In THIS ISSUE
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EDITORIAL. Favourable attitudes.

We report in this issue on two surveys - one concerning attitudes towards the Irish language and restoration efforts, the other concerning attitudes towards Britain and the way it is governed. Both show that despite the adverse policies of past centuries and the pessimism engendered by their problems, the hearts of our peoples are still relatively sound. Given the right leadership recovery is possible. The trouble is that those who govern us at present are neither favourable nor pressed to take action to strengthen our national identities. The people of Britain have not yet learned to see that the remedy to their difficulties is political - in relation to France, in particular. It has also to be impressed on the Irish language 'supporters' that they must put the problem of restoration in a (non-party) political context. Irish is being gradually phased out (of T.V., schools, service, etc.) because politicians chose to believe that 'the people did not want it'. The contrary is now proven. Would it be wrong to shout 'subversion'? Clearly no change of course will take place unless some seats become hot.

It is hoped that those committed to national survival will know how to make the most of the information given from these surveys. But until we get statesmen ready to serve our national interests in all respects let us work out ways and means to improve our language learning methods and multiple the opportunities to practice the knowledge acquired. So that a web of relations through the medium of our languages may become established even more tightly within our societies.

(His the following statement is made in a personal capacity by the secretary of the Breton Branch, Celtic League.)

HAS THE CELTIC LEAGUE ANY SOCIAL MESSAGE?

When will the Celtic League define a minimum social basis acceptable to most of its members yet sincere and strong enough for the League to be taken seriously by social and workers' organisations?

I don't agree with the proposals made in "Synthesis" (CARN Nr. 9, p.23). Socially with the problems given at the language "free enterprise" as a fundamental human right, fundamental is the right for all to create, individually and collectively. Capitalist "free enterprise" is but a small and often illusory aspect of that fundamental right I intend to clarify this view in the next issue of CARN.

I generally agree with the values upheld by Alan J. Raude in "Celtic Spirituality" (CARN 8). But I don't follow him when he says that capitalism and socialism are alien ideologies: I would imply that certain peoples would be suited by nature for these ideologies. No, a class of people in every country finds capitalism suitable, but I don't know of any single nature which would be "made for capitalism". Socialism in its broad meaning is not an alien ideology but an answer to certain social problems, an answer arising from the terrible exploitation suffered by the peasants for many, perhaps countless, centuries and by the industrial workers especially at the beginning of industrial society. Improvements have of course occurred but not without trouble or struggle.

In my opinion, each people must re-think socialism for itself and in communication with others. Socialism is not faultless, it does not fully satisfy man but in many respects it is a great improvement.

Still in connection with A. Raude's article, let me state clearly that I would not help to set up an economic national State. For many years now the Guardian has been living off the capital of an old reputation for both responsible and radical journalism. In fact it does not merit being taken too seriously, except that to have ignored the article would have appeared to have given in credence. Accordingly, the executive chairman wrote a brief refutation as soon as the Conference had ended. For the next few weeks he was in Ireland, but on return to London ascertained that the letter had never been published. After a telephone call and a further letter, this one with an inference of legal action the letter was finally published on October 17th, just over a month later than publication of the offensive article. The sequence described is of little importance except for those who regard the Guardian as being of some repute. It also exemplifies a very strong tendency common to both English journalists and assimilados to tar all the Celtic national movements with a taint of violence.

GERIOT AR CHELEI: Ar "Guardian" zo ur gelaowed saoz brudet evit evit k rash ezh ha "dilusied". Abao 6 vioz ez eus ezh e zadennoan ha gaoazul e-zep ezel". Da gwerz Bodadeg ar Ch'evre Kellev e Manva e embannas e amp deut di da reli kentelion eulader da Voraviz.
ALBA.

THE CONVOLUTIONS OF DEVOLUTION.

October was all alarums and excursions not to mention a strong strain of Marxism which came from Labour and Tory spokespeople - "the S.N.P.'s policy on oil is immoral" - "there must be fair shares for all" - "the greedy Scots must not prosper at the expense of the poor English regions". By the end of October the headlines were "Home Rule Bill at Risk", and we were referred back to the actual wording of the Government's commitment "they would urgently prepare for the implementation of the decision to set up directly elected Assemblies in Scotland and Wales". Certainly there was no hurry on their part - no pushing from the opposition and from the Liberals only the eternal wait for the voting for the Assembly to be by Proportional Representation. (Now that the Tories are rapidly becoming a minority party in Scotland they are becoming the champions of this too.) At the end of the month an S.N.P. amendment to the Scottish Development Agency Bill asking that the Agency be responsible to the Assembly was defeated. This body was to be a smaller version of Neddy (National Economic Development Agency) though now that it has been appointed with a board of aged members it will be more like an old Tiaran Donkey.

The talk of "undue haste" led to warnings from one of the more acute of the Labour columnists, John Mackintosh, "the consequences of some of the talk would turn the staunchest believer in the United Kingdom into a nationalist" and he had to remind his English (sorry, British) brethren "backlash" furiously that the subject had been on Labour Party Conference agendas since 1957. He asked the little islanders to look round the world at the places where devolved governments worked, and firmly refuted the "Ulster type Situation" bogey by reminding people that it was the refusal to pay any heed to the demand for Home Rule that led to the present sorry state there. "Irrational legitimate demands is not the hallmark of wise politicians.

There were demands for a referendum and debate on the matter, especially as to how the question would be. It became very apparent to all, what many had known all along, that the English - people and politicians alike - knew absolutely nothing about Scotland -- a T.V. programme with cameras following two of the latter around on a 'fact finding mission' bordered on farce.

On 10th November the results of an opinion survey on behalf of Granada World-in-Action (they had done the fact finding programme) showed that Labour could lose nearly a third of its support, mostly to the S.N.P. if they established a weak Assembly or allowed the Bill to be talked out of the Commons. Tam Dalyell interpreted this as a protest at the economic situation. The much heralded White Paper was daylight on the 28th and was more dismal than could be thought possible. There is no room to give the details here but essentially it creates a glorified Regional Council and the subsequent discussions have highlighted its shortcomings: the lack of control over economic planning, lack of tax raising power except the derisory one of a levy on local rates: the Universities left under English control: the huge increase in the powers of the Secretary of State: the veto power of Westminster - parliament and government - the list is endless.

As an S.N.P. spokesman put it "the Scots expected to be disappointed but not insulted" and it was not long until that proved right. The results of two by-elections for regional councils on the 2nd December were as follows (figures for May 1974 in brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>S.N.P.</th>
<th>Lab.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Strathclyde</td>
<td>3,878</td>
<td>2,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1,897</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
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Bishopbriggs in Strathclyde. Bo'ness in the Central Region.

The most convoluted convocation came again from Tam Dalyell (the present M.P. for the constituency which contains Bo'ness): "the Labour vote began to fall when the party embraced devolution!"

Much hard work went into these S.N.P. victories but the scale of them was tremendous and two days later, on December 6th, an O.R.C. poll (Opinion Research Centre) gave the following as the voting intentions of the Scottish electorate then: S.N.P. 37%, Labour 30%, Cons. 28%, and Liberal 5%. "S.N.P. Go 7 Points Clear at Top." A reversal of the situation viva-viva Labour since the last poll.

The negative, frightened attitude of the government was emphasised as they celebrated the New Year, 1976, with a campaign "against separatism". Various districts, regions and organisations debated the White Paper and gave their findings and the debate in the House of Commons began on 13th January and finished on Monday the 19th when the voting was one. The Bill was taken after 4 days deliberations in an atmosphere that was described as one of "menacing silence". The belief is that the Bill will have a very stormy passage and indeed may not even survive. An unhappy Harry Ewing (the Scottish Minister in charge of devolution) appeared on T.V. at 11 p.m. after the vote and tried to put a good face on the whole sorry business but his government and his party have nothing much to look forward to unless the campaign which he predicts is successful - the one in which he and his Scottish pro-devolutionists are going to tell their English colleagues that if they do not support devolution there will not be a Labour government at Westminster after the present one for a long, long time.

The government motion was that the house "take note of the White Paper" and they "won" by 365 votes to 37. However an analysis shows that even this watered down miserable facade of devolving power has 20 or 30 Labour M.P.'s who will not "take note" and a considerable number doing so but threatening that this is all they will do.

The Tory amendment was that they accepted the need for an Assembly (no mention of "elected") but not one that might lead to the break-up of the U.K. It was defeated by 315 votes to 244 and 15 Tories including 2 Scots found that too "extreme".

The S.N.P. amendment regretting that the Bill provided no meaningful control over the economy attracted 27 votes. This was increased to 28, and Plaid, the Liberals and 3 Labour M.P.'s.

George Reid for the S.N.P. had asked during the debate whether, if the majority of the Scottish people showed that they wanted independence, this would be accepted. Needless to say he got no commitment; which justifies his claim that the White Paper was not, as stated on the front, "for the good government of Scotland" but for the preservation of the U.K. and a Labour administration.

FORMATION OF A NEW POLITICAL PARTY IN SCOTLAND.

On Sunday 18th January a public meeting was held in Glasgow to inaugurate the S.L.P. (Scottish Labour Party) and 400 people are reported to have signed up, including Jim Sillars and John Robertson, M.P.'s who have often been in the news for their efforts to get meaningful devolution policies out of their party. That they have failed in this and ended up voting for the S.N.P. on Monday the 19th when the voting was one. This period of divergence not just on devolution but on the increasing diminution of socialism in the British Labour Party. The new party pledged a return to traditional Scottish socialism, that of Keir Hardie, Cunninghame-Graham and Tom Johnston. It's a pity they didn't mention John Maclean (they did refer to anonymous "Clydesiders") but at the moment they are in the cleft stick of cleaving to the British state - "nationhood does not mean statehood". However Jim Sillars did mention that dirty word of present day politics - Culture - "when a nation's life is determined wholly externally it suffers cultural, economic and political degeneration".
The formation of this party was predicted in these columns 4 years ago. Its survival will depend on the support of the unions in Scotland and so far they have been more Scottish and more radical than the Labour Party (old British).

CROFTING REFORM - FORWARD OR BACKWARDS.

by Rob Gibson.

There are few times when an important change in our social & economic structure in one area of the nation can have far reaching implications for the rest. Such an issue is the Scottish Highland crofting system and the possibility of legislation by the present Government. There has been no official indication via a White Paper to suggest a model we can criticise, but the evidence available suggests that a split in the Labour Party has further delayed the amelioration of an almost intolerable position.

The Crofters Commission based in Inverness & controlling 18,000 plus crofts in the north & west of Scotland, basically the Gaelic speaking areas, has been working with legislation which was anachronistic at its inception 20 years ago. The croft "a small farm surrounded by a large number of regulations" is a tenanted holding of up to about 50 acres with a few arable & most common grazing shared with others in a township. The township controls the use of all common grazing. With the rapid development of better roads, new oil-related industry, massive tourist influx and the arrival of more and more white settlers, crofting has become incapable of coping with the changes. To benefit from them is impossible, beyond the bed & breakfast stage or indulging in a non-crofting activity to earn the greater part of one's income. Government pressures on land for oil-related work and landowners attempts to get back common grazing to develop holiday complexes have led to demonstrations, e.g. a-gainst landlord Horace Martin, of Dunan, Skye.

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So the actions, or should I say words, within the Government party are all the more interesting. The Secretary of State for Scotland believes in making crofters free owner occupiers like farmers in other parts of Britain. The Labour left wants land nationalisation and the Scottish Council of the Labour Party decided at their last conference to support the latter.

The S.N.P. believes in genuine local control of land use guided by a Land Use Commission - set up immediately a sovereign Scottish Parliament is convened. This Commission would identify the best use for land in large or small areas not being economically used, they by an avowedly by penal taxation, the present land holder would be forced to economic usage or alternatively to sell the subject to the state. Government pressures on land for oil-related work and landowners attempts to get back common grazing to develop holiday complexes have led to demonstrations, e.g. against landlord Horace Martin, of Dunan, Skye.

The College is housed in old farm buildings which are being gradually converted for their new role. So far a library/office, common room, kitchen and large hall have been created. Plans are afoot to convert other parts of the building for communal purposes and a room although this work is presently being delayed through lack of finance. It is also hoped to install a printing press in the near future.

The College has been fortunate in obtaining a grant spread over three years from the Glackenbank Foundation which has enabled them to appoint a full-time Director. In addition, with help from the Scottish Arts Council, the College has appointed a Librarian or Writer to the Community. The present holder of this post is Sorley MacLean, a poet of international stature. During the three years of its existence the College has organised a drama festival, a children's poetry competition, and a playschool as well as lectures and night classes. It has received parties of school children from the outer Isles and Skye for extended visits. In addition, two most successful summer schools for learners have been held with seventy five people from as far away as Nova Scotia and the United States taking part in the courses last year.

The College is run by a trust which has to rely on gifts and grants for its income. Those wishing to help can, for a subscription of £2 (£1 for students) join Caidreamh an t-Sabhail (Friends of the Steading). Members receive a bi-lingual newsletter from time to time and are entitled to use the College's library and study facilities and elect a member to the College's committee.
GAELIC PUBLISHING IN SCOTLAND TODAY.

Less than two Scots in every hundred, about ninety thousand people, can now speak Gaelic. Because the language was not taught in the schools of the Gaelic-speaking areas until recently, many of the speakers cannot read or write their own language. The market for Gaelic publications is therefore rather limited. There has, however, been a growth of interest in the language over the last few years both among native speakers and learners and Gaelic publishing has entered a new and exciting period.

The only all-Gaelic magazine is the quarterly “Gairm” which has now been going for twenty three years. It is well produced and its contents, although perhaps rather highbrow, are of a consistently high standard. One strange feature is that about half the advertisements, and it is fortunate in attracting a fair bit of advertising, are in English. Gairm has expanded its activities to book publishing and produces a wide range of Gaelic books as well as dictionaries and learners’ material. Club Leabhar (“Book Club”) founded in 1971 is now one of the larger publishers. It produces books in English as well as in Gaelic and uses the profits from the former to subsidise the latter. Sixteen Gaelic and bi-lingual titles have now appeared including novels, short story collections, children’s books and an autobiography and translated works of Gaelic authors.

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Gairm: An Raitheachan Ghaidlig, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow C.2. (4 issues £1.50p).

GAELIC CORRESPONDENCE COURSE

As Comunn Gaidhealach, the oldest and largest organisation promoting Gaelic has produced the first ever Gaelic correspondence course for learners in conjunction with the National Extension College, Cambridge, England, a non-profit making educational body. The course consists of thirty lessons and is designed to take the learner up to ‘O’ level standard for the Scottish Certificate of Education. Recorded material on tapes or cassettes is provided. The author of the course is J.A. Macdonald of the Gaelic Department, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow, an enthusiastic propagandist for Gaelic. The course costs £12.11 Details can be obtained from: National Extension College, 121 Hills Road, Cambridge CB2 1PD, England.

A BROAD BASIS FOR NATIONALISM.

How Free is the Scottish Press? - 61 Points for Self-Government. The Scottish Secretary, Jess Cottage, Carlota, Midlothian, EH26 9NF. Price £1 paperback, £2. hardback.) The Stornoway Gazette, An Comunn Caidhealach. the oldest and largest organisation promoting Gaelic has produced the first ever Gaelic correspondence course for learners in conjunction with the National Extension College, Cambridge, England, a non-profit making educational body. The course consists of thirty lessons and is designed to take the learner up to ‘O’ level standard for the Scottish Certificate of Education. Recorded material on tapes or cassettes is provided. The author of the course is J.A. Macdonald of the Gaelic Department, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow, an enthusiastic propagandist for Gaelic. The course costs £12.11 Details can be obtained from: National Extension College, 121 Hills Road, Cambridge CB2 1PD, England.

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fasted 3-4 days at Christmas in support of the prisoners, in the dressed to all municipal councils of Brittany (numbering about 1400), as well as to the clergy, to intervene. Ten persons fasted 3-4 days at Christmas in support of the prisoners in the Kemper cathedral.
Other petitions for the immediate release of the Breton prisoners were organised by the Brussels’ Bureau of Unrepresented Nations and a group of European Federalists. They directed attention in particular to the case of Yann Fouere, at 65 the oldest and, inter­
nationally as well as at home, the best known of the prisoners. Interventions by Welsh M. P.’s in London, Paris, Strasbourg also
were directed mainly concerned him, stressing that he was known for his com­
mittment to non-violence. The fact that M. M. Dafydd Wigley was allowed to visit Y. Fouere angered the Breton renegade Abbe Laurden, a Gaullist deputy representing one of the most neglected areas in the French State; it enabled him to conduct a patriotic vendetta in the French Assembly against the Breton Socialist M. P. Le Pensec.
Public attention has been diverted from the Bretons to the jailed conscripts who tried to trade-unionise the French army.

Our compatriots could suffer the fate of prisoners in the pre-1789 Bastille: jailed for their opinions and forgotten. The French Prime Minister vaunts his Liberalism but in practice his government is taking more and more after that of his ancestor, Louis XIV.

Celtic League members and readers of Carn! A plea addres­sed to us from Brittany asks you to help all these prisoners: they are all equally entitled to your solidarity. Whatever a few of them have admitted (under what pressure?), our position is that since the unilateral violation by France of the treaty binding Brit­
tany to her, no French judges have a right to judge Bretons for their Breton activities. You can alleviate their loneliness by writing, if only a few words of greeting to them, indicating their “registration number”, (the 3 marked * were jailed already in June 1975 but have not been tried either):
Money to help these prisoners, (Laluyaux has 5 children, Loquet 3) can be sent to the Secretary General, Celtic League, who will forward it to the reputed association Skoazell Vreizh.

OPINION SURVEYS.
For the first time an opinion survey specifically concerning Brittany has been conducted by a professional agency. In fact it covered only the official 4-department region, leaving out the Nantes area. It was commissioned by, and published in, the weekly Nouvel Observateur (24 - 30/11/75). The results came as a surprise even to the most optimistic Breton “nationalist”:
- 450 years after the annexation to France and 200 years after the introduction of French assimilation policies, ONLY 26% of the BRETONS feel they are FRENCH FIRST. 22% were BRETON FIRST, 50% were equally Breton and French. The percentages of Breton First were actually 37% among the Breton-speakers and 32% among the rural people in Western and Eastern Brittany alike. Nothing could more clearly show the importance of our language as a factor of nationality. The French government has of course always been aware of this, while some Bre­	on “nationalists” kept arguing that it was not essential. The re­
sults of the survey were so embarrassing for the State that its agencies (daily press of Brittany, Rennes-TV) decided to say as little as possible about them.

“Feeling Breton first” cannot be presented as nostalgia for former times: 26% feel less but 14% feel now more Breton than 5 years ago. For 81% there is no change, they are Breton and that is that.

Questions about the status of Brittany, 81% said they want­ed it to be a “region” like the others (thus, economically, would be a great difference from the present), 12% favoured autonomy within the framework of the French republic and 3% were for total independence. Thus about one sixth of the Bretons want not self-government in some form or other. In all however 54% said they “sympathised with the struggle of the Breton organisations to change things in Brittany”.

17% thought these were “rightist”, 29% “leftist”, 79% “of no particular ideology”, the rest did not know. (In fact various tendencies exist among them, though the left predominates.)

Though 28% blamed the French government for Brittany’s problems, 49% attributed the difficulties to a lack of raw materi­
als and our geographic situation. 57% thought the problems would not be solved any better if the Left came to power in France (16% thought they would).

Brittany is one of the regions combining a strong attach­ment on the part of its people with a conviction that it offers little scope for personal advancement, i.e. two elements for a struggle supported by the population. The SAFFRES survey revealed that, though only 1% approved the FLB return to violence, 2% thought it might be useful and 23% “understood that people could be driven to it”.

Many remarks could be made about the SOFRS results: clearly the Bretons are not satisfied with their country’s situation,
but they are pessimistic about its future; they don't trust the promises of the big French parties; they are not opposed to the Breton 'autonomists', but they are not well informed of the root causes of the Breton problem and tend to shun politics. The ground is favourable for a broadly-based movement for self-government. We have two political parties. One has a sustained record - its outspoken socialism excludes the autonomists of the socially-conservative variety who are still numerous; the other lacking a clear leadership and programme, not to mention workers in the field, does not inspire confidence. There seems to be no organised body able or inclined to do in Brittany what Plaid Cymru or the S.N.P. have done in their countries: to channel the bulk of the partisans of self-government. Will our party 'executives' draw the lessons from the SAFRES survey and not let French parties (the Socialist Party in particular) steal their thunder?

A final point: considering the comparatively good results obtained by 'autonomist' candidates in the last French general election in Loire-Atlantique the inclusion of this department in the SAFRES survey would hardly have yielded less encouraging preconditions.

GENERAL STRIKE.

On November 27th, some 30000 workers were out in the streets of Brittany in protest against the degradation of the employment situation in a "region" which is particularly hit by the rapacity of the big monopolies and the crisis of capitalism. It was by common agreement between the largest groups of trade unions in the area that the first-ever call for a GENERAL STRIKE to underpin SPECIFIC DEMANDS for Brittany was issued in the 4 departments (Loire-Atlantique was again left out). Workers marched despite lashing rain and strong winds in twenty towns: fishermen, dockyard transport building metal workers, but more particularly those employed in the public sector - 75% of the primary and secondary school teachers took part. Participation was strongest in the West of Brittany - in Brest alone it numbered 12,000. Work stoppages were observed by tens of thousands, otherwise. It was an impressive position against the disastrous dismantling of the Breton economy and a demonstration that the people are no longer prepared meekly to accept emigration. Of 150 participants, no one voted against.
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The fact that the 'Breton biological pool of genes' could

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WESTMINSTER PROPOSALS FOR WELSH ASSEMBLY.

The short period between the opening of the Westminster Parliament and the Christmas Recess was dominated by the question of the London Government's proposals for assemblies in Wales and Scotland and the Queen's Speech confirmed speculation that although a Bill will be presented during the 1975-76 Parliamentary Session, not enough time will be allowed for it to pass through the two Houses. Nevertheless the promise is that the Bill will be re-introduced in the Autumn of 1976 and will be passed some time in 1977 at the latest. Naturally this unwarranted delay in fulfilling one of the main election promises of the Labour Party to the Welsh electorate at the last election drew strong protests from Plaid Cymru.

Plaid Cymru was much more pleased by the publication a week later of the long awaited White Paper setting out the government's proposals for the new assemblies in detail. It should be stressed that the party's welcome for this event was heavily qualified by their rejection of the inferior treatment which it is proposed to give to Wales as compared with Scotland. However nationalists are generally pleased that a historic step has been taken along the path to national freedom. It is of tremendous significance that although promises of home rule have been made to Wales for some eighty years, since Lord Rosebery visited Cardiff and pledged the Liberal Government's support for the principle of a Welsh Parliament, the publication of detailed proposals for an Act of Parliament is a step which has never before been contemplated, let alone taken. Clearly vague promises have been transformed into something much more concrete and less easily avoidable by the electoral successes of the National Movement.

In the case of Wales, the proposed elected body is to have executive powers only and is to operate through a committee system, led by an executive consisting of the chairman of these committees who will be drawn from the ranks of the majority party or parties. The broad fields in which the Assembly will have responsibility are two-fold. On the one hand we have those relating to the plethora of nominated bodies which already control large areas of Welsh life, as for example in the case of the Welsh Water Authority, or the Welsh Water Authority. The tendency has been for these bodies to grow up without any real democratic accountability, members of the various boards being either partly or in whole nominated by the Secretary of State for Wales. Secondly, another group of functions is to be transferred from the direct control of the Secretary of State for Wales, for example over some aspects of education. In the new Assembly, the breadth of the Assembly will be able to decide priorities and authorise the allocation of a greater say for Wales in her own affairs at a time when the mass of Welsh life and complex governmental relationships have been silent parties did not actually occur.

Some support for the idea that the Labour Party commitment to devolution did not have the approval of the mass of Labour voters was given by a recent opinion poll which indicated that in Wales only 49% of those who had an opinion on the subject were in favour of the Government's published proposals. If this is a true reflection of public opinion in Wales it does show a significant falling off in the support for devolution since the last sixties. However the result is not too discouraging for nationalists since earlier polls measured only the views of the public on the vague idea of a greater say for Wales in her own affairs at a time when this idea was not quite in the realm of practical politics. To be able to say with certainty that even in these much less euphoric times one out of every two Welsh people supports these concrete and complex governmental proposals is a distinct entity which would want to go further, is by no means a disappointment to the discerning.

Of course, government is carried on by the winning of elections, not by opinion polls, and the present Parliament has a majority which is nominally pledged to support the establishment of the Assemblies. Quite plainly if the government should, as it still may, wish to quell the dissension within the ranks of its supporters by another referendum the pro-devolution parties could quite clearly turn the present 50-50 split into an overwhelming majority.

K.B.

CAMBRIAN AIRWAYS.

Two Welsh Institutions and their problems have hit the headlines in recent months, the National Eisteddfod and Cambrian Airways. Yet the problems faced in each case have been instructively different.

Cambrian Airways was established in the 1930's and up until the mid-sixties was reasonably successful in its aim of serving the needs of Wales for an airline based on Cardiff's Rhose o Airport. Whilst Cardiff's relatively good communications with London meant that the scope for scheduled flights operation from Rhose was to some extent limited, Heathrow and Gatwick airports being able to provide access to dozens of cities around the world at only a few hours travelling from South-East Wales, the growth in cheap holidays by air charter offered tremendous opportunities for the Welsh airline. As Cambrian's business grew, so did the interest of the state airline BEA (now part of British Airways) which had for some years owned a controlling interest in Cambrian. Gradually Cambrian was drawn further and further into the BEA net, and the outward signs of its separate Welsh identity were erased. When the recent slump in the charter industry hit Cambrian's business one alternative would have been an imaginative and serious attempt to develop direct scheduled services to other European capitals, a proposition which has by now become much more viable. British Airways plans instead to cut back on existing services from Cardiff and to transfer planes and personnel to Birmingham. This, together with the realization of the last vestige of the Cambrian livery means the end of Wales's airline as a distinct entity. Protests have been loud and have come from all sections of Welsh life. Amongst those who have put their faith in past promises of a future for Cambrian have been the consortium of local authorities who own Rhose, and who have spent many millions of pounds on the improvement of runways and terminal buildings in the belief that Government financial assistance would be forthcoming and that traffic using the airport would grow. Whilst in the long run their hopes will certainly be realized, this is yet another example of the inconsistency in the actions of their agencies subjecting the people of Wales to hardships which a little foresight and understanding of Wales's status as a nation soon to attain its freedom would avoid.
Amheuon:

Diddorol oedd nodia siŵr ar ysgwydd Cynhadledd Plaid Cymru a'r Senedd Etoledig i GYMHRU. O ddodid i ddod, ni allaf fforddion'r fwi a ym yr oedi a'u gohirio. Cwir dwedodd fod dde-
mocriatiwn yn dddi o weithredu sy'n gadael nes ŵi ôl i'r sylwer tra ma'r siarad gan parhau mae cewn gwlad Gymru'n dddiollid. Fe ddodhir embr trod Gymraig o fwy. Fe ddodhir embr trod Gymraig o fwy.

Mae'r siarad gan parhau mae cewn gwlad Gymru'n dddiollid. Fe ddodhir embr trod Gymraig o fwy. Fe ddodhir embr trod Gymraig o fwy.

A chydhalch chi, gelgroegy rhyb i Gymru sy'n dod i Dolyg ar yr 11ain o Chweflor, i brynu copi o'i 'Irish Times' ar y ddiwrod hwnnw. I anhybeddaru'r achlysur fe fydd adroddiad arbenig ar Gymru yn y papur hwnnw - yn cynywyrs ethigol gan Dafydd Wigley ei hun.

Geraint Jones.

Doblas: "'while the talk goes on and on, our Welsh way of life is 

Dafydd Wigley: "The Welsh Language is alive and kicking up hell!" Yn yr un ethigol, tynwyd siŵr a fyi a chadlon bod y cyjlialaid iath-a-chefydd yng Nghymru wedi chwarae rhan pos-

Janice Williams.

N. The above is a reference to the recent report of the Irish Language Attitudes Committee's Report. It mentions the meeting addressed by the Welsh expert on language-teaching Dan. L. James, the seminar given by Mr. James on Welsh nursery schools and the growing interest shown by the press in Ireland in the Welsh language curriculum.

Y Coleg Normal.

Education is Cymru is split between London and Caerdydd. Caerdydd runs the schools and pays the teachers. London trains the teachers and deshows where there should be governed by the political puppets of the Welsh Civil Service.

AGWEDDAU POBLL YN EWRODEG.

Clywais prydd ddwy feunydod yw ni am faenchrach bach vegol gynhymnor gwres Wyddege, mewn un o ysgolion Dylon, yn edrych ar eu athrawes ac eu dweud yr yw, "Mae'r "Miss, wouldn't it be great

Mae'r rhif yna sy'n bod yn lwerddon.) Meithrin ystod yr blynyddoedd diweddar, a bod 242 ohonynt yn gosodd Mr. James y gellir gyfrudd iaith mewn ddeniadol, yn y neudd Conradh na Gaeilge yn Nulyn ar yr 24ain o Ionawr, dan eu hyfforddi ganddo. Mewn seminar i athrawon meithrin fel athro Cymraeg. Ffodus hefyd yw'r athrawon sydd wedi cael yr un modd.

Nid dyna broifad pawb, wrth gwrs. Nid felly oedd fy mhrofiad i o sy'n tarddu o etifeddiaeth o ddulliau gwael o'i dysgu mewn ysgolion. Yr bhan fwyaf, mae'n debyg, yw mai job caled o waith yw hi, agwedd yr hoffai sinig feddwl fel arall). Cynhaliwyd y cyfarfod dan ofal sy'n gorfod i'w darllen. Ceir yr adroddiad am £2 o swyddfa cyhoeddus gan bwyllgor o ymchwilwyr, ar agweddau tuag at yr ymddangos yn ofnadwy o awyddus i ddysgu'r laith. "Ohl but Miss," Ateb yr athrawes i'r datganiad oedd synnu nad oedd a fel arfer yn we o'r rhif yna sy'n bod yn lwerddon.) Meithrin ystod yr blynyddoedd diweddar, a bod 242 ohonynt yn gosodd Mr. James y gellir gyfrudd iaith mewn ddeniadol, yn y neudd Conradh na Gaeilge yn Nulyn ar yr 24ain o Ionawr, dan eu hyfforddi ganddo. Mewn seminar i athrawon meithrin fel athro Cymraeg. Ffodus hefyd yw'r athrawon sydd wedi cael yr un modd.

Y Post Office in Cymru has agreed to use Welsh in all its forms and publicity, with Welsh before English on bi-lingual forms. Unfortunately 60% of the forms in Post Offices are published by other government departments, which don't yet use Welsh. So until these departments are pushed the Post Office will still be a 'mismatch' for the Welsh speaking Welshman.

CAMBRIAN COAST RAILWAY.

The west coast railway was badly damaged by the storms on 2nd January and is still not repaired. At least one railway line has been lost because it was "too expensive to repair". Even now the replacement bus service is so bad that passenger traffic is declining. Where are the people responsible for the line in deepest England. Sma-ow-Trent, where the problems of Cymru mean nothing.

I.S. H.

PROBLEMS OF SUCCESS.

The Eisteddfod is arguably Wales's most successful institution. Inevitably expansion causes strains and this year a certain amount of heat has been generated by matters difficult for the outsider to understand unless he realises that what is happening is more to be governed by the political puppets of the Welsh Civil Service.

Mae Cymru yn cael cryn dipon o gyhoeddusolwydd yr mhap-

urau Iwerddon ymddiau yma. Mewn ethigol gan Donal Foley yr ym yr "Irish Times" ar Ionawr yr 31fed, dyflywyd geriau A.S. Caernarfon, Dafydd Wigley: "The Welsh Language is alive and kicking up hell!" Yn yr un ethigol, tynwyd siŵr a fyi a chadlon bod y cyjlialaid iath-a-chefydd yng Nghymru wedi chwarae rhan pos-

PN ddaw y senedd: Gymru, mi fydd y rhai sy’n lwyddroethau dros om ers y Ddeddf lino wedi symud ychydig filltiroedd o London dros ysgolion. Efallai ei holl dwy bwydau gweldiwyd o ddywyd o gwaith y gweision eilen Cymraeg.

"I don't want to learn it'.” Dengys adroddiad sydd newydd gan ddiwylliant y Sais. Heblaw am cefn gwlad sylwer faint o reol-

nieuwyr.

Y SWYDDFA BOST - The Post Office.

The Post Office in Cymru has agreed to use Welsh in all its forms and publicity, with Welsh before English on bi-lingual forms. Unfortunately 60% of the forms in Post Offices are published by other government departments, which don't yet use Welsh. So until these departments are pushed the Post Office will still be a 'mismatch' for the Welsh speaking Welshman.

The Minister of Education in London had intended to close a number of Colleges of Education (Ecoles Normales) including one of the two colleges that trains teachers in Welsh. It would appear that the English Minister of Education did not know that the demand for Welsh teachers was increasing. He now knows different and Y Coleg Normal is to be saved.

Surely the fact that the Minister was so ignorant of Education in Cymru makes it clear that ALL education, schools, colleges and Universities should be controlled by the future assembly in Caerdydd.
JOHN JENKINS - SION AP SIENCEYN.

John Jenkins is to be released soon from Albany Prison. Jenkins was imprisoned in 1970 for organising a series of explosions in Cymru in the 1960's.

When he was imprisoned few people were concerned about his political beliefs but since then a cult has developed around him. He has become the first martyr of the political idea that as long as Cymru is not free violence against property is justified. Sion ap Scyncyn is a mindless man of violence, he has developed a detailed political ideology which is certainly not without its followers, as evidenced by the 800 Christmas Cards he received last year.

However his release is not without publicity. A fund has been established to buy and repair a cottage for him ready for his release. The fund has created a great deal of interest because of the large number of well known Welsh people who have contributed, including well known pacifists. The contributors include Rev. Euros Bowen (a former Arch Druid), actor Meredith Edwards, poets Alan Llwyd and Rev. R. S. Thomas, two university professors: J. Gwyn Griffiths and Jac L. Williams, and Labour M. P. Ted Ellis.

EUROPEAN NATIONAL MINORITIES.

The Heggen Verlag, D-567 Opladen, Postfach 1546, Düsseldorf, Straße 45, F.R. Germany, have published a book of 216 pp, by Rudolf Grulich and Peter Pulte under the title "Nationale Minderheiten in Europa", price DM12. It describes, in German, the situation of the European minority linguistic groups. It will be very useful to anyone wishing to acquaint himself with, or to check data concerning these minorities and affords means to compare the treatments given to them by the States, both in practice and in law. As well as articles of their constitutions defining linguistic rights and other documents, the book reproduces statements of claims, resolutions adopted by conferences, international agreements dealing with the problem.

If democracy is to be measured by the treatment a State gives its minorities, the States of Western Europe have little to be proud of, compared to most Central European ones. We find here multiple examples of minorities numerically smaller than the Breton and even the Gaëlspeaking people endowed with primary schools and daily newspapers in their own languages. Rumunia can allow its 21 million non-Rumunian speaking citizens to have over 1000 primary schools of their own, why does France deny a similar right to (at least) one million Bretons?

The only Communist State for which the authors have no good word to say is the Soviet Union. They roundly denounce the myth of the USSR as the protector of 70-odd minority languages. Russian is throughout essential for access to important positions. The position of the minorities is undermined by the immigration of ethnic-Russian, for instance in the Baltic countries where the latter form now 25-30% of the population (the Riga Protest issued by 17 Latvian Communist Party officials in July/August 1971 and addressed to six Central and Western European Communist Parties gives evidence of the persistence of Great Russian imperialism and chauvinism).

In Brittany too there is an experience of pro-Moscow-Communist intolerance of Breton national aspirations - as recently as last Autumn when, in Brest, on the occasion of a demonstration against the execution of three Basques and two Spaniards people carrying the Breton flag were assaulted, as if those Basques had wanted to preserve a monolingual Spanish State. Since then the French C. P. has become critical of Moscow but there is no sign of its having abjured its French chauvinism.

We must criticise the information concerning the Celtic countries. Obviously the authors share the view that nationality is to be strictly defined by language. There map shows Ireland with no Donegal-Gaeltacht but with 100,000 people, calling this non-Gael the “nationality” is not applied in any other area.

"Breitland has to-day 2,200,000 inhabitants, of which at least 1.2 million are Bretons." Why? No doubt because a 1928 estimate gave this as the number of Breton speakers. But since then it has drastically decreased. Yet the descendants of these people most certainly still claim they are Bretons, and so do most of the people in the part of Brittany which has not spoken Breton centuries (see SO FRES survey).

ÉIRE.

IRISH LANGUAGE SURVEY REPORT.

The report of the Committee (established in 1970) on Language Attitudes Research was finally published in January. It is the most scientific piece of research ever undertaken on the Irish Language and while it shows that widespread support exists for the language it also illustrates clearly some apparently contradictory attitudes. The report is divided into 4 main sections - attitudes, ability, usage and policy implications. It is based on a national survey of 3,000 people and additional surveys in three different policy areas - education, the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking areas) and administration. The report states:- "The first and most central dimension around which people's attitudes are organised is a basic belief in the value of Irish as a symbol of national or ethnic identity, or as a symbol of cultural distinctiveness. For a clear majority of the population the Irish language is valued as an important element in validating or publicly confirming the identity of the respondent as an Irish person. Linked to this are values about the intrinsic cultural importance of the language itself. Closely related to these values are strongly held beliefs that the future of the language should be ensured and that it should be publicly supported."

Sixty-four per cent of the national sample feel that Ireland would not really be Ireland without its Irish-speaking people; 65% feel that without the language the country would lose its cultural identity and 72% agreed that no real Irishman can be against the revival of Irish. All of these responses are higher for Gaeltacht areas. At national level, 82% felt that Irish traditions have a valuable contribution to make to national life. However, only 36% felt that Irish could be revived as a common means of communication.

Also, in spite of the first four percentages given above, 48% agreed that far less money should be spent reviving Irish, no matter what effect this had on the language, while only 46% disagreed.

Educational policy is far the most significant in relation to Irish. The report says there is very considerable support for the teaching of Irish in schools and 68% of the national sample feel that Irish should be taught at school and that children should be required to study it. The majority of respondents (67%), for example, would feel very sorry if most Irish children stopped doing Irish in school. The equivalent figure for Gaeltacht respondents is 89%. Sixty per cent of married respondents say that Irish is very important that their children should grow up knowing Irish. There is stronger support for the teaching of spoken rather than written Irish in schools. Seventy six per cent favour teaching spoken Irish and 65% written Irish in schools.

Similarly there is a clear preference for more Government encouragement for Irish teaching. Eighty one per cent feel that the Government should encourage and support the publication of good Irish textbooks. 56%, extra rewards for good Irish teachers, and 64%, free Irish courses for adults. In these three areas respectively 54%, 28% and 26% feel that the previous Government did not do enough in these areas. Seventy per cent feel that the Government should provide all-Irish schools wherever the public wants them.

But there is also opposition to having Irish a compulsory subject in schools. Whereas 88% regard English as a compulsory subject for passing the Leaving Certificate, there is only 34% and 27% respectively in favour of spoken and written Irish as a necessity for passing the examination, although this is not true of the Gaeltacht sample. This opposition to compulsory Irish also extends to the Civil Service: 66% do not agree with Irish examinations for entry into the Civil Service, Garda, etc., and a majority also believes that many civil servants get their jobs just because they are better suited to the job. However 74% thought that Irish speakers should have the right to expect Civil Servants to be able to speak Irish to them.

USAGE OF IRISH.

The current usage of Irish among adults at home, in work, or among friends, is very low, the survey reveals. Outside the Gaeltacht only a bout 4% of the population appear to use it fre-
quently or extensively. About 15% do use Irish to some degree in these situations. Civil servants and teachers reported a higher incidence of usage of Irish in their home backgrounds than the general population. There appears to have been a small decline in usage of Irish between the parental and actual current home environment of respondents.

There is no reference to Irish language in newspapers, but almost three-quarters of non-Gaeltacht respondents said that nobody ever read an Irish book or magazine in their home. An incredible 70% of respondents with native speaking ability never read an Irish magazine or book.

The report comments on some underlying factors in usage of Irish. The effect of the schools has been to maintain conversational usage levels in the adult population at the same level as it was in the previous generation. But there are three major shifts: The school system has become more central as the number of native speakers declines and schools are now in a better position than in the 1930's regarding parents' back-up to their linguistic efforts, as the ability levels of parents have consistently risen.

Secondly, the effects of the dependence on the school has meant the shifting of Irish speaking ability into middle-class, educated, urban sections of the population.

And thirdly, the decline in the number taught through Irish raises questions as to whether this equilibrium can continue. (Only 11% of 17-19 year olds went to schools where some subjects were taught through Irish. The figure for the 35-44 year old group was 28%)

The survey shows a general apathy towards Irish and Irish language promotion agencies. Sixty one per cent agree that whether people speak Irish or English "does not matter to me" and 79% believe that Irish is less useful than a continental language. Similarly more people feel that it is important to teach a continental language than Irish at post-primary school. Sixty two percent feel that Irish cannot be made useful for business or science.

The survey results show a general disinclination towards Irish and Irish language promotion agencies. Sixty one per cent agree that whether people speak Irish or English "does not matter to me" and 79% believe that Irish is less useful than a continental language. Similarly more people feel that it is important to teach a continental language than Irish at post-primary school. Sixty two percent feel that Irish cannot be made useful for business or science.

Other interesting results from the attitude survey show that 55% of all respondents feel that public figures should show a good example by using Irish more in the Dail or on public occasions, however only 43% feel that the Government should support such a policy. Sixty six per cent support Government encouragement for more Irish within the Civil Service. Fifty six per cent support the use of Irish in public signs, such as on buses or road signs.

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS.**

The report does not make any specific recommendations as such, as this was not part of its brief. It does, however, examine the "policy implications" of its finding in some depth. These can be summarised as follows:

There is widespread support for a bi-lingual objective based on cultural and ethnic significance of the language, but at the same time there is widespread objection to compulsory policies. There is also widespread disillusionment with the Irish language as experienced at school and objections to negative instrumental sanctions. While such instrumental sanctions can help to build up ability they can also provide an antagonism to the language. This presents the dilemma of finding selective instrumental motivations. Past policies were based on a misunderstanding of the potential of the school system, although it was not designed to produce communicative competence.

It is the strong feeling of the compilers of the report that future policies must be based on sociological and psychological research. The existing policies have not arrested decline in the Gaeltacht, but have offset it with a build-up of usage in non-Gaeltacht areas. This gives the false impression that Irish as a community language is not declining, whereas it is.

The report suggests that Bord na Gaeilge should develop a strong policy oriented research and development unit to develop programmes of language acquisition, strategies of language use, and policy assessment research.

As only a small proportion of people outside the Gaeltacht learn Irish in the home, it recommends more emphasis on home usage and the possible co-ordination of initiatives in the home and on radio and television. In schools it suggests the provision of all-Irish schools where there is a demand, and in view of the usage success rate of teaching Irish as a subject, a fresh look at investigation into alternative methods of using Irish in schools. It sees an "urgent need to change the focus of school curricula towards conversational Irish." Some system of instrumental motivation in schools, whether examinations or not, is needed and such schemes should be kept under constant review. There should be more attention paid to conversational Irish for teachers.

On the question of post school usage, in view of the dramatic fall-off in usage and ability after leaving school it suggests "large scale rescue programmes aimed at the immediate post-school age group".

This could be done through the provision of attractive cultural, recreational and entertainment events in Irish or bi-lingual settings. It suggests the maximising of interpersonal activities rather than a lone approach here and the linking of Irish classes in "voluntary and attractive domain settings".

In relation to the public service it notes that actual usage in relation to ability is very low and that even parts of the Civil Service and local authorities dealing directly with the Gaeltacht are becoming anglicised. The first and most important requirement is that all parts of the service dealing with the Gaeltacht should be in the hands of persons willing and able to use Irish. This is "more important than having any proposals or sections throughout the service." In relation to public usage it notes that there is widespread support for public ceremonial usage and suggests simultaneous translation, for example, in local authorities where Gaeltachts are located. This was done in Wales and was most successful. An expansion of bi-lingual programmes on radio and television is also urged.

Because of the decline in population and Irish language usage in the Gaeltacht, and the gradual anglicisation of State institutions dealing with the Gaeltacht, it recommends a single corporate authority for the Gaeltacht to "extract it from the predominantly English-speaking institutions within which they are currently implicated." This would involve the bringing of local authority, central government services, and schools serving the Gaeltacht, under the authority.

The report also calls for further research.

The report was welcomed by the Government as endorsing its decision to remove Irish as a necessary subject to pass exams and for entry to the public service, no mention being made of its failure to formulate effective policies and its many negative actions in relation to textbooks in Irish, the founding of all-Irish schools, etc. Conraad na Gaeilge stated that the report disposed of the many myths which have been the mainstay of negative State policies for almost 30 years. We feel sure the main results presented here will be of interest to those in the other Celtic countries but having already taken up more space than intended further comment must be held over until our next issue.

**IRISH STATE!**

Tomás Ó Monacháin refused to recognise the court in Gaith Dobbair (Donegal Gaeltacht) after failing to get the judge to deal with his case through Irish, archaically using an interpreter. He does not intend to pay the fine imposed on him. It is only one example of the way the "Irish" government is ramming English down the people's throat and phasing Irish out despite the wishes of the majority of the population.
In Cashel: Irish being phased out.

ROAD SIGNS.

In the past three years many road signs in the Irish Republic have been erected in the English language only. Initially it was thought that such signs represented the errant ways of a minority of local councils. However the present proliferation of these signs is a serious erosion of the "official status" of the Irish language and if allowed to go unchecked and unchecked could lead to the complete elimination of the roads and streets of Ireland by 1980. It is ironic that this erosion has become significant at a time when our sister nation, Wales, has achieved a considerable measure of success in regard to Welsh/English bi-lingual signs.

The law is quite unambiguous about the status of Irish on these signs. According to the Road Traffic (Signs), (Amendment) Regulations, 1970, these signs shall be shown in Roman Letters in Irish and in English and where the spelling of a place-name is similar in both languages an Irish inscription only need be shown on the sign. The only exception made is for Gaeltacht areas where place-names shall be shown in Irish only.

The reality is vastly different. The most shocking part of the affair is that whereas English only signs still constitute a minority of the total, the major portion of those erected in the past five years omit the Irish language entirely.

The response to this insidious campaign has been slow in coming. On driving around the country, one notices the occasional sign defaced here and there. Some towns have relented and after wasting public monies in English-only signs have replaced them with bi-lingual ones - e.g. Sligo.

The author has observed English-only signs in the following counties:- Carlow, Clare, Cork Dublin, Galway, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Limerick, Meath, Monaghan, Offaly, Tipperary, Waterford and Westmeath. The worst offending places are:- Athlone, Carlow, Clonmel, Galway, Limerick, The Naas dual-carriageway and Portlaoise.

It is possible that the problem may be resolved by recourse to the law. The Coiste Dúchais of Tiobraid Arann (Theas) Consad na Gaeilge are presently preparing a court case. If it succeeds, the energies which would have been directed towards destroying these signs could be placed much more usefully in other directions.

A draft bill, now circulating in Government Departments, proposed that the law be changed to allow the exclusive use on all road signs of the language of the majority of the people in the area where they would be erected!

Sean F. O Dricoiit.
THE NORTH.
Following the expected rejection by the British Government of the report of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention the Convention is to be reconvened for a period of four weeks, from the 3rd February, for discussions aimed at producing agreement on a system of government likely to be broadly acceptable throughout the community so as to be stable and effective. (Mr. Rees the British Secretary for the North said that when the Convention reconvenes it would have three matters to consider: the manner of committees as a part of a wider and acceptable constitutional framework which provides adequately for participation and partnership; the matter of more widespread acceptance; and the matter of whether progress could best be made on an evolutionary basis.) In his speech announcing the re-call the Secretary of State ruled out withdrawal and a united Ireland. In relation to the "Irish Dimension" he stated that the British Government did not consider it necessary or appropriate to create an institutional framework such as a Council of Ireland for relations with the Republic.

The reaction of the U.U.C. (United Ulster Unionist Council) majority in the Convention was to decide on a course of "passive resistance" which may include a boycott - or the disruption of - the working of local government. 40 members (a majority in the Convention of 78 seats) of the U.U.C. have given their personal word of honour not to deviate from support for the Report. It is thought that the British Government may be thinking of holding a referendum on the issue of minority participation in any future government for the North in the expectation that the electorate will vote for an emergency coalition. Even if this produced the desired result - and a negative result would be disastrous for the British - there is no guarantee that the Loyalist majority would comply and indeed a doubt exists as to whether such a non-institutionalised arrangement would be acceptable to the S.D.L.P.

No matter what the outcome will be after a further month of the Convention it is extremely unlikely that the Provisional R.S.A. will welcome it. While they have not yet discarded the ceasefire thought that the Provisionals may be preparing for another general election. Even if this produced the desired result it is extremely unlikely that the Provisional I.R.A. would welcome it. While they have not yet discarded the ceasefire thought that the Provisionals may be preparing for another general election. Even if this produced the desired result it is extremely unlikely that the Provisional I.R.A. would welcome it. While they have not yet discarded the ceasefire thought that the Provisionals may be preparing for another general election. Even if this produced the desired result it is extremely unlikely that the Provisional I.R.A.

KERNOW.
BOUNDARY BLURING.
by E.J. Pengelly.
The "Principles of Assimilation" were admirably pointed out to us (CARN 10, page 14) in the quotation from the 'Pilkington Report on Broadcasting 1963'. Nowhere can the results of assimilation be seen more clearly than in Kernow, where the threat is totally out of proportion to the size of the country. The mind conditioning has been, as stated in the "Principles of Assimilation": "... persistent, apparently imperceptible, but in the end prevailing....", due significantly to the relegation of Kernow to the status of English county. County status has meant that Kernow is denied 'official' recognition as a Celtic country and is expected to accept passively all attempts at submerging the people into the English whole. The Cornwall Education Committee have stated that Cornish subjects are receiving their correct place in school curricula. Cornish schools have never promoted Cornish history and culture thus ensuring the erosion of a 'Cornish' identity, which has been reinforced by an influx English immigrants, whilst the Cornish have been following that mysterious 'Celtic' trait of self-exile. The reasons for this population convention warrants a separate article, however, the net result appears to have given Kernow a record population of 400,000.

Numerous examples can be quoted to indicate the extent of Kernow's assimilation: they fall into identifiable categories: a) Anglicisation, which is the presence of assimilation by which we endure as part of the Anglo-British State. b) Regionalisation, resulting from an acceleration trend to form larger economic units and which absorbs Kernow into the English Regions, e.g. the recent absorption of the various Cornish Water Boards into a S.W. Water Authority covering Kernow and County Devon, with its administrative headquarters at Exeter, Devon.

Border Bluring, an act of assimilation by the diminishing of identifiable Cornish territory and/or administration. This form of assimilation has appeared relatively recently and heralds the ultimate extinction of Kernow (the County) by the destruction of Cornwall (the County). Border Bluring has resulted from Regionalisation and is achieved by creating administrative divisions which merge parts of Kernow with parts of England under a pre-test of 'efficiency and economy'. This act has invariable referred to West Devon, Plymouth, and Exeter, or, in the case of the S.W. Water Authority, 'Division 2'.

Most of us have allowed ourselves, to become the tools of our national demise by replacing a subconscious identification with England, with a conscious acquiescence in Border Bluring, allowing Cornish products to be labelled 'England', instead of 'U.K.' or 'E.R. Britain', even failing to differentiate between English by administration, and Cornish by nationality, a problem which must be shared by our Breton cousins with regard to France. The final indignity has been foisted on us by that pillar of efficiency and economy, the Post Office, in its authoritative manner by:

1) The use of English-based postcodes for the greater part of Kernow: the address of, for instance, the North Cornwall District Council is given as Council Offices, Wadebridge PL27 7NU. 'PL' refers to the Plymouth distribution area. Similarly 'TX' for the Exeter distribution area includes a small part of North East Kernow.
2) The use of English-based date-stamping, e.g. letters from Liskeard are stamped 'Plymouth, Devon A', confirming the address of Liskeard 'PL--'.
3) The projected classification of Cornish telephone users, within 'technical' range of the Plymouth conurbation, as Plymouth subscribers. This would manifest itself by the receipt of a letter date-stamped 'Plymouth, Devon A' from a person living in Saltash, Cornwall (redacted) 'PL12 ELP'. Telephone Plymouth 123456.

As the wedge is driven deeper it becomes increasingly obvious that some form of Cornish compromise could have been implemented and, in fact, could still be achieved. The postcodes applicable to Kernow are EX, PL and TR (Truro) based on the economics of transport. When mail is sorted from remote areas it is identified into major districts, i.e. Exeter of Plymouth, thus the latter receives both PE and TR mail. The TR mail is further sorted as route from Plymouth to Truro, similarly all Cornish mail, dependent on postcode, goes to the sub-regional centres for onward sorting. It is a very small step indeed for the Cornish
areas covered by EX and PL to be given a distinguishing code to signify 'West of the Tamar'. The date-stamping has been moved because it is uneconomic to continue to carry out in a local post office. Therefore because we are within the Plymouth and Exeter distribution areas, transportation, in common with all centralisation, dictates that the facility must be moved over the Tamar into Exeter. It is not surprising therefore to find that a small area in S.E. Kernow is date-stamped 'Holsworthy' (Devon) whilst equally close to a major Cornish town, and a very large part of S.E. Kernow, which could surely justify the existence of a Cornish date-stamping centre, is date-stamped at Plymouth. Item 3 above began as a proposal to reclassify two exchanges, this has since risen to four exchanges and will most certainly increase. Whilst the Post Office have achieved a technical feat accomplishing a compromise may be obtained by classifying the 'group of Cornish exchanges as, say, 'East Caradon'. The technicalities of the East Caradon with Plymouth exchanges would be identical to the proposed 'Plymouth' areas, i.e. direct dialling and a common STD code. The integrity of the Border would be achieved by the separate entries in the dialling code book. Such efforts to compromise do not, however, fit into the inflexible general policy of the Post Office, which appears to be based on a utopian ideal of '... one common identity... ' whatever cost. This reference to one common identity is not applicable to the Anglo-Cornish Border alone, as Cymru and Alba may be able to confirm, but an indication of a complete disregard for Celtic identity. 


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Could this not be why certain M.P.'s of English based parties have (suddenly) taken an interest in the Stannary and Cornish interests? Giving way to the Stannary call of not contesting the Westminster Parliament elections, would certainly protect the interests of the English based parties and facilitate England's continuing exploitation of our land.

Mebyon Kernow (at the moment in my view the only truly Cornish national movement) should ignore the Stannary as an irrelevancy. Stop trying to tear itself apart with its infighting and start utilising its potential - fighting hard for parliamentary seats on the road to independence.

John Trews.

THE CORNFISH LANGUAGE AROUND US.

By R. Gendall, 22g. Lodenek Press, Market St., Padstow, Cornwall.

Explains the names of towns, villages, farms by means of common though sometimes unfamiliar Cornish terms. Bretons and Welsh will be delighted to find how "Marazion", "Venlongumps" "Carlise", "Carloglos", were put together: that "Polphant" has so to do with frogs and not with elephants: that "Park Pesky" far from being a "parking field" was a place for fattening cattle, which reminds me of the old practice, known in Ireland as well as in Brittany (and elsewhere?) of "pakast bood d'ar vagueur", whereby the mother would make sure that the cereal she was feeding her child with was not too hot. Lanivet, I would expect to be in Breton "Lann nevet", sacred enclosure (Ir. naomhtha, noafa), without recourse to a Saint Nevet. This booklet, which also introduces a little grammar, should stimulate the people of Cornwall to learn their language, that they might know what their ancestors saw in the country around them, in Polperro, Carn Kenidjack, Mongleath, Ponsongath, Nancarrow, Crogley (The Hanging Place). . .

A Mebyon Kernow Conference is to be held on the weekend of the 6th and 7th March. A dinner to celebrate St. Piran's Day saw in the country around them, in Polkerth, Carn Kenidjack, to learn their language, that they might know what their ancestors saw in the country around them, in Polperro, Carn Kenidjack, Mongleath, Ponsongath, Nancarrow, Crogley (The Hanging Place). . .

An answering letter from Niels Sigurdsson, Icelandic Ambassador in London, to the Cornish Branch C.L. thanked the Branch for their sympathy and understanding of Iceland's case in extending her渔业 limits and states that it can never be sufficiently stressed how vital the preservation of fish stocks are to her survival. Correspondence to the branch from S.N.P. spokesman on Agriculture and Fisheries, Hamish Watt M.P. pointed out that the worry caused to local fishermen through the appearance of large Scottish trawlers, fishing in local traditional waters, off the Cornish coast, could be blamed on the Westminster government's control over matters relating to the maintenance of public order and the administration of justice the control of the Manx Police force lies directly with the Lieut. Governor and the Westminster Parliament can when it considers the situation warrants its involvement, legislate for the Island.

One example of the failure by the Manx Government to use the independence of action which already exists is the so-called "Common Purse" Agreement.

This freely negotiated arrangement between the Island and the United Kingdom dates back some eighty years. This arrangement has for its basis an agreement that Manx and U.K. duties be kept "in line" and that the Island's share of the total British revenue is calculated on the resident population of Man in proportion to the resident population in Britain and Northern Ireland plus what is known as a "fiscal equivalent" for visitors.

To the present Manx Government the "Common Purse" Agreement is a Godsend. It provides, every year, a substantial revenue without the necessity of taking any responsible government action. But as I have explained this is NOT, despite what some people think, a hand out from the British Government - it is merely a fair return of our own money.

But we in Mebyon Kernow call for the abolition of this agreement. In 1958 the Manx Government agreed to follow the U.K. in all duty changes and not make any allowance for the geographical position of the Island.
fresh differences or fail to follow in any way. This has prevented the Manx Government being able to assist local industries by levying a reduced rate of tax on locally produced goods. It has prevented the Island offering visitors the advantageous duties which prevail in the Channel Islands (which do not have such an agreement with the Imperial Government), and it has strengthened the chains which tie us to a rapidly sinking British economy.

Whilst we accept that levying reduced rates of Value Added Tax might mean creating yet another department of Government and would certainly reduce the monies collected on every item sold within the Island – we are absolutely confident that increased sales, linked with the many other benefits which would arise from an undoubted increase in tourism, would far outstrip the present amount collected, and would give to the Manx Government the means to effectively control the Manx economy.

The Manx Government is traditionally made up mostly of “independents”. That is members who have no party allegiance and all too often no policy, and therefore no real collective responsibility for the way in which the Island is governed. The only political party to be represented in the Manx Government at the present time is the Manx Labour Party (perhaps the most inappropriately named party anywhere – for in outlook it is neither Manx nor Labour!), which has consistently failed in its duty to provide a lead and which has failed completely even as an effective opposition to the present reactionary government.

But looking to the future there is one sign of hope. The Nationalist Party, Mec Vannin, is now the largest political party in the Island.

Mann was the last of the Celtic Nations to form a Nationalist Party. Before Mec Vannin’s foundation in December of 1964, political nationalism in Mann was confined to a few intellectuals, who, however articulate their demands for nationalist policies, were, by their limited numbers and lack of cohesion, condemned to be voices in the wilderness.

To an Island unused to Nationalist philosophy, indeed to a people imbued with an inferiority complex of the sort which can be traced at some time or other in the history of all the Celtic peoples, the Nationalists’ demands were considered, to say the least, extreme, and is any of Mec Vannin’s founders expected instant success then they were doomed to disappointment.

But they soldiered on. Gradually, due to the unceasing work of those Mec Vannin founders, the Manx people realised that a radical change of the sort proposed by the Nationalist Movement was necessary.

But Mec Vannin’s first attempts to win seats in the House of Keys were not particularly successful. Mec Vannin candidates campaigned in various bye-elections, but despite the ever growing number of followers, our supporters were not sufficiently concentrated in any one constituency to ensure the election of a Nationalist candidate.

Our first major breakthrough came in the last general election when, although not elected, a Mec Vannin candidate came within 25 votes of winning a seat. Here was proof to the electorate that a Nationalist vote was not a wasted vote, and since that time Mec Vannin’s election record has been extremely good.

Three Mec Vannin candidates (including our present party leader Mrs. Annette Bridson) were elected to the Board of Education - which is voted for in the same constituency areas as the House of Keys. These three people became the first official Nationalists to sit on any publicly elected body.

From here on the success story of Mec Vannin becomes a warning to the present government. In local authority elections Mec Vannin candidates really made their presence felt, with a number of heartening electoral successes in both Ramsey and Peel.

In a House of Keys bye-election, Mrs. Annette Bridson came a close second to the Labour candidate in a traditional Labour stronghold.

In the eleven years since its inception Mec Vannin has become a force to be reckoned with - and for the present government the day of reckoning is close at hand.

S. L. Keggin.
Chairman of the Political Committee of Mec Vannin.

MANX PUBLISHING.

Despite the obvious lack of a daily paper, publishing in Welsh is in Celtic terms quite healthy. Publishing in Irish is comparatively well behind, nevertheless a large element of selection is necessary for the average reader who could not hope to keep up with everything published in Irish. It would not be too difficult to keep up with all material published in Scottish Gaelic, but thanks to the efforts of Cairn and An Club Lesbhar the last few years have seen a notable increase in the volume of publications.

As the population of Mann is upwards of 50,000 of whom only a small number speak or write Manx the printing of Manx is a costly business. Apart from the Manx Bible there is now another important Manx text Chronicle of the Kings of Mann and the Isles. The original manuscript from the monastery of Rushen was in Latin. It has now been published together with translations in both Manx and English, price £4.

It would be well worth for those who speak Scots or Irish Gaelic to indulge in a spot of patronage by purchasing this book or at least ensuring that it is available in their local library.

This would not exactly be completely altruistic as the chronicles have much of Irish and more of Scottish interest. More important, by means of the English translation it is possible to gain a good idea of Manx orthography and to note where it differs from Irish or Scottish. If at a later stage some of the basic sounds could be checked with a Manx speaker the Scottish or Irish Gael ought to have acquired some familiarity with the sister language.

For those with a more specialised interest a further volume is to be issued which will provide a historic commentary on the chronicles and relate them to the general contemporary background.

Volume I can be obtained from:- George Broderick, 3 Royal Terrace, Onchan, Mannin, and volume 2 will shortly be available from the same address at a similar price. Mr. Broderick is a co-editor of the book with Brian Stowell whose contributions in both Manx and in English are already familiar to readers of Carn.

Peadraig Ó Conchuir.

DOONNEY EDDYR-CHELTIAGH.

Yann Fouéré, the best-known and the oldest (at 65) of the Breton prisoners, is the author of “La Bretagne Ecarterie” and “L’Europe aux Cent Drapeaux” in which he develops his concept of freedom for ethnic communities through federalism. He is an Irish citizen.

Ga dy vel Yann Fouéré ny ghooinney moor ayna caggey ny Britaan, she seyrinagh (citizen) Ternagh eh as ta déliai roagan echey ayna Comanara.

Ayns 1934, v’eh jannoo obbyr feer scanshoil son y chengey Britaanagh. Haik eh lesh dy chur er ram olteynyn Britaanagh syn ard-whaiyl dy ghra dy row ad ayna foayr jeh’n chengey. Va reddyln chest lesh y chengey. Agh eisht, vrish y rhag chaggey moor magh.

Va kuse dy Virtaane ayns foayr jeh co-obbragh mariah ny Germannae, va kuse elley plane nol shen as va kuse elley foekel edyr oc. Hannee Fouéré sy Vritaan tra v’eh caggey to road. Ayns 1945, v’eh aigbhil.

Va drogh-ourys ec ny Frangee er as chum ad eh ayna pryrasoon rish un vlein, agh eisht v’eh seyrin oc yr y fëh row foayr wannish dy liooar oc eh y gefreye.

Ec y traa shen, va Britaaneen dy liooar marriodicty lyn resoon arbee (by liooar eh y ve dty Vritaanagh).

(Continued on page 16.)
Auld Alliance.

Auld Alliance.

The Breton nationalists were the only ones to recognise in the Corsicans a people whose struggle against a common oppressor made them our brothers. On September 12th, 1927, the leader of the Corsican patriots Petru Rocca, signed the charter founding the "Central Committee of the National Minorities of France" together with the Alsatian Paul Schall and the Breton Morvan Marchal and Olier Morel. The Corsicans' ethnic character.

Among the national minorities of the French State, the Mediterranean, dolichocephalic, brown-haired Corsicans with their elongated features and their swarthy complexion are perhaps the ethnic group which most differs from the stock French. In a French crowd, a Corsican is immediately recognizable by his physical appearance, before opening his mouth; something that cannot often be said of an Englishman, a German, or even a Slav.

Corsica is an island.

There is no doubt that living on an island has strengthened further the extremely particular characteristics of the Corsican people and helped them to maintain their cohesion and remarkable unity. Corsica is far from the continent, far from France and communications are not always that good. Geographically, as well as ethnically and linguistically Corsica belongs to the Illyrian configuration. Its problems don't differ much from those of Sardinia and Sicily.

Corsica means a language.

The Corsicans speak a Tuscan dialect which is quite close to literary Italian. From early times until 1789 Italian was their only official and written language. However a group of writers to literary Italian. From early times until 1789 Italian was their only official and written language. However a group of writers wanted to assimilate Italy. It is an understandable task - it is a task that cannot be said of an Englishman, a German, or even a Slav.

Corsica is a history.

All during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and until the end of the 18th Century, Corsica is politically a part of the Byzantium. It is under the 5th Republic that a new policy is introduced, with the result that the indigenous population will gradually be removed and replaced by French-speaking and submissively people coming from France and elsewhere. The need to resettle the colonists (Pieds Noirs) forced to flee from Morocco and Algeria provided the French government with an opportunity for quickening the assimilation process by means of a scheme of subsidies refused to the native Corsicans but lavishly bestowed on the French-speaking immigrants. France brings in thousands of Pieds Noirs with their Moroccan labourers. They are competent farmers, buy land at low prices and improve it, gradually driving the "natives" out of their own country.

It is against this dispossession that the Corsican people have risen. During the last few years a movement, which had originally very moderate aims very rapidly radicalized its position under the pressure of necessity and thanks to a growing awareness of reality, passing from regionalism to a demand for autonomy. This evolution is exemplified by the most important of the organisations, the A.R.C. (Association for the Resurrection of Corsica) which was originally similar to the Breton M.O. B. of the early sixties but is today prohibited, following the Ajaccio events. Other more advanced groups now envisage complete separation from France and various armed resistance organisations are carrying out attacks with explosives: this is called Justicia Poliana.

David and Goliah.

Let us briefly recall what happened at Ajaccio. On the 17th July crowds had demonstrated in Ajaccio and Bastia shouting "I Francesi fora!" (Out with the French). On the 22nd an armed conflict between French and Corsicans resulted in two deaths on the side of the forces of repression. 50 farmers armed with sporting rifles and some automatic weapons and headed by Dr. Edmond Simeoni, leader of the A.R.C., had occupied a building belonging to a "Pied Noir" and fortified it for a token resistance. They were surrounded and attacked by a thousand Riot Police (CRS) equipped with much better weapons and armoured cars. When one of the besieged was grievously wounded by a grenade, they shot dead two of the "defenders of law and order".

Dr. Simeoni surrendered to the French in exchange for safe-conduct for his men who left the building, with arms and flags flying to the amazement of all. A number of them were arrested afterwards and jailed. The A.R.C. was dissolved. Corsicans reacted immediately. In Bastia a riot flared up during the night, a crowd of young people armed with sporting guns and Winchester rifles surrounded the government building. Another CRS was killed and many wounded on either side.

During the following weeks, the Corsicans rally to demand the release of the jailed patriots and claim their national rights. On September 1st, operation "bola Morta" (Dead Island) is a complete success: the general strike is almost total. On the 14th, a mass meeting in Ajaccio against repression draws also a huge attendance from all over the island. At the end of the demonstration, several hundred refused to disperse and assailed the prefecture. This results in important material damage, and people being wounded and arrested.

Faced with the magnitude of these reactions, the Paris government seems helpless: half-measures are taken, French prefects are replaced by Corsican-born ones, officially the problem of Corsica is treated as being purely economic or as due to "insular-mindedness": But courage pays. A vast movement of...
opinion has started in France which is even favourable to a certain "regional autonomy" while the representatives of the national minorities in the State, Bretons, Alsaitians, Flemings, Occitans, Basques and Catalans have declared their solidarity with the Corsican patriots fighting for freedom.

Corsicans with backs to the wall.

Vince o more. To-day and not to-morrow the Corsicans must win or perish. If they don't succeed in regaining enough freedom to control their own affairs, they will be submerged. The French government pursues in Corsica the same policy as must win or perish. If they don't succeed in regaining enough possession of the former French empire.

For a total population of 220,000 there remains only 120,000 native Corsicans as against 50,000 French and 50,000 immigrants from various countries (North Africans, Spaniards, Portuguese, etc.)., brought in mainly since the last World War, and French-speaking now or very soon: 75,000 jobs, 47,000 are taken by the latter. On the other hand 700,000 Corsicans live abroad, 150,000 of them in Marsouille, 100,000 in Paris and (as many in Nice) Corsicans scattered over the World, especially in North America (New York) and the countries of the former French empire.

Apart from the Armenians who fled the great massacres by the Turks and since the Jews have found in Israel a country of their own, there is perhaps no example of a people being so scattered around the world. What we witness here is a process leading to the full liquidation of a minority. It is done in a seemingly non-violent manner, but it is a genocide all the same. But if the Corsicans resist the acquisition of their land by the strangers we hear of course the cry of "Racism". Only "away".

Are the emigrant Corsicans totally lost for their home country? Not at all, says a famous Corsican lawyer, Me Morro-Galleri: A Corsican does not go into exile, he is only "away" for a while. So it was under the old German legislation: the emigrants and the sons of emigrants always retained their German nationality parallel to whatever new citizenship they might acquire. A Corsican, wherever he may be living, "leaves his heart in his country": The scattered Corsicans remain members of the Corsican nation.

Freedom is indivisible.

The Corsicans are a small nation but they have given us the example of honour and courage. In an extremely difficult situation they have re-acted like men. However the cause they defend is that of all oppressed nations, especially those of Western Europe subjected to the Spanish, French and U.K. States. Brothers of Corsica, our front goes through your cities, Ajaccio, Bastia, Corse, Ajaccio, front passes through Brest, Lorient, Lorient, Bizerta, Morocco. Brothers, Corsicans, you have raised the torches of freedom and you light our road as well as yours. Freedom is indivisible.

THE GALWAY DECLARATION adopted unanimously by the first Convention of the Regional Authorities of Peripheral Europe on October 16th, 1975, (CARN 11), urges the adoption of a "new deal" for Europe's peripheral regions, including the setting up of autonomous institutions. One of the recommendations addressed by the Convention to the "competent European and National Institutions" is that they take the necessary measures to protect and restore the languages and cultures of the peripheral ethnic communities threatened with extinction. To that effect an ad hoc commission should be created by the Council of Europe. Will the latter take any action?

EXCHANGING PUBLICITY WITH CARN.

As Baner Kernwek/The Cornish Banner. Organ of the Cornish Nationalist Party. Ed. Dr. J. Wherry. 4 issues £1.20p (overseas £1.50p). Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, CORNWALL.

A DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP FOR NATIONALS OF THE FREE CELTIC NATIONS.

A resolution passed at this years A.G.M. in Mannin - referring to a definition of Manx citizenship - that 1) Manx nationality be given legal status; and 2) Manx citizenship be available only after five years of residence, subject to an examination as applicable in other countries - could be expanded as a basis for a definition of citizenship of other Celtic Nations as they gain independence. Thus I would like to put forward the following ideas, to form the basis of discussion on this subject - to be eventually, if allowed, debated upon at next year's A.G.M. in Kernow.

1) That each of the Celtic Nations on independence retain their separate national identity and nationality for its citizens, while co- opting within a formal association of Celtic Nations - with possible 'special status' for citizens of one member nation withing any other member nation - possible 'joint' citizenship? 2) Qualification for citizenship, should be defined as: a) By birth and subsequent residence in that country. b) By residence for a period of five years, subject to an examination in the laws, history, culture and customs of the country. Excluding citizens of the other Celtic Nations, or those with a strong proven ancestral link with the country (at least two grandparents?), the qualifying period of residence to be reduced to one or two years - still subject to the examination. c) By being a child or dependent of a person qualifying under (b) above, but those over voting age having to meet the requirements of (b). 3) As citizenship is a privilege and it should be revocable - as a punishment for anti-social behaviour against the community - for a set period, say five years minimum. 4) The right of residence in a country, except as a second-homer (or similar), should be a basic right - provided the persons concerned respect the laws, history, culture and customs of the country of residence: even if: a) They are not yet able to qualify as citizens, or b) They qualify for citizenship, but decline, and wish to retain the citizenship of their country of origin. 5) All other things being equal the citizens of a country should have a right of employment before non-citizens, excepting where non-citizens can contribut skills, training or experience not held by citizens of that country.

These ideas are put forward for discussion, as I think some definition will be needed for the Celtic Nations as they become independent - it is worth considering that our nations are likely to be desirable places of residence - with the probable collapse of England, when it is no longer able to prop up its decaying economy by exploiting our nations natural resources. Do (or Will) we want a mass exodus of people to our lands (5% of England's population is equal to 50% of Scotland's, 500% of Cornwall's)? There will have to be controls. Do we also want tax haven seekers, retired people, 'simple life' seekers and second-homers flooding into what will be our better off nations? There are many other problems and ideas that have to be considered - I therefore put this one forward for consideration, leading, I hope, to a possible resolution for next year's A.G.M. in Kernow. John Treays.
We have now heard so much about Scotland’s oil, and other potential offshore oil sources that in the welter many important facts get smudged. But some of these are very important: oil from the deep, cold and dangerous waters is limited and expensive to extract. In addition, the damage extraction will cause to the sea’s living resources will mount, and will last far longer than the oil, especially if it is extracted at the fastest possible rate. Although there are many causes for oil lifetime estimates to be suspect — such as the political value of saying Britain has energy resources for many years — few have been in excess of about 20 years at current consumption rates of around 3 million barrels per day. Translating this figure from ‘Britain’s’ to Scotland’s, the potential resource lifetime, even at present standards of consumption, is more than 300 years. But in the present real-world situation, of acute oil shortage in the U.S. and Europe, the figure of 20 years melts away very fast.

The reason is that Scotland is a subunit of Britain’s economy, which in turn is heavily related to and dependent on the U.S. economy. It is a little known fact that U.S. oil import demand is rocketing, for example in 1971 it imported under 12% of its oil, now it imports more than 36%. That oil has to come from somewhere, and as far as the U.S. is concerned, what could be cheaper than oil from politically dependable, economically indebted states like the U.K.? Scotland, of course, could respond by pointing oil that even in the 1960’s the U.S. oil corporations ran their Arab oil business like feudal barons, but this changed very rapidly with the nascence of Arab political nationalism. Nevertheless, it is fair to suggest that a nightmare for Scotland could become real: that offshore oil will be sucked dry by Britain, the U.S.A. and Europe leaving Scotland with the debris of yet another boom-scrump before the 20 years melts away very fast.

We have now heard so much about Scotland’s oil, and other potential offshore oil sources that in the welter many important facts get smudged. But some of these are very important: oil from the deep, cold and dangerous waters is limited and expensive to extract. In addition, the damage extraction will cause to the sea’s living resources will mount, and will last far longer than the oil, especially if it is extracted at the fastest possible rate. Although there are many causes for oil lifetime estimates to be suspect — such as the political value of saying Britain has energy resources for many years — few have been in excess of about 20 years at current consumption rates of around 3 million barrels per day. Translating this figure from ‘Britain’s’ to Scotland’s, the potential resource lifetime, even at present standards of consumption, is more than 300 years. But in the present real-world situation, of acute oil shortage in the U.S. and Europe, the figure of 20 years melts away very fast.

Other than the obvious political need for Scotland to safeguard its resources and economic future, are there no alternatives to this nightmare? The answer is yes, and comes from some unexperienced sources. Between October 1974 and February 1975 I was involved, in several ways, with the discussion and deployment of new ‘life support technology’ in Canada. One of the major reasons for the move towards creating alternatives to nearly total dependence on depleting resources is that Canada is facing a rapid end to its oil and gas basins, if present trends go unchecked. For example, British Columbia has now adopted strongly-conservationist policies on oil and gas - oil exports will be phased out by 1980; and Canada’s equivalent of North Sea Oil, the tar sands and shale oil, are proving fantastically expensive. The ‘Syncrude’ project, to set up an oil-from-shale facility delivering 40,000 barrels per day, or about 1% of Canada’s oil demand, is now expected to cost more than $1 billion. This is a capital cost hundreds of times greater than that needed for Arab oil fields, and underlines the huge amount of energy that has to be used to get oil energy, which means that Canada is beginning to enter the age of low yield energy resources. A new and mounting concern in Canada over resources involves the rapid depletion of many key resources in the U.S. Already there have been political stresses because of resources issue, notably the threat by politicians in some of the western border States to block the trans-Canada oil pipeline (which supplied oil-deficient eastern Canada) at points where the pipelines strag into U.S. territory, in retaliation to B.C.’s new no-export policy on oil, and gas pricing that reflects the limits of resources and costs of developing new supplies.

As well as these economic and political pressures towards the use of renewable energy sources, and low-energy technology, there is increasing concern with environment, that rapidly distinguishes Canadians from British. Because Canadians are prepared to put their money where their mouths are there has been much action in discussing and showing the alternatives that exist and can be foreseen. Major Federal and Provincial projects have been initiated and funded by state Agencies, Institutes, and universities. These do not only involve academics and bureaucrats, since it has been realised early on that to get any reduction in energy use and the deployment of renewable energy source technology it is totally necessary to involve ordinary people. One 'mundane' example, with plenty in it for Britain, is that Canadian railways are being heavily subsidised. This is for reasons that include the need to stop the drift towards road and private transport, partly because road transport is so very energy-inefficient and requires — for high-speed building - such great impacts on the environment.

As a result of subsidy and good advertising the railways are well used. While a journey of 2,500 miles, such as Vancouver-Ottawa, would cost more than £100 by British Rail, it costs less than £35 by Canadian National - travelling in comfort with really good service.

In Britain it is true that one or two solar houses, for example, have been built, and that on the rather overworked data, a coterie of 'experts' seek to survive. In Canada it has been realised that the talk:do ratio has got to be radically lower than in Britain if solar houses are ever going to be used. This example is a good one because solar water and space heating, in normal domestic buildings, is not a complex technology and most of the necessary research and development has been done decades ago. So a series of proven-design solar houses, using three or four of the different systems possible, are being built by Federal and Provincial Agencies and organisations. But, more significantly, the Canadian Government, through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (C.M. H.C.) is directly subsidising the construction of solar heating systems in normal housing. It does this by providing an additional supplement of $2,500, at no interest, to mortgagees who will use solar heating. Other examples are the National Research Corporation windpower project, to design and build prototype vertical axis windmills, and British Columbia Hydro Authority’s deployment of production windmills for remote-area power supply.

Adding up the many different types of projects that Federal and Provincial governments are directly supporting, the total value of funding on renewable energy source technology development probably now in excess of $40m per year, and climbing rapidly. Compared to Britain where total funding on all renewable energy source research is £6m per year, it is probably 40 or 50 times more intensive.

The link between low energy systems and care for the environment is an additional impetus to Canadian activity, since it is easy to demonstrate that a resource-wasteful and energy-intensive lifestyle is very damaging to the environment. It has begun to be realised in Canada that the environment lasts forever (unless destroyed), while economic growth and consumerism cannot. Realisation of an acute need for change should always be the trigger for social and cultural change — if not there is obviously serious mal-function in society’s communication and awareness. Government cannot stand aloof and neutral on the development of new economies, and even on change of the cultural heritage of people. Canada has very good social communication and concern, as anyone who has seen the different ways that the U.S. and Canada treat indigenous minorities will be able to vouch. As mentioned, state-funded hardware projects are going ahead and rapidly: but in the more important lifestyle area, big changes have to be made in people conditioned from the cradle to consume. It all depends on whether or not this will be easy, but on the other hand the British
'Save It' campaign is so dedicatedly low-profile that it serves as an example of what is not worth doing in developing new 'citizen awareness', and lubricating the wheels of lifestyle change. While the British Science Council is still supporting energy conservation research with one hand, while it funds the developments of new resource-gulping industries with the other, this is not true of Canada's Science Council. In the period 1974-76 one of the three or four major projects (which receive most support) is called 'Implications of a Conserver Society'. It focuses on how we cross the gulf from here to there; a present of industry, cities and centralisation, to something that may be the exact opposite. Research awards have been distributed to workers in a very wide spectrum, from engineering to anthropology and back to physics. But to all of them there is the central focus: what will the new conserver society be like? How will we get there from here?

Complementing and reinforcing the thrust of such imaginative national projects is the action of Canada's environment ministry. It has set up a special group called the Advanced Concepts Centre, much of whose work is centred on the environmental implications and possibilities in the newly developing alternative life-support technologies. There are also many important Provincial projects, such as Prince Edward Island's Man and Resources Institute, and its first demonstration and development project called the Ark. This is run by Dr. John Todd, who has moved north to a saner, safer and more sincere nation, and comprises many of the 'biotechnology' systems his New Alchemy Institute is rightly renowned for. The Ark, which is being built also as a demonstration project for Habitat '76 (the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements), shows how solar heating and wind power can support recycling of organic wastes to grow fish. In greenhouse solar-heated tanks the fast-growing, efficient protein-forming Tilapia fish species are fed on intensively grown plants, specially cultivated insects, and so on. Inter-linked with the process is the treatment of human sewage to get methane gas, with use of the final sludge for plant and insect growth. Very little energy from non-renewable sources is needed, and no agrochemicals are used.

In British Columbia I acted as a consultant on the design, specification and building of low energy houses for the Province's Hydro Authority, which controls all oil, gas and public transport. Originally the project was conceived as a 'one-off' demonstration project for Habitat '76 (the discussion sessions of which take place in Vancouver in Summer 1976). However, the low energy house project gradually developed, with sincere interest from the Authority's directors, as one in which B.C. Hydro's normal building programme would be progressively re-arranged to achieve a big reduction in construction and servicing energy needs, through good conservation measures, renewable energy sources, and localised servicing.

I could add chapter and verse on all the many other projects that relate to the conserver society concept that is growing, right now, in Canada. However, I think that the energy, environment and lifestyle considerations are simply overflowing with significance for the Celtic nations as they newly re-emerge. Very briefly, I feel that the overlooked cultural factors are all important, because if those are changed everything else - like the economy and society - will also change. Now the Celtic people have pre-Roman languages, and pre-Christian belief systems such as mythology, religion, magic. Within this, simply because of its evolution through many centuries of intimate contact and dependence on the environment, there exists an inherent respect and love for nature. For example, the Celtic concept of an afterworld like Tir na nÓg, stressing the beautiful orchard with its spirit animals, is completely different from the confused Christian concepts of St. Peter's gate in the clouds, with an otherworld city beyond, no doubt with rush house, smog and neon. While Canada is rich, and can afford to take a long-term view of its environment it is argued that nations like Britain cannot. But if we consider only the Celtic people in Britain, and the land and physical resources of Celtic territories, the situation changes to one more like - though still poorer than Canada's. Of course this invites the charge of 'racism', but then what the English have practiced on Celts, American Indians, Africans, Arabs, Aborigines and Maoris was nothing if not racist. (Celtic lands, if the Celtic people in them were politically autonomous, could do much worse than move towards the kind of future Canada is beginning to collectively foresee.) Andrew Mackillop.

CORRECTION: KINSALE GAS.

The estimated amount of 98% Methane Gas in the Kinsale find in one billion cubic feet - not one million as was printed in error in CARN 11.

TRAOLACH MacSUIBHNE.

Tasdjdeir de chuid Phoblacht na hÉireann abea Art Ó Briain. I measc na níthe a bhronn sé ar Ard mhúsaem na hÉireann bhf an pictiúr seo de chuid A. Beneseect n. A. Beneseect. Is beag solas a thug Art Ó Briain faoin pictiúr taobh amuigh de díta a dtear in ann gur Briotáinnseach abeas Beneseec. D'fhéadfadh sé a d'fhreastachtaí a rinneadh ar aon leith faoin aon fhoilseachán ní aon eolais a fhoilseadh.

Bís Thraolaigh Mic Sibhine ar 15 Deireadh Fomhór 1920 in oidhche stáic ocras 74 i, is tέma do'n bhith pictiúr. Té 'Liberte' le líomh ar ghoine faoi lá na saoirse. Is féidir leis an fhoilseachán a roinnt ghearr a dhéanamh ná roinnt fhoilseachán a chur anseo. Nuair a thug na bhfhearrtaí an t-aireamh a bhí ina phictiúr 'An mhír eile, buis eile' (1912), is féidir leis an gcaol an domhan a bhaint ilchuir sé. An ghabh sé leis an mhír eile a bhí ina phictiúr 'An mhír eile, buis eile' (1912), is féidir leis an gcaol an domhan a bhaint ilchuir sé. D'fhéadfadh sé a d'fhreastachtaí a rinneadh ar aon leith faoin aon fhoilseachán ní aon eolais a fhoilseadh.
arriving in Brittany of a concern with the preservation of the traditional music, that is part of a romantic longing to return to a Golden Age or a nostalgic effort to be a "peasant". It seems more an effort to encourage those who still have such rich musical abilities to practice them, and to encourage those who are strangers to the traditional music, to value it and recognize its beauty. The retention of the traditional music is associated with a retention of Brittany itself and the protection of it is not a matter of collecting data for later historical research, but a question of survival of a very important part of Breton culture. Perhaps I do not have enough of an understanding of Brittany to say that I understood what I sensed to be behind all the concern and love expressed for music in Brittany.

For some people there seems to be a problem in being "modern" and "Breton" at the same time. I found a realistic attitude towards the need to change and the inevitability of change, yet there seemed an uneasiness that indicated that something was wrong. It was in looking at the Breton language that I felt I gained most insight into people and perhaps to myself as well. The "generation gap" is something that exists around the World, but it has a special quality to it in Brittany. Normally differences between generations involve a change of ideas and attitudes that separates the young from the old. In Brittany the gap is not necessarily a question of age, but something created for the most part due to the imposition of an educational system that is foreign to Brittany. It is more a problem of communication rather than change. There seems to be a large hole separating those who have managed to retain the Breton language and the associated way of thinking (whether by choice or sheer physical isolation from French influences) from those who have been forced to learn to express themselves in French (in terms of thinking as well as speaking). It seemed to me that people in Brittany are angry and saddened by this hole and the lack of choice they had in its creation. Perhaps many people do not see it or do not find it a problem, but I found a surprising number of people who were trying to fill the hole in. It is a quiet, personal struggle for some and a loud and threatening battle for some. It is an attempt to recognize and show others that Brittany is a special place with the right to survive and develop. This is perhaps the "revolution" I had read about.

When I read about Brittany and its "colonization" before going, I felt I was being exposed to the propaganda of a small group of people who were probably a little extreme in their thinking. All the talk of "cultural genocide" and the suppression of minority peoples seemed a little overdone. I did not expect to find answers this summer and I cannot pretend to have found any. I do believe however, that I helped me to become a lot more sensitive to what I saw and have given me directions to start looking more carefully. I have much yet to read, and much more talking to do before I can start to understand Brittany.

I have talked a lot about "problems" but I do not want to give the impression that my experiences this summer left me a pessimist. I found some sadness and despair, but mostly a joyfulness in Breton life. The amount of French influences seemed a little overdone. I came to realize that Brittany is not a bad and is not something that will pass with a little time.

I am not sure I expressed exactly what I wanted to. My ideas are not completely sorted out yet. Although I will always have the perspective of a young person "frozen in time" about Brittany. I cannot pretend not to care what happens there.
the problem of choosing one's own cultural destiny is not unique to Brittany. It is something I must understand especially if I intend eventually to be an anthropologist or ethnomusicologist who will try to convey an understanding of human behavior to others.

I apologise for the length and disorganisation of this letter. I hope at least it has given an idea of my thoughts. I appreciate all the help and interest you have shown in my work and I think now I appreciate better all the work you have done for Brittany."

Ed. Rennes in indeed a centre of Francisation, but see "Opinion Surveys".

"Ploujut a ray d’hol lennerien vireizh lann ar pezh a sonj ur shoudeus amerikizi diwar-benn hor bro, hor sonerezh, hor buked breizhon, an dael etre sonerezh arnezev ha sonerezh hengouenel, an difo’rch etre ar re a oar brezhoneg hag ar re a rankober gant ar galleg. Dic’hooaneg he deus givelet e Breizh, met Kaiz levezenn lives.

LETTER

In "CARN No. 10" (Aug, 1975) I read two articles concerning the Cornish language classes. One p. 14 in Kernewek, the other p. 16 on Broadcasting in Kernow. I wish to correct an omission. Both articles' contributors had not written in their lists the existence of a Cornish class in London. The class has existed at least 20 years and the present class has met in Ruislip for 6 years regularly. The present Kernewek class in London has, of course, already commenced studying for the Cornish examinations in 1976. The London Cornish Association's members' handbook publishes my name for enquiries from exiles who wish to learn Kernewek.

Furthermore the London Kernewek class had students taking the various language examinations of the Kernow Tavus Kernewek, (Cornish Language Board) every year since 1967 (except 1974). Five of our successful candidates have returned to Kernewek, four continued their studies in Kernow, and one of them (I.e. Pendesnazar-Bardhes Kernewek) is teaching Kernewek in Pijenton. You may also be interested to know that some of the London Kernewek students who have returned to Kernow contribute to a Kernewek Language 'Newsletter' distributed amongst themselves, to enable them all to remain in contact with each other.

The existence of our class in London has helped with the enquiries from interested journalists etc., and contributed in a small way to an article by Johnathan Sale in the 'Punch' magazine of Feb. 19th 1975. Paul T. Holmes, Gwereser Studhyoryon Kernewek dher Loudres, 350A West End Road, Ruislip, Middlesex, Pow Saws.

LATE NEWS.

The National Executive of Mebyon Kernow have approved the following statements proposed by the Chairman, Mr. R.G. Jenkin. Essentially: "Mebyon Kernow wholeheartedly supports the establishment of assemblies for Scotland and Wales with power to legislate for those countries and claims an assembly for Cornwall with legislative control of the internal affairs of Cornwall." As an initial reaction to a study, instigated by the Cornwall Council consorting with Devon County Council, "Towards 2001 - The future of the PLYMOOUTH SUB-REGION" Mebyon Kernow called on the Cornwall Council "to withdraw from co-operating with Devon County Council and the South-West Economic Planning Committee in Bristol in any matter concerning the so-called Plymouth sub-region". M.K. also called for an extension of the fishing limit to 50 miles, with an inner limit forbidden to all but local crab, long-line and on-shore shell fishing. In the remaining area only boats working out of and landing fish at local ports should be permitted. An eventual limit up to 200 miles should be controlled and conserved.

CELtic LEAGUE.

*North America: Recent lack of communication from the branch Secretary is causing us concern.

*Cymru: Rhodri Morgan had to give up the post of assistant secretary as personal matters required all his attention after his release from jail. A successor will be appointed after due consultations. We are not getting enough material for the Welsh section of CARN.

*Kernow: Note Secretary’s change of address on back cover.

RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP/SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CARN No. 12 is the last issue due for the majority of current subscriptions (1975). WE APPEAL URGENTLY TO ALL, especially to those who want to ensure that we remain afloat in spite of the economic crisis, to renew for 1976 without delay, so as to spare us the time-wasting and costly need to send reminders. We are keeping the price of CARN at 25p, but we need the basic/ordinary mail rate of £2-- per annum in order to function as an organisation. We are trying hard to keep solvent. DO NOT LET US DOWN. SEE BACK PAGE FOR PRESENT RATES.

* Your subscription is now due for renewal if you find here a mark X*.

* We have maintained a good degree of regularity in publishing CARN. If you should fail to get your copy after a reasonable delay, do not omit to let us know.

T.V. Flash.

An undertaking not to pay their television licenses until the Breton language is given a significantly better place in T.V. broadcasts is being signed by a growing number of people. The first 16 include the singers A. Stivell and Gw. an Fur. Three of them are C.L. Members. They saw that appeals to justice and rights defined by international conventions could not prevail against France’s policy of eradication a language spoken daily by hundreds of thousands.

*Postou-Henchon.

Muir's'h-mui e vez torrei al lezenn gant ar Stad iwerzhonat o lakaat postou-henchon a zezk evit gant gwent ammok saoznekaet. Proseza a vno graet evit herzel ozh an argerzh-se. Ar goun-anant a glask kemman al lezenn avit evit reizhekaat ar pezh a vez graet.

Skolaj Sabhal Mor Ostaig en Enez Sciathanach/Skye zo anezh a re greizen daolvoud evit buhez sevenadurel gouezeleg-erien Ali. Skol-halo vez graet emo d'ar re a zeak ar yezh.

Breton Prisoner.

There is still no sign of a trial after four months. They could be detained indefinitely unless you help. You can do so by asking your elected representatives to call on the French Government to release them if they dare not bring them to trial.

GOARNIG Family.

The six younger members of the Goarnig Family whose Breton names the French authorities refused to recognise during the past 8 - 16 years have at last been granted official existence.

DO NOT FORGET TO RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO CARN.
MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

All who agree with the aims and constitution of the CELTIC LEAGUE are invited to join. Nothing extra need be paid for membership in addition to the subscription, the latter being open to all. The basic rate of subscription was £1.50 per annum for the past two years (in Ireland and Britain). The following rates will apply from now on:- Ireland and Britain - £2; other European countries - 20F or equivalent; non-European countries (airmailing) - $6.50 (U.S.) For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries (note some changes):

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Articles for CARN should be tidily typed, easily legible to printers, with double spacing; keep carbon copy; endeavour to express ideas clearly, support arguments with facts, be precise. Let CARN be the LINK between the Celtic-minded people. Send us reports, letters, articles of Celtic interest. WE CANNOT GUARANTEE PUBLICATION OF ARTICLES EXCEEDING 1000 WORDS (UNLESS OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE).

IF REQUESTING INFORMATION, SEND STAMPED ENVELOPES OR INTERNATIONAL COUPONS-
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Application for Membership
I wish to join the Celtic League and to receive its quarterly CARN. Please also send me a copy of the C.L. Constitution. I enclose £........ and (optional) contribution towards C.L. expenses £........

Name......................................................................................................................
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