dwyer of New York are expressing interest in this plan, although the Provisionals rejected it in an oration at Boderstown (the annual commemoration ceremony for Wolfe Tone).

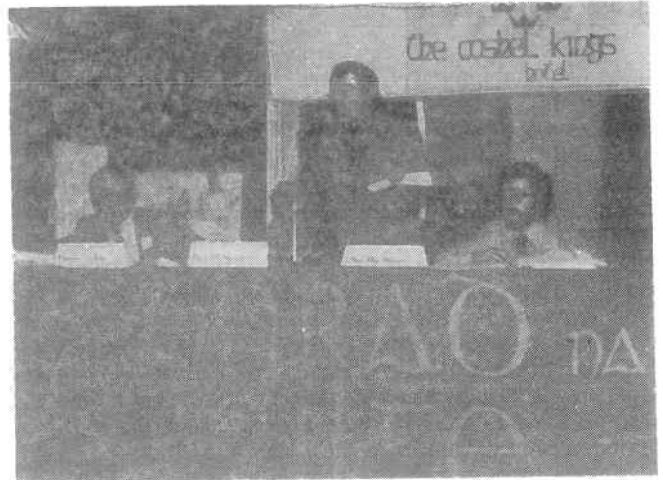
Until the details of this plan can be seen it is hard to say how effective it might be.... But perhaps this could be the most important political development in the North for years General Election and all else notwithstanding.
Peadar Gordon.

ARD FHEIS CHONRADH NA GAELIGE

The 1979 Árd-Fheis of Conradh na Gaeilge was held in Caiseal Mumhan, Tiobraid Arann on the 11th, 12th, & 13th May. Overall, it was a good Árd-Fheis with a general consensus on all major issues. Unlike previous Árd-Fheiseanna, there was less bickering and more relevant contributions to the various discussions. The attendance was down on recent years particularly on last year's "mammoth" in Droichead Átha but those who were there participated fully.

The Árd-Fheis itself was well organised, an improvement on Droichead Átha ('78), and was a credit to Pádraig Ó Mathúna and the local craobh. It was pleasant to see signs all around the town welcoming the delegates to Caiseal na Rí, and the fairly widespread use of surnames in Irish on shop fronts was even more impressive. Another impressive aspect of the Árd-Fheis was its setting: under the shadow of the Rock itself.

The Árd-Fheis got off to a slow start on Friday evening, though most delegates had arrived by then — despite a



New Pres. Albert Fry delivering his first oration. Also in photo are D. Ó hAodha (Vice-Pres.); P. Ó Mathúna (Caiseal); P. Ó Snodaigh (Outgoing Pres.); and S. MacMathúna (Permanent Secretary).

petrol shortage and a postal strike. But things began to move on Saturday. The outgoing Uachtarán (President), Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, well known to CARN readers, gave a very positive and to the point presidential address, and received a very warm standing ovation in recognition of a most successful term (his fifth), as Uachtarán. He did not stand for re-election. When the election contest was over, it was announced that Albert Fry, the multi-talented singer from Béal Feirste (Belfast) — and member of the Celtic League — had strolled home to be the 19th Uachtarán of Conradh na Gaeilge. Another to leave office at this year's Árd-Fheis was Donnchadh Ó Súilleabháin, who retired as Rúnaí (full time secretary) an Oireachtais this year after 25 years of solid service to the major cultural festival in Éire. His successor will be Art Ó Dubhthaigh.

There were many important motions discussed and passed during the Árd-Fheis. A motion was passed calling for the abandonment of the Luxury Homes scheme in Conamara, which would turn the Irish-speaking community of An Spidéal into a minority overnight. Another motion of no confidence in the Planning Board was also passed. On education, motions were passed calling for the implementation of the O Domhnalláin report on the teaching of Irish and for an assurance that the decline of the Gaeltacht would not begin in the school yard. There were also motions of support for the prisoners in H-Block and a rather optimistic (though unrealistic?) call for the Conradh to set up its own bank.

There was high praise for Béal Feirste for their achievement in gaining broadcasting hours for Irish on Downtown radio, and promises of future Irish programmes from B.B.C., an achievement which is indeed a breakthrough. The formation of "Fasach", an association of Irish-speaking lawyers was also noted with approval, as was the weekly programme link between Gaeltacht na hÉireann and Gaeltacht na h-Alban: "Cia mar a tha sibh?"

All in all, it was a fulfilling Árd-Fheis with delegates satisfied with the achievements of the Ó Snodaigh era and looking forward to those of Albert Fry. Delegates voted in favour of holding next year's Árd-Fheis in Cois Fharraige in the Conamara Gaeltacht.

Vivian Uíbh Eachach.

FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

The last four months can hardly have given any comfort to the Government Party, Fianna Fáil, particularly as the date for the local elections in the Republic (June 7th – the same day as the European Elections) draws near. It must be said that most of the damage is self inflicted. Having failed to come up with a tax system for farmers which would ensure that they paid their fair share of tax the government early in the year decided that a 2% levy on all farm sales would be imposed. This drew a strong reaction from farmers' organisations and resulted in a climb down by the government in the short term, and modifications to the scheme.

In the meantime the PAYE (Pay As You Earn) tax-payers revolt began to gather momentum when the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union organised a large demonstration in Dublin, in early March, with up to 50,000 people taking part to demand tax reform. The call made by the Dublin Trades Council for a nationwide protest was taken up and on Tuesday, March 20th, what was surely the largest demonstration in the history of the state took place. In Dublin upwards of 150,000 workers left their jobs in a massive show of strength and paraded to the Dáil (Parliament). Only essential services were maintained as shops, offices, businesses, schools, factories, public houses, restaurants, and hotels shut; power cuts were necessary, T.V. programmes were disrupted, Dublin Airport was virtually shut down, and the deep sea section of the port was closed. The demonstrations took place in all the major cities and towns with 40,000 parading in Cork and similar figures proportionately elsewhere. Calls were made for a complete reform of the PAYE system. Near the end of April 'The National Understanding on Economic and Social Development' was unveiled following weeks of talks between the Congress of Trade Unions, Employers and the Government. The package provided for a two phased agreement on wage levels for 15 months giving an overall increase of 14.9%, an increase in the Autumn in welfare payments and conditional concessions on income tax. The deal was rejected by a large majority at a special delegate conference of the trade union movement in May, as being totally inadequate to meet the ravages of inflation and insufficient to help the lower paid. So, after years of National Wage Agreements the free-for-all of "free collective bargaining" is on the way.

In late April, the farming organisations having refused to accept new taxation arrangements, the 2% (but with exceptions) agricultural levy was restored but many groups who would be involved in its collection intimated their refusal to co-operate in its collection.

The most serious thing to occur however, in recent months must be the prolonged postal workers' strike, at the time of writing in its fourth month. This involved not only all normal postal services but also all manually operated telephone exchanges (including Government Department switchboards). The West and North West which are still largely on manual exchanges, have been very badly hit with the agency for industrial development in the Gaeltacht, Gaeltarra Éireann, being severely affected. Dire forecasts have been made of the effect on the tourist industry, with a £50 million loss forecast. Many industries, particularly export ones have been badly hit by loss of orders and those involved in Industrial Development say that potential industries have been lost. The Electricity Supply Board says it has a shortfall of

£18 million in receipts which is costing it a £¼ million a month in interest. Although some talks have taken place there seems no sign of a settlement in the dispute yet.

As if matters were not bad enough the State has been badly affected by a severe fuel shortage which began to bite severely here from early March, months before any crisis became apparent elsewhere. No heating oil has been available since then, with all diesel being diverted to agriculture and industry (and summer has not come here yet either!) From early April the shortage has developed in petrol, becoming critical in recent weeks despite one increase (4p) having been granted in April and another (11p) in May, making the price now £1.10 per gallon. Rationing has, as of yet, been ruled out and it is only this crisis which has finally opened the Government's eyes to the need for independence from the oil companies (with a National Oil Corporation being proposed) and for effective conservation measures.

"Let's get the country moving again," Fianna Fáil said – moving where we might well ask, down the drain?
J. O'F.

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

The postal strike has caused considerable disruptions in C.L. work which depends so much on correspondence and dispatching of our quarterly. CARN 25 was mailed from the North or Wales but at a cost of 40% more than usual in Dublin. We could not afford to repeat this for CARN 26.

On the eve of publishing the second 1979 issue of CARN, we are in the dark as to how many of our 1978 subscribers in Ireland and outside the other Celtic countries have posted their renewed subscriptions. We have sent Nr 25 to many people without waiting to know, but we shall have to proceed more cautiously with the distribution of CARN Nr 26. We feel some apprehension as regards a certain drop in shop orders, and also because, of the all too few members who take copies to sell, three or four who took fairly large numbers are due to move to other places where they will no longer have such opportunities.

We should like therefore to appeal to all who are anxious to see the Celtic League develop to help us to overcome the present difficulties in whatever way they can.

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

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

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

KERNOW

PLE WHRA MOS MEBYON KERNOW WARLEGH AN DEWYSYANS?

Wosa try ombrofyer a ve fethys y'n dewysyons a yl Mebyon Kernow gwaytya dhe sowynay yn y assay dhe funoya Kernow avel bro keltek rewlys gans Kernowyon y'n a servysy an seneth Westminster. Yn - certan an brassa ran a dus a grys bos governans an tyr a dro dhyn-ny yn poynt gwella gans an ymptynyon bras an dus skentyl a Westminster agas y fya y'n Dornow an bobel dythyak. A wra Mebyon Kernow trelya y dybyansow rag sewya both an moyha ran an dythyoryon po ousa an keth forth wor'tu ha gwlas Keltek war ben enys rewlys dynorth gwlas Sansnek?

(What is the future now for Mebyon Kernow after the General election? What direction will they move in?

C. J.

CONGRESS IN KERNOW

Sadly the General Election, in Kernow, caused the postponement of the Congress of Welsh, Breton and Cornish movements, due to have been held in Truro the last weekend in May. It is hoped by the organisers, the Kernow Branch, Celtic League, to re-schedule the dates of this congress to a date later in the summer more convenient to all.

The idea of such a congress came about as a result of informal talks between members of Mebyon Kernow and UDB last autumn.

No deliberate decision was made to make the congress exclusive to the Welsh, Breton and Cornish movements, it was just felt that as 'neighbours' there would be more common ground to establish a regular meeting.

It is hoped, when the Congress finally takes place, that a common approach, perhaps through the medium of Europe, may be made to many of our collective problems. Secondly it is hoped that regular meetings may be established between representatives of the various countries. The enforced postponement of the congress enables us to invite representatives from other countries and indeed anyone else who wishes to attend. As yet a new set of dates has not been fixed, but anyone who may be interested in attending should contact either of the Kernow Branch secretaries (see back page) and they will be informed of the relevant details. M.W.

ELECTION 79

From the results of the 1979 Westminster elections we could well imagine the strength of Cornish National consciousness increasing as we move from the border in the East to the Lands End in the West. However we would be mistaken in thinking so as many other factors affected the results to give the national movement a larger percentage of the vote in the West of Cornwall.

Of the 5 Westminster seats in Cornwall M.K. (Mebyon Kernow) fought 3 and the C.N.P. (Cornish Nationalist Party) contested 1 seat.

In East Cornwall where the Tories had a marginal seat from the Liberals, M.K. did not do as well as expected. Here the Tories increased their majority from 665 to 10,029 and M.K. fighting the seat for the first time took 865 votes (1.6% of votes cast) beating the total of both the Ecology

Party and National Front added together - further West James Whetter contesting the Truro seat for the third time (although his first as a C.N.P. candidate) and, yet again caught in a marginal, plummeted from 384 gained as an M.K. candidate in the last election to 227. A very moderate election address from James Whetter must have persuaded potential C.N.P. voters to switch to 10% nationalist Penhaligon (Liberal) who increased his majority from 464 to over 8,000.

In the west, L. Truran M.K.'s National Secretary, took 3% of the vote in the Falmouth-Camborne area. M.K. had last fought this seat 9 years ago. In 1970 M.K.'s vote was 960 which increased by 10% to 1,637 in this election.

For the best result we, must go to St. Ives where M.K. through hard work won 4% of the vote (1,662). It was the first time they have contested this seat and is an indication of what can be achieved.

However well M.K. did in this last election it is still obvious who won central government and no matter how many of the new settlers in Cornwall are persuaded to vote for the national movement those who vote for the centralist parties are always in the majority - we must not forget that.

J.A.T.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

Somewhat overshadowed by the Westminster elections were those for the Cornish District Councils, which were much more encouraging for the national movement. Mebyon Kernow contested a record 19 seats on four of the six District Councils, from St. Just in the far west to St. Ive, 10 miles from the English border. The CNP did not contest any local election this time, preferring to put their faith in the election of sympathetic 'Independents'.

In all 10422 votes were cast for MK candidates but unfortunately no seats were gained, though Paul Holmes came within 31 votes against Labour and Tory candidates at Camborne.

Two candidates were returned; Neil Plummer, unopposed at Stithians and Roger Holmes, who received 1693 votes at Liskeard to go back onto the council with ease.

Best votes in percentage terms, apart from those mentioned above, were by Peter Manley at Lanteglos, a rural ward in East Cornwall; Len Truran in Redruth South; Jan Williams in Illogan North; Malcolm Williams at St. Just and Peter Prior in St. Ives South.

The strongest electoral intervention took place in the Redruth-Illogan area, with six candidates turning in creditable performances on the strength of heavy involvement in community issues such as hospital closures and council housing rent rises. Perhaps the most promising omen for the future was the vote for Ian Williams in Illogan South where, opposed by a full slate of Tory and Labour candidates plus a Liberal he managed to poll the votes of just over 22% of the electors.

MK activists, encouraged by these results, are already looking forward to the Cornwall Council elections of 1981, where they hope MK will be able to contest a majority of the 72 seats. Whether this will happen depends on the ability of the party to build up its local organisation and involve itself more in community politics. Partial successes at the local level are seen as a useful beginning, certainly not an end.

MANNIN

NY hAMERICANEE AS ULLEE

It is well known that American interest in the situation in north-eastern Ireland is not unconnected with forthcoming elections in the USA. However, it would be a mistake to be entirely cynical about all such pronouncements by American politicians.

Tra haink Carter y ve eaghtyrane ny Steatyn Unnaneysst, va skeeal goll mygeayrt dy row eh feer voirit mychione y chaggey ayns "Ullee" as dy beagh eh goaill ymmyd jeh niart Americanagh dy 'eaysley yn caggey shen. Agh derrey nish, cha nel shin er chalashtyn monney mychione ny hAmericanees as Nerin — er—lhimmey jeh raaghyn nish as reesht veih Americanees—Yernagh myr Edward Kennedy as Tip O'Neill, yn Loayreyder jeh Thie ny Chaghteryn ayns Washington.

Agh nish ta Tip O'Neill er chur shilley er Beeal Feirshthey as t'eh er ve gaccan dy vel politickeyryn Goaldagh goaill ymmyd jeh "Ullee" myr bluckan—coshey politickagh. Kyndagh rish goan O'Neill, ta ram politickeyryn Goaldagh er ngoll ass nyn geeal, guee mollaht er yn Americanagh lunagh shoh ta cur eie er "cooishyn Goaldagh." Va Bnr Thatcher, yn Chiarn Hailsham, Shirley Williams as Stan Orme ny-mast'oc shen ren gaccan mychione Tip O'Neill.

Shione dooin coilley dy vel ny hAmericanees hene goaill ymmyd jeh "Ullee" myr bluckan—coshey politickagh. Ta fys ec y teihll dy vel Tip O'Neill nane jeh caaryn mooarey Edward Kennedy, dooinney vees gearree goaill yn eaghtyraneys veih Carter, foddee. As shione dooin dy vel voteyn ny Americanees—Yernagh feer scanshoil.

Ny—yeih shen as ooilley, cha lhisagh ny Yernees as nyn gaaryn soiahty beg jeh sym Americanagh ayns cooishyn Yernagh.

Ta ny Goaldee prowal dy debejagh dy lhiggey er dy vel ny reddyn ta goll er ayns twoaie ny hErin fo'n smaght oc. Ta'n propaganda Goaldagh gra dy vel daa phossan dy Yernees caggey ry-cheilley kyndagh rish cooishyn credjue. My ta red erbee taghyrt ta soilshaghey magh dy vel ny Goaldee ginsh breeagyn, eisht ta ny Goaldee cheet dy ve feer chorree as imneagh.

Hoillshee yn skeeal Bennett magh dy vel ny Goaldee as nyn gaaryn soie er Yernees ayns towaie ny hErin ayns aght barbaragh. Ta ny Goaldee foast lhiggey er dy nee "propaganda pobblaghtagh" ny skeealyn mychione sleith ta fo ourys goll er custey ec ny meoiryn-shee as sidooryn Goaldagh. Gyn ourys ta propaganda ny Shallidee mie dy liooar, agh ta ny Goaldee hene er ghra dy hoikoil dy vel y lheid taghyrt. S'treih lhiam gra eh, agh ta mish credjal dy vel ram Goaldee (Sostnee as Celtiee) smooinghtyn dy lhisagh Yernees goll er smaghtaghey er y fa dy nee Yernees ad! Cha jean reiltys Goaldagh cur monney geill ec y tra t'ayn da red erbee ta taghyrt ayns ny hellanyn shoh bentyn rish y chaggey ayns Nerin. Agh my ta Americanees ny Germaanees ny Frangees gra red ennagh mychione Nerin, shen cooish elley. Lhisagh ny Yernees (as sleih elley) ve hwooisal tra ta deiney goll rish Tip O'Neill gaccan mychione tranlaase Goaldagh ayns Nerin. Red erbee ta leodaghey yn tranlaase shen, t'eh foaysagh.

Gyn ourys ta O'Neill gearree cooney lesh

Kennedy dy heet dy ve yn Eaghtyrane Americanagh. Agh ec y tra cheddin t'eh jeeaghyn dy row fys ec Carter dy row O'Neill er-chee gaccan mychione foalsaght Goaldagh ayns Nerin. S'doillee y ve gaccan mychione tranlaase sy Roosh tra nagh kiartyssyn undinagh ry gheddyn ayns Nerin.

Brian MacStoyll

CELTIC CONGRESS, DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MANN.

It was at the suggestion of the Millenium Committee that the Celtic Congress was held in Mannin this year, Eire who was to have been the host country standing down in our favour.

The theme, "My Country and the Isle of Mann", was calculated to give a suitably light hearted attitude to this festive year, nevertheless a number of most interesting and informative papers were delivered and it is hoped that they can be published in the near future as of interest to a serious scholar.

It was pleasing to note that the proportion of younger participants had increased and a number of local young people came each night to the "giense" and the two very fine concerts reached larger audiences than those attending the congress.

A visit to Tynwald Chambers (The Manx equivalent of the Palace of Westminster), with talks by Mr. Quayle, the Clerk of Tynwald and former clerk Mr. Kerween, M.H.K., explained the mechanics of our government, and gave some historical background.

The subsidy of the Congress by a Manx Government department is an innovation which hopefully will set a precedent and this year somewhat controversial Millenium junketings could stimulate self confidence and greater sense of identity.

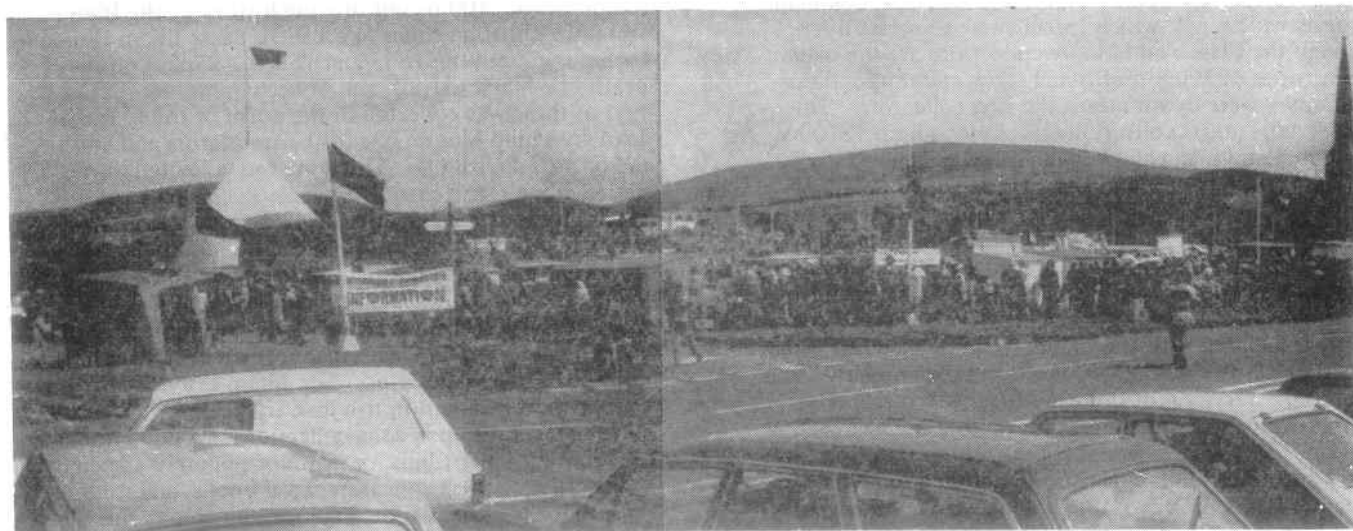
Jack Irving.

TYNWALD FAIR FIELD

On July 5th each year the Manx Government assembles at Tynwald Hill, St. John's, for the purpose of announcing new laws that have been passed during the preceding year. This ancient open air ceremony, or fair, is attended by the majority of the islands residents; it is a national holiday, and tourists flock there in their thousands. The Manx people are proud of their heritage and just as proud of the Tynwald Hill area which they rightly feel belongs to the people.

This year the Manx Government celebrates its Millenium and special arrangements are being planned for Tynwald Day celebrations. Tynwald Fair Field, as it is commonly known, is cared for by the Government Property Trustees, but arrangements for this year have fallen under the jurisdiction of "Tynwald Ceremony Arrangements Committee", whose members comprise M.H.K.'s, (members of the House of Keys), under the chairmanship of Deemster Eason.

In February of this year St. John's residents were shocked to see the felling of some 35 mature trees and the demolition of a dry-stone wall surrounding the War Memorial Garden at the north side of the Fair Field, and the erection of a wooden fence in its place, thus enlarging the area to be used to house two marquees, with closed circuit TV to cover the Tynwald proceedings which are to be presided over by the Lord of Mann, i.e. The English Queen Elizabeth. The memorial garden, which



A general view of Tynwald Hill and the Fair Field during Tynwald ceremonies on July 5th.

has been held in reverence for the past 55 years has been redesignated Fair Field, and the various organisations will be erecting their stalls there on Tynwald Day. It is proposed to erect a commemorative stone "Yn Clagh Millenium (!) Tynwald 1979" and a flagpole in the area.

These alterations provoked an angry response from the people of St. John's. A campaign to ensure that the local residents are consulted before any further change takes place in the area is being led by St. John's housewife, Mrs. Evelyn Caley. A special public meeting was requisitioned by the Captain of the Parish on 23rd February. The meeting was attended by the two M.H.K.'s for the area, and some 100 parishioners supported by people from all over the island.

The meeting overwhelmingly supported the call for a 'Stop Notice' to be served on the Tynwald Ceremony Arrangements Committee to prevent any further desecration of the area. Despite firm assurances given in Tynwald (our parliament) that changing the face of this famous area would be a "tremendous improvement", the campaign has been successful in putting a halt (if only temporarily) to any further interference in the area. Planning permission for the erection of the commemorative stone and flagpole is forced to go to review and it is unlikely that work will be completed in time for this year's celebrations on Tynwald Day. However, the desecration of this area by a government body has high-lighted the fact that we have a desperate need for a demolition 'law' and the extent to which a government body can do as it will without needing permission.

It is rank vandalism to do so much devastation for only one day, without warning, and without going through the proper procedure which anybody else wishing to conduct any demolition or erection of buildings has to observe. P.B.

THE MANX SONG AND MUSIC TRADITION

Although many people may be aware of the surge in popularity of Manx traditional songs and music over the past five years or so, not many perhaps would be au fait with the actual subject matter itself, or what the sources are upon which the present revival is based.

There are two main branches of this tradition, one concerned with the songs, the other with the music, and I shall concern myself first of all with the latter.

The major collection of folk music undertaken in the Isle of Man was made by a medical practitioner from Castletown called Dr. John Clague, who was also able to play the violin (I use this word as opposed to fiddle, as he received his training in classical rather than traditional music). When he would go on his rounds, particularly in the country areas, he would take his note-book with him, and after treating his patient, which may only have taken a few minutes, he would possibly spend a further couple of hours with him/her taking down any traditional material. Dr. Clague made his collection mainly in the south of the Island from between 1893 and 1896, and was assisted in the north by a friend W.H. Gill from 1896 to 1898. Gill published his *Manx National Songs* in 1896 and his *Manx National Music* in 1898. The first contains some fifty airs with English words associated with them, not necessarily relating to the original Manx, the second some 120 tunes drawn from the Clague collection, which contains some 270 separate items, including variants collected from more than one person; many of the airs in Clague appear in fair-copy form as well as in rough, thus at first giving an impression that there are more than what there in fact is. Practically all the tunes noted give the name of the informant. The airs in Gill's books, consonant with traditional airs collected in Ireland and Scotland at about the same time, are harmonized 'to meet the tastes of an immediate public', and in several cases tunes have been expanded and/or 'improved', and a comparison with the original in ms. shows this. About 125 airs from the Clague collection, including words where known, appeared in the *Journal of the (English) Folksong Society*, Vol.7, Nos.28-30, in 1923-26. Clague's mss. are now housed in the Manx Museum.

At about the same time traditional songs and airs were also being collected by A. W. Moore, Speaker of the House of Keys, and in 1896 he brought out his *Manx Ballads and Music* which contains some 74 songs, of which 40 have airs associated with them; again the airs are harmonized. In many cases Moore has airs not

found in the Clague collection. But Moore's book mainly deals with songs, which I shall come to presently. Though the Clague and Moore collections are the main repositories of Manx traditional songs and music, these gentlemen were by no means the first collectors. The first serious music collection was made around 1810 by a Cumberland man called Shepherd who came to the Island in c.1806 to teach music. He collected about 90 tunes, practically all of them psalm tunes. It is in this collection that the air to the traditional song Mylecharaine is first noted. However, the first publication of secular tunes came out in 1820 in J. Barrow's *Mona Melodies*, which contains 13 tunes fitted to English words (none associated with the original Manx). Many of these tunes appear in the Clague collection taken directly from this book; very few of them did Clague himself collect from informants, which may suggest that between 1820 and the 1890's many had fallen out of the tradition. In 1869 and 1873 William Harrison published in *Mona Miscellanies* (vol.1 & 2) two tunes along with about twenty ballads in Manx. After the Moore and Clague collections were made, some twenty tunes, mostly drawn from Clague but also one or two others hitherto not noted, were published by Sophia Morrison in *Mannin* (1913-17). In 1928 Mona Douglas produced a booklet of 12 folk-songs with Manx and English words (translated mainly from the original); a similar dozen were brought out in 1929 and 1957. Of the 36 songs published only about ten did she collect herself from oral sources; the rest came from the Moore and Clague collections. Because of lack of space not all the verses of the songs are included, and in one or two cases words are associated with airs not hitherto known to be so. During the course of the 1920's and before, Mona Douglas collected from oral tradition at least twenty five songs (tunes and words), many of which were not recorded by previous collectors, and a good number of these remain as yet unpublished.

With regard to the songs themselves (i.e. the lyrics) the main collection is that of A. W. Moore. In the preface to his *Manx Ballads and Music* he states that he collected them from manuscript, printed and oral sources. Not all the songs printed survive in his ms. collection, now in the Manx Museum, and in those cases we have to rely on Moore's book for the extant version. Where it is possible to check his source, we find that in a number of cases he has transcribed the song accurately, that is to say, in non-standard orthography reflecting the original ms. (It must be noted that 90% of Manx in ms. is in non-standard orthography). However, at times Moore has altered in the process of "improving", or merely not understanding the original, between the ms. and printed stage. This leads one to suspect that the originals of these songs extant only in Moore's book may have appeared differently in ms.

Moore was, as can be seen, not the first collector. Many of the songs collected by him came from the so-called Robert Gawne collection, which dates to about 1837. Not much of this collection, unfortunately survives, and what little of it does is in Moore's ms. collection. The ms. of three songs from the Gawne collection can be dated to c.1770. About a dozen songs all-told are extant in mss. dating from this period, and it is evident that a serious attempt at this time was made to collect Manx traditional material. The mss. of this period include such songs as *Fin as Oshin* (the only surviving piece of *Fiannafocht* in Manx), the *Manannan Ballad*

(composed c.1500 recounting the history of the Island from pre-Christian times to c.1500), *Baase Iliam Dhone* (composed between 1653 and 1690), a lament on the death of a Manx patriot, and *Mylecharaine*, etc. The first of these was collected in the north of the Island in 1762 by Philip Moore, one of the translators and editors of the Manx Bible. This song was collected during a period when MacPherson's *Ossianic Poems* received much public attention, and it is likely that the interest they caused urged collectors of this period in Man to find what Fenian, and other, material was to be found in Manx tradition; the spate of manuscripts of this date seems to suggest this. All in all there are about fifty or so complete songs in Manx, many of which appear in more than one manuscript. The *Iliam Dhone* ballad, for instance, is extant in five mss. so far discovered. Not all song ms. turn up in song collections. A good number are hidden amongst bills, or mss. not remotely associated with songs. Others appear in carval books, and it happens that the same two or three turn up among this material, implying that these songs enjoyed considerable popularity at the turn of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Many other songs survive in fragmented form.

During the last quarter of the 18th century Methodism was introduced into the Island, and many ordinary Manx men and women were persuaded by its doctrines. They were actively encouraged to abandon the singing of secular songs, and to turn their attention all the more to carval singing. Carvals are folksongs with religious subject matter, and though they were part of Manx tradition before the arrival of Methodism (some of the earliest carval mss. date from 1729), the Methodists actively encouraged them to promote this feature of folk tradition. The word 'carval' is of uncertain origin, but may be cognate with the English word carol (from Old French 'carole'). Carvals usually extended to some 35 verses in length – sometimes to over sixty verses – and were sung originally in the parish churches every *Oie'l Voirrey*, or St. Mary's Eve (Christmas Eve), then subsequently in the Methodist chapels, and the ceremony in which they were sung was very similar to the Welsh *Plygain*. The tradition of carval singing at *Oie'l Voirrey* continued down, particularly in the north of the Island, to the beginning of the last war. Will Wade of Orrisdale in the north, the last carval singer, died in 1948. The singing of secular songs also continued on into the 20th century, one of the last exponents of which was Harry Kelly of Cregneash (in the south) who died in 1935.

As to how the songs were sung, we are fortunate in having some information, both written and oral, giving some indication of delivery. In all cases it becomes apparent that some use was made of ornamentation, irregular timing, holding back at intervals in the song, which appear at first unpredictable, and a picture is conjured up of something similar to what can be heard from traditional singers (both in Irish and in English) in Ireland today. We also are told that a Manx traditional singer would at times stop during a song and explain more about a particular point, a feature still noticeable in Gaelic singing in Scotland nowadays.

Shorys y Creayrie

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DESCENT INTO CIVILIZATION

by Margaret O'Hara
and Bernadette Bulfin.

"What is History but a fable agreed upon" Napoleon.

Fifteen hundred years ago, in the so-called Dark Ages, many European women enjoyed more power and freedom than their descendants do today.

A typical 20th century westerner unconsciously assumes that the status of women gradually improved as civilization progressed upward to the point at which it now stands. However, a study of European pre-medieval laws reveals many surprises that challenge our assumptions about historical progress. Take, for example, the Germanic law codes. The Roman historian Tacitus commented upon the relatively high status of women in Germanic tribal life, which these codes reflect.

But it is the laws of Ireland and Wales which are the most startling. Their codes gave more rights and protection to women than any other western law code at that time or since. Equal pay for work of equal value, "wages for housework", protection from violence, equitable separation laws, enforcement during marriage of the right of both spouses to respect and fidelity - before the English conquests, Celtic women enjoyed all this and more.

In the Celtic churches too, which developed after A.D., women had a respected place and participated in the celebration of Mass. It would be a thousand years before another church of comparable importance allowed women at the altar except to clean.

The following is a brief discussion of some of the Celtic laws which specifically relate to women's rights. They date back to the pagan era, and as the people converted to Christianity, most of these laws were retained, the Irish laws being codified between 500-900 A.D.

Marriage

Celtic law recognized virtually every possible sexual relationship between men and women and made provision that the women and children would not be exploited or neglected.

There were several types of marriage, the most desired being that of social equals with the families' blessings. But any relationship that was exclusive for its duration was recognized. The law viewed sexual intercourse as creating a bond, for if a man and woman lived together for a short while - three days in Wales, thirty in Ireland - it was a marriage in the eyes of the law, with the protection of the marriage laws extended to the women and children. The idea of "bastardy" was alien to Celtic Law. A child did not lose its rights of claims to paternal support because of its parents' actions. Upon a marriage of equals, the husband paid part of the wedding settlement directly to his wife, which she kept permanently as her own property, separate from his. In Ireland, for the next twenty years, an increasingly large portion of the family property was assigned to her as yearly payments for her contributions to running the farm and household.

If a woman did the "full work of a woman (which included nursing, housework and farm work) ...she shall obtain the value of the full work of a man." So a wife acquired financial independence over the years as she kept 1) whatever property she

brought into a marriage, 2) her wedding endowment and 3) what was due for her work.

The law saw marriage as a contract, a partnership in which there were mutual rights and responsibilities. Therefore, upon marriage, a woman did not lose any rights; she could own property or, in one case at least, be a judge. She kept her family name (this lasted in Ireland and Wales until a century ago) and was a "co-lord" with her husband, with equal rights in the business of farm and household. All dealings between the two were to be fair and without deceit. In a marriage of equals, "either of the two parties can dissolve the bad contracts of the other." While a wife had to accept her husband's primacy and leadership there is an absence of all sense of subjugation.

Adultery and Violence

Although Celtic society was not totally monogamous, adultery by both men and women was taken very seriously. A man had the right to expect fidelity and discreet conduct from his wife or he could bring her to law. She in turn could demand fines if she caught him in adultery whether they separated or not.

Promiscuity was definitely frowned upon: if a woman made arrangements to meet a man "in a bush or a bed" the law gave her no protection. Other than this, a man was responsible for the results of his sexual activity, both inside and outside of marriage. And if she were raped, the oath of a woman of good repute was conclusive as to whether or not she had been violated and by whom. The guilty man was responsible for any child that might result and had to pay a heavy fine to her - a sensible solution.

Then a Celtic wife with a violent husband had more protection than most women do today. For example, in Wales a husband had a right to expect his wife to be chaste, to avoid speaking contemptuously of him and not to mismanage joint property. If she neglected these duties he could chastise her but only with three strokes of a rod. If he used more force, she could bring him to law for fines, whether they separated or not.

But this earthy law recognized that women as well as men were entitled to a little indulgence when provoked. If her husband committed adultery, a wife was exempt from legal penalties for acts of jealousy, up to bloodletting, against him, his new love and their families, for three days.

Separation

While most marriages remained intact, the Celts like all northern European tribes, allowed separation with right to remarry. As with other contracts, the marriage contract could be broken by mutual consent or on the petition of either party only for a few serious reasons, such as adultery or impotence. One party could not arbitrarily end a marriage without good cause, as a man could under Mosaic law. On the contrary, it seems it was easier for a woman to get a separation than a man. Perhaps this was because the land, which was tribal, stayed with the husband, so that even with a fair distribution of property the wife was more likely to suffer financially if the marriage broke up.

Not until the rise of "civilization" did this change: Protestant England banned divorce in Catholic Ireland.

Because of tribalism, a marital break up was not as traumatic as it often is today. Besides insuring

financial security, the law provided that every tribe member should be cared for in sickness and old age. Children too had fewer problems from parental separation. It was the custom in northern Europe to place children at an early age in the care of other clan members for their upbringing. So children or separated or widowed parents did not suffer a disruption of family life, nor was a single parent left to bring up children alone. Meanwhile the law prevented neglect or abuse by carefully regulating fosterage.

If a couple did separate, a fair division of property was made. For example, in Wales the husband got the bottom sheets and the wife the top, she got the cats and he the poultry, and the quern for grinding grain was rendered useless by one getting the top and the other the bottom stone. Perhaps such strange divisions served to deter separations.

Intellectuals, then and now have claimed that the ancient Celts were either "immoral" or "sexually liberated," depending on their own views. Neither view is correct. For the law discouraged casual or violent sex and had several key elements, the lack of which today makes a travesty of "women's sexual liberation" - economic security for the woman, protection of children through fosterage and, most importantly, male responsibility.

Punishment

As there was neither torture nor imprisonment (these came with the rise of the state), the guilty party was punished by paying fines in goods or services to the victim. These fines were based on the victim's social rank, the seriousness of the offence and the defendant's ability to pay. Members of the chieftain classes were expected to behave more responsibly and were punished accordingly by heavier fines and loss of rank. Judges too were held responsible for their actions, for they could be fined for passing bad judgements. There was social pressure to pay; the law, after all, arose from custom and was not imposed by any "elite" from above. However, if judgement was flouted, a criminal could be declared outside the law - a fearsome prospect, for anyone could kill him with impunity.

If this sounds like the Garden of Eden, it should be noted that like all northern tribes, the Celts were definitely warlike, patriarchal and had slaves, as well as practicing human sacrifice before Christianity. Also, class divisions were strict, ranging from chieftains to slaves, with lessening of rights for all in the lower orders.

What happened to change women's status in Western culture?

Heretofore, the only pattern of life known to the Celts was tribalism, which entails mutual responsibility, accountability and clear sense of interdependence. Tribal laws handed down through generations were recognized by all.

The Romans introduced to western Europe what most of us assume is necessary and beneficial for a properly civilized people: the state. The meeting of Roman civilization and tribalism produced new situations which led to a breakdown of the older tribal order. In this clash, popular assemblies and elected officials lost their importance; chieftains became kings. The mass

of freemen lost their political power and sank into dependence on large landowners. A new relation came about - vassal to overlord rather than common tribal loyalty. Women lost many of their rights when the great mass of Europeans lost theirs with the rise of the state.

This descent into serfdom and civilization happened for many Europeans in the period just before 1000 AD, which date marks the end of the Dark Ages in most histories. In the Celtic lands it began with the twelfth century Norman invasions and was completed in Ireland with the conquests of the seventeenth century. The Celtic codes were then replaced with English law of the period which was even harsher than medieval law. Under the new system torture could be used to extract confessions for several hundred capital offences, and a landlord could confiscate common lands and throw people off their farms to beg if he decided grazing was more profitable than farming. It is no surprise that under such a system a man had complete control over his wife. It was as part of this general loss of freedom that women became the slaves of the slaves.

History has never been an objective science, the intellectual establishment has always been hostile to European tribalism - witness the terms "Dark Ages" and "barbarian." Instead of locating Europe's roots in its tribal past, intellectuals have located the foundations of western civilization in Mediterranean slave states like Greece and Rome. Since they have controlled the sources of information through centuries, the truth has nearly been wiped out.

It is time to lift this curtain of deliberate misinformation and find the truth hidden behind the headlong western march into "civilization". In the area of women's rights much of the long struggle is only to regain what was once enjoyed by Celtic women 1500 years ago.

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Information from readers on family law, women's status and fosterage among all Celtic peoples (or other nationalities) especially before onslaught of civilization would be appreciated. Also any information on what caused the decline, how long old ways lasted and religion's (Protestant, R.C., Celtic Church, fairy faith) affect on women's status. Send to Margaret O'Hara, 3950 The Bell, Chicago Ill. 60618, U.S.A.

QUEBEC IMMERSION CLASSES AND THEIR RELEVANCE AS A MODEL FOR CELTIA

Unquestionably one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult problem facing the re-emerging Celtic countries is that of teaching the native language to non-Celtic speakers. Educators and other interested parties are turning increasingly to the immersion method of teaching and the occasional report coming out of Celtia would seem to indicate more than a passing interest there in the Quebec experience. In fact Montreal school boards were complimented earlier this year by the visit of a group of dedicated educators from the Clwyd region of Cymru who were anxious to see for themselves how second language (French) teaching was handled in that city. But what can the Celtic countries learn from Quebec?

The French immersion programme was instituted in a selected Anglophone school in a Montreal suburb in 1965 at the request of parents who were dissatisfied with the results of traditional methods of teaching the language. It was first introduced to children at the kindergarten level, then continued for another four years after which they received a 'half and half' programme in 'bilingual' classes for another two years before switching to the regular English programme with its daily French lessons. Following the seeming success of this pilot project, and, parents being mindful of a changing political reality, similar classes mushroomed in the general Montreal area.

Success for the programme was naturally sought and if the programme's authors were aware of any shortcomings they did not admit to them publicly. On the contrary, perhaps the most widely published comment on the classes was contained in a letter to the press, written by Dr. Lambert of McGill University, researcher for the programme, who claimed that the children who had been in the immersion programme could speak French as well as French children, and, at the same time, achieve better results in English tests than their peers in the regular English stream.

In spite of the glowing results claimed by its researcher it is just not true that immersed children speak French as well as French pupils. Unless French is spoken in the home the children speak French only when addressing the teacher in the time they are at school. During recess, lunch hour, and among themselves, the language is invariably English. Hence, although their pronunciation is very good, their vocabulary is limited and their opportunity of increasing it out of school where the home environment is Anglophone is very slim indeed. In fact, it has been since found by testing that where children, who have had the usual Anglophone schooling with its daily French lessons, are given a year's immersion at the age thirteen level — a later alternative programme — their French turns out to be as good as that spoken by children immersed earlier and longer except for their pronunciation which remains less polished.

Because the emphasis is on the acquisition of language it follows that other subjects are inadequately taught in immersion classes where the teacher is concerned with frequent repetition of vocabulary in order to maintain the illusion of a French milieu. In fact children who transfer prematurely out of immersion classes are usually put a year behind their age level in the regular English classes.

This brings us to another adverse side effect of the programme namely the large number of children who drop out of immersion classes sometimes with serious emotional prob-

lems. For example, in one school a kindergarten enrolment of thirty-eight children immersed in French ended up as a class of twelve children four years later. A few had moved out of the district (it was before the present exodus) but most had fallen by the wayside. Whereas this rate of failure is exceptional nevertheless it highlights the problem.

If the aim of the French immersion programme in Anglophone schools in Quebec is to fit the Anglophone child to become a fully participating Quebec citizen then the programme fails dismally because the immersed student simply does not get enough immersion to allow him to enter the French cultural and social mainstream which remains alien to him. At the same time he misses out on the acquisition of some of his own cultural heritage in his early years.

One should also bear in mind that, as with the nationalist drive, so too the language problem of Quebec does not bear a direct parallel to the Celtic experience. The Anglophone in Quebec never was a French Canadian: the Anglophones (of the British Celtic countries) and the Francophones (of Breizh) are themselves descendants of Celtic speakers and are, in fact, sitting outside their own cultural mainstream.

If the immersion classes in Quebec are less than successful, with their students albeit in isolated islands but in a veritable sea of French speakers, how much more difficult must it be to attain fluency for immersion students in non-Celtic speaking areas of the Celtic countries where pockets of native language speakers are often distant — or non-existent in the case of Mannin and Kernow — and whose members are able to speak English or French as well as the learner.

Thus, whereas it would certainly appear that immersion programmes are the answer to our particular linguistic problems in the Celtic countries these programmes must remain only a part, albeit the most important part, of an overall language programme involving continuing education and extra-curricular child and youth programmes as well as an official policy toward creating and maintaining an enlightened enthusiasm among native Celtic speakers and non-Celtic speakers alike. The Quebec programme, then, is inadequate and, as such, is not a model for Celtia, so we must beware of false prophets and wishful thinkers who, through rumour and careless reporting, see in it an easy solution to our own weighty problems.

Ron Stewart.

CELTIC LEAGUE A.G.M. 1979

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League will be held this year in Caernarfon, Gwynedd, Wales during the 3rd-to-5th August week-end. All members are invited to attend. They should notify their respective branch secretaries of their intention well in advance, in order to get communication of more complete information. The drafting of the agenda, including indication of the place and time of the sessions, is made difficult by the Irish postal strike. Branch secretaries will be in a position to give details by the beginning of July, but in the meantime, it can be taken as definite that there will be an informal get-together on the Friday evening at 8 p.m. in the Eagle's Hotel, Tithesbairn Street, Caernarvon, and a working session at 2 p.m. at Canolsan, Tan-Y-Bont, Caernarvon. Other sessions are planned for Saturday morning and Sunday. In case of failure to get preliminary information, it should be possible to contact Mrs Zonia Bowen, chairperson of our Welsh

Branch through the reception desk at the Eagle's Hotel. (She will also be in charge of the Celtic Tent on the field of the National Eisteddfod which begins on August 5th.) On account of the festival, we strongly advise our members to book accommodation as soon as possible, by writing to Yr Ysgrif-ennydd Llety, Mrs Nerys Williams, Bryn-Rhedyn, Bethel, Caernarfon, Gwynedd, Tel. Port Dinorvic 670 344 or preferably to their branch secretary, so that group accommodation, may be arranged. Suggestions for the agenda, resolutions should be forwarded without delay to the Branch Secretaries or to the General Secretary. For those staying on at the Eisteddfod: there will be Folk night /Noson Werin everyday at the Eagle's Hotel, organised by the Welsh Branch of the Panceltic Festival. Entrance only by tickets.

MONTREAL CANADIAN CELTIC CONGRESS FESTIVAL - A SUCCESS

The Celtic Festival in Montreal April 28th was really a gathering of Celtic enthusiasts from both sides of the footlights. The audience were obviously pleased and delighted with the varied programme; the committee was glad to see the Festival happen with the desired good spirit at the concert, the gathering afterwards at St. Patricks Square and at the farewell brunch at L'Escale on Sunday for performers and visitors.

From the start Annie MacFarlane had developed a rapport with the receptive audience, so the programme took off right from the first number which, celebrating

the year of the child, was a medley of childrens' dances with around 30 Irish, Breton and Scots children.

From there it moved to a very expert and whimsical performance of Breton response songs by the brothers Herve and Erwan Konan; and then to a gentle singalong with the scottish Clachan band, concluding with a good selection of scottish, gaelic songs by the Coisir Chuil Chomunn Gaidhlig Thoronto.

Then being Celts, much use was made of the bar in the interval. Act 2 opened with a stirring set by the Black Watch Concert Band whose sensitivity and purity of tone was quite remarkable, followed by the arrival of the colorful corps of pipes and drums. Then there was an enchanting appearance of Susan Harper on the Irish Harp accompanied by Michel Vles on the Tin Flute...which contrasted beautifully with the robust highland dancing of International competitor and Canadian Champion Gerry Gilbert. Scottish Fiddler Malcolm Dewar did a masterful job of Several Scottish Fiddle Tunes, as did Aine Ni Con Riogh and Padraic O Laighin with their traditional Connemara songs. The evening concluded with 5 traditional Welsh songs from the Cor Meibion Cymraeg Montreal with the exquisite harmonising and professionalism we have come to expect from them.

A rousing Ceidhli was held afterwards at St. Patricks Square which went on into the early hours with singalongs. Eightsome reels and all kinds of good spirit -- and good food provided by the wives of the Welsh Choir. All in all the Canadian Celtic Congress should be highly satisfied with the success of this their second Annual Celtic Festival. Here's to next year.

Ann Lloyd and Margaret Griffin.

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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

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