

TRIBAN

SUMMER
1965
2/6

J. B. HILLING

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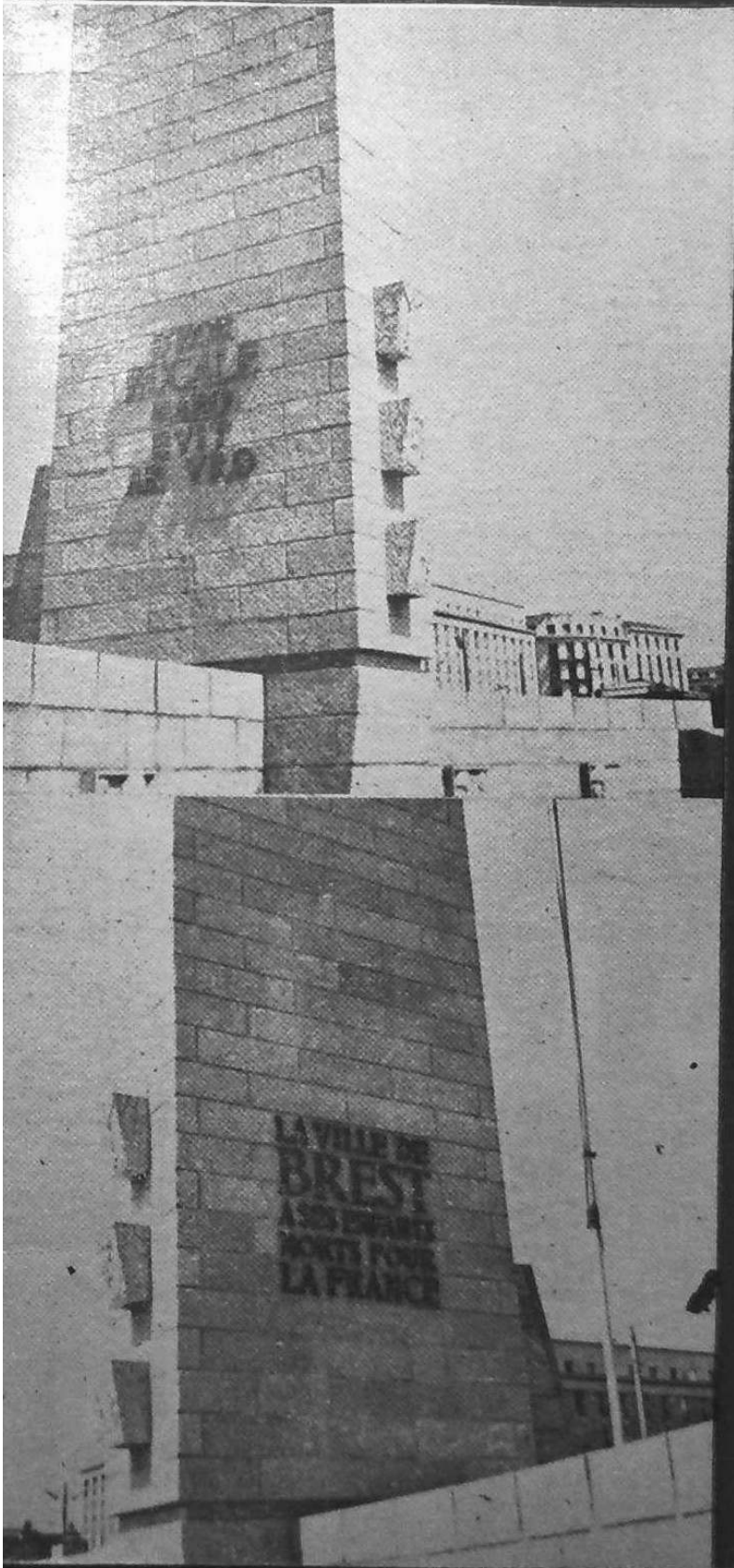
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TRIBAN

PLAID CYMRU'S POLITICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. III No. 2

Summer 1965

BLAST OFF

WE are grateful to the "Guardian" for permission to reprint the two articles by Nesta Roberts with which they concluded their survey of Britain earlier this year. Apart from one or two minor changes of fact in the meantime, they represent quite fairly the "bread-and-butter" view of Wales and her affairs, with an occasional hint of something more. It is useful to reprint it because it will remind nationalists of the "something more" that they must contribute to make Wales viable as a nation, and that this contribution does need facts to sustain it.

The "something more" is usefully conjured up in Gordon Wilson's description of the new vigour in the Scottish National Party. This has numerous lessons for us. Firstly, it will remind us that a party is not a sacred cow, only a mean to an end. The S.N.P. seemed five years ago to be completely dried up; since then a Nationalist has polled 15,000 votes in a General Election, membership and income have leapt up, and seats have been gained in local elections, including the balance of power in a vital council (Stirling). The S.N.P. is not dependent for funds on its branches—the branches draw funds from the S.N.P., because the party has made a success of its Pool scheme. This means that the branches are free and strong to work usefully for the party, instead of being tied down by fund-raising schemes. The kind of person likely to join Plaid Cymru is not a fund-raising kind of person, and when he finds out what's going on he quits. The noble efforts made by a minority of members, especially in the North, are the sacrifice made on the altar of financial naivety for which the whole Party is to blame. We will never be able to compete with the Tories at garden-parties or with the Labour party at painless milking of Union members. We already equal the Communists at devoted sacrifice by a minority; it is time that the Scottish situation be successfully imitated here.

We must realise, too, from the Scottish example, as well as from that of Brittany, partially described elsewhere in this number, that if Plaid Cymru were to collapse tomorrow, it wouldn't really matter. There would not be a single nationalist less in Wales: there are in any case already more outside the Party's ranks than in them. If the Party were to fold up (as did the Breton movement in the 1944 bloodbath, as the Scottish movement virtually did in the late 50s, and the Irish Party after Parnell's fall), it would not be the end of Wales or of Welsh Nationalism. Nationalists would continue working in their other spheres of activity while a new movement formed itself. A French author has said: "If you want to understand the aspirations of a people, listen to its extremists." It is impossible to imagine a Wales in which there was not a nationalist movement. Although there is no call to rock the boat for the sheer hell of it, we are sailing for the sake of Wales, not the boat.

In future TRIBAN will be edited separately as a Welsh-language magazine; its English-language numbers will become a new magazine provisionally entitled NEW WALES, edited by Gerald Morgan, Tegfan, Bryn Road, Aberaeron. Articles are wanted not only on all aspects of Welsh affairs, but also on other nations; in particular it is intended to publish an Irish number for next Easter.

A NEW TOWN FOR MID-WALES?

By J. B. HILLING

Dip. Arch., Dip T.P., A.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I.

(1) Since the war only one Government-financed town has been built in Wales, compared with 4 in Scotland and 12 in England. Now however we have talk of another new town—a town which it is hoped will be the answer to all the problems of that large, intractable area of Mid-Wales. In many minds the idea of a new town in Wales is alien, and this is partly true, for in the past the urban life of towns was not natural to the Welsh as it was to the English. Indeed, many of the towns in Wales were originally founded by invaders in order to control the Welsh. In England the towns grew naturally from the tight-knit villages and market centres, whereas Wales has always been largely a region of scattered communities. Paradoxically, a proportionately higher number of towns in Wales have been planned than in any other part of Britain.

The earliest planners were, of course, the Romans who built the Romano-British town of Caerwent and numerous forts (particularly Caerleon and Segontium) which were planned on a rectangular grid-iron pattern. In the thirteenth century the new towns of Aberystwyth, Beaumaris, Caernarfon, Conway, Flint and Rhuddlan were built by Edward I and each had a rectilinear pattern of streets enclosed by a town wall. The only native attempt to build a new town was by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd who tried to establish Aber Miwl as a rival to the English Montgomery. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries numerous coal mining and quarrying towns were hastily thrown up as a result of the industrial revolution. They were not very well planned, but they were all new towns. In the early part of the nineteenth century a number of properly planned new towns were, however, built. The earliest and largest was the port of the Milford Haven. This was followed by Pembroke Dock with its new naval dockyard, and Aberaeron, another port. In the north, Tremadog and Porthmadog were planned and built within a mile of each other, and Llandudno developed from a small fishing port into a large and fashionable seaside resort. Early in the twentieth century interest in planning was revived by the Garden City movement and "Garden Villages" were built throughout Wales. More recently there is, of course, Cwm-bran new town and the planned holiday resorts of Bron-y-Môr in Merioneth and Broadhaven in Pembrokeshire.

Salisbury, Rhodesia. An American missionary, Lester Keith Weiner, was fined £25 at Umtali today for writing a poem criticising the use of police dogs.—"The Guardian," 13.4.65.

"The whole of this area (i.e. S.E. Wales) will be opened up to the Midlands and Bristol in a completely new way."—Mr. James Griffiths on the Severn Bridge. "The Guardian," 13.4.65.

These then are the more significant "new" towns that have been built in Wales—it does not by any means exhaust the list, but at least shows that even if the idea of a "new town" is alien it is not new.

The proposal for a new town should not therefore automatically be considered as wrong. We have instead to ask ourselves whether or not a new town is going to serve any useful purpose and whether it is to be built primarily for the interests of Wales, or as so often in the past, for outside interests.

THE PROBLEM OF MID-WALES

The basic problem of Mid-Wales is one of a low and steadily falling population spread over a large area. While most other parts of Britain have continued to increase in population, Mid-Wales has lost population continuously for the past hundred years. The increase in population in Southern and Central England is due to two causes: a high natural birth-rate over death-rate, and migration of people from the less prosperous areas. In Mid-Wales the opposite is true. Movement of people out of the area to more prosperous parts has been going on for many years and more often than not it has been the younger and more virile people that have gone. The result is that the proportion of older people is much higher in Mid-Wales than other parts of the country and that consequently the natural birth-rate is low but the death rate is high.

The geographical redistribution of population is a natural result of the economic growth of a country and follows from the transference of resources from low-productivity areas to high-productivity areas. From a planning angle it is however illogical that while in some parts of the country land becomes ever more scarce and costly and people become more crowded in, other parts of the country become virtually deserted.

Mid-Wales has always had a low population density compared to Britain as a whole, but each year the contrast between one and the other becomes greater. In 1871 the average density of population for Mid-Wales was 77 persons per sq. mile compared to 391 persons per square mile for England and Wales. In 1961 the figure for Mid-Wales had fallen to 55 and for England and Wales had risen to 794. While the population generally has continued to grow and the social and economic life has continued to improve, in Mid-Wales the population has continued to fall and with it there has been a social and economic decline. This is the problem of Mid-Wales—the ever-increasing disparity of conditions there compared to those found in other parts of Southern Britain.

There are three viewpoints from which the "problem" can be considered. The first is to consider it in the British context, i.e. whether Britain can afford to have a large area with a declining population when overcrowding is causing chaos and congestion elsewhere. The second viewpoint is to consider the continual loss of Welsh population to England and the ultimate effect on an area too poor and depopulated to run its own local affairs and which will become more and more the protectorate of the English Midlands. Finally, Mid-Wales is an area where a distinct social and cultural character survives and where over a large area the Welsh language still flourishes. As the population continues to decline, so will these qualities weaken and eventually disappear. This in turn will have its effect on Welsh culture generally.

A NEW TOWN AS THE SOLUTION

The fashionable answer to the problem of Mid-Wales is to build a new town. As an attempt to re-dress the balance of population between one part of Britain and another a new town is a logical answer, although inevitably in this context it would be as much a method for solving the English problem of overcrowding as for solving the Welsh problem of population decline. As an answer to the continual loss of Welsh population a new town would be suitable as long as it is possible to insure that the new town is to be populated by Welsh people. As an answer to the decline of Welsh social and cultural life in Mid-Wales, a new town is unlikely to provide the solution except in exceptional circumstances.

At the best, a new town on its own can only partly solve the difficulties of Mid-Wales. In any case, a new town cannot be built "in vacuo" but must have new services, communications and facilities for industry. A complete solution must inevitably provide for services, communications and industry throughout Mid-Wales. To be economically viable they must be related to an important growth centre, and almost certainly this should be on the scale of a new town.

TYPES OF NEW TOWNS

In nearly every new town that has been built since the war the primary purpose of the new town has been to take overspill population from the great conurbations. Exceptionally, new towns have been created to provide balanced communities for mining areas, but

these have usually been slow to get going and in most cases they have eventually changed into overspill towns. The overspill towns are planned as satellites around the conurbations and are inter-dependant on them. Each major conurbation now has a number of these satellite new towns, each planned to take between 50,000 and 100,000 people. To function properly, the overspill or satellite new town must be within a reasonable distance of the mother conurbation, and in fact none are more than 28 miles from the conurbation centre, otherwise it would become difficult to attract people and industry there.

Obviously, then, any plan for a new town in Mid-Wales must be conceived on different lines and must be much more than an overspill satellite. There are of course other types of new towns, although few, if any, would be suitable to perform the functions of a regional centre and ensure a sounder based population structure throughout the area.

There is the industrial new town, usually set up to fulfil the needs of a particular heavy industry. Examples are Glenrothes in Scotland and Peterlee in Northumberland to serve new mining areas, and Corby in Northamptonshire to serve a new steel industry. Possibly a large new town could be created at Milford Haven centred on the port facilities for oil and iron ore. But there is no heavy industry in Mid-Wales on which to base a similar town. A new town could be wholly residential, but this again would have to be related to overspill population and would only benefit the region marginally. Similarly a tourist or recreational new town could only bring marginal benefits, even if it was possible to create one large enough, because possible sites would be limited and it could not justify a new communication network for the region. A large new university in the centre of Wales or massive expansion of the university college at Aberystwyth might lead to a virtually new town; for a student population of say 10,000 could provide work indirectly for another 20,000 to 30,000 people. However, growth would be slow and any advantages would be confined to a comparatively small area.

Finally, there is the possibility of creating a new town solely as an administrative centre. To plan the whole of Mid-Wales as a single unit with a new administrative centre in the heartland and a modern communications system centre on it, is in many ways the most favourable solution. Nevertheless such a new town serving a population of less than 200,000 scattered over a wide area is bound to be small in itself and would have only a limited effect on the future growth of the area. To be a success, an administrative centre would require to be much larger and would need to serve national as well as local interests.

FEASIBILITY OF A NEW TOWN

The optimum population range for a new town is usually considered to be 50,000 to 70,000, although more recently new towns have been planned for populations up to 100,000. Special conditions in remote areas might justify a new town with only 30,000 people. This by normal Welsh standards is a large town (i.e. about three times the size of Aberystwyth), but it is doubtful if even a town of this size would be sufficiently large to check the drift from the countryside. If it is assumed that an "overspill" new town serving the English Midlands is not appropriate, how then can a new town be peopled?

It is possible by analysing previous census figures to discover what surplus of population can be expected in the five Mid-Wales counties during the next 15 years. Of the 36 rural and urban districts, 22 had decreasing populations between 1951 and 1961. By projecting the figures for the 14 rural districts that lost population, it is estimated that there will be a further loss through migration of about 6,600 by 1981. In addition to this the Registrar General has estimated that the normal population of Mid-Wales would increase by the very low rate of 4.6% or 7,400 through natural increase alone by 1981. However, unless the tide of population drift can be stemmed nearly all the natural increase would be lost by migration. Therefore adding the two figures together it is expected that the total number of people leaving Mid-Wales in the next 15 years will be at least 14,000.

It is useless to consider keeping these people in the area through the traditional and basic employment of agriculture which is naturally contracting. However, if they can be persuaded to move within the region to a new town then it will be seen that, theoretically at least, there is a potential core of 14,000 people with which to start the new town. If this added to an existing settlement, say Newtown in Montgomeryshire, then by 1981 it would be possible to have a town with a population of roughly 20,000 in Mid-Wales. Alternatively, the surplus could be spread around to double the size of several existing towns. Both of the alternatives are a long way off the minimum requirement for a new town that can act as a growth point for the whole region. Obviously a large proportion of the population for a new town would have to come from outside Mid-Wales, although not necessarily from outside Wales. Once however a new town is well established it would continue to grow through natural population increase alone.

SITING AND COMMUNICATIONS

The siting of a new town is of paramount importance. Physically, four alternative sites spring to mind: Aberystwyth, Machynlleth, the upper Severn Valley or between Rhaeadr and Llandrindod. On

its own a sufficiently large new town would lead to an improvement in road and rail communications to the town itself. Almost inevitably it would mean, especially if sited in the Severn Valley, better road and rail connections with Birmingham, but not necessarily much else. As a result the benefits of a new town might be only local. If, however, a new town was planned and built in conjunction with a new communications network covering not just Mid-Wales but the whole of Wales, then the benefits could be widespread.

For instance, if a new town is strategically sited in the centre of Wales to form a nodal point to a modern transport system serving the four corners of Wales (not just a single North/South Motorway), it would become a vital link in relating North and South Wales as well as forming a logical distribution and administrative centre for the whole of Mid-Wales. The basis of the communications network would be a motorway planned in the form of a figure eight. The centre point would be the new town. The upper loop would link Dolgellau, Bangor, Llandudno, Wrexham and Welshpool. The lower loop would link the Wye Valley, Brecon, Merthyr Tydfil, Cardiff, Swansea, Carmarthen and Aberystwyth, with a spur to Milford Haven. Thus it would be possible to get easily from any part of Wales to another part, and the maximum amount of traffic would be channelled to the new town. Additional growth point towns on a smaller scale could be sited along the motorways. A pipeline development should be planned from Milford Haven alongside one of the motorways to carry oil products, and possibly grain and iron ore to the new town and the growth points en route to the English Midlands.

DISADVANTAGES OF A NEW TOWN

There are two major question marks or doubts in considering the possibility of a large new town. The obvious one is that the new town might be almost entirely populated with people from one of the English conurbations and that as a result the whole social and cultural character of Mid-Wales would be wrecked. The only way of overcoming this difficulty is to ensure that the whole purpose of the plan is to serve Wales and that only Welsh people would be encouraged to live there—no small task! Secondly, a new town might only bring benefits to a small part of Mid-Wales. If it was sufficiently flourishing, existing towns might not be able to compete; there would be a tendency for people to migrate to the new town and as a result the decline of the rest of Mid-Wales would be speeded up. Again, it must be pointed out that a new town on its own is not enough. If a new town is to be built it must be part of an overall plan for the region.

A CAPITAL NEW TOWN

It is virtually impossible to keep the "status quo" in Mid-Wales. Either the region must continue to decline, or a dramatic plan must be carried out to re-vitalise the area in a big way. In Norway, for example, it is possible to revive remote areas with less grandiose schemes because the areas are isolated and the draw of the big town is not so great. But here the great city is not far away and the attractions are therefore greater. A counter-weight with magnetic appeal is needed. How can this be done without sacrificing everything? I believe there is only one way, and that is to create a new city that would be the political capital and administrative centre for the whole of Wales, and to site it in the heart of Wales. Only this way can we be sure of attracting people from all walks of life and from all parts of Wales to re-populate the heartland. It would be the universal town complete with its own university and catering for all needs—residential, administrative, educational and industrial (based on the pipeline from Milford Haven). A new city such as this would by its nature continue to attract people. It would become the hub of Wales with communications radiating like spokes of a wheel to all parts. It could unify Wales in a way that nothing else has done, and it could become the symbol of the spirit of a New Wales.

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Action is to be started by the Scottish TUC through the Scottish Economic Planning Council to secure for Scotland a £20 millions tinplate mill to break the Welsh monopoly of tinplate manufacture.—"The Guardian," 17.4.65.

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"It is not only for constitutional and for internal political reasons that Quebec has decided to negotiate agreements directly with foreign countries, but also for reasons of efficiency."—M. Paul Gerin-Lafloie, Quebec Minister of Education.

It (a civilisation in Outer Space) is peopled by Ancient Britons—at a guess very ancient indeed. There is no language problem. Only Welsh is spoken, which accounts for the fact, perhaps, that the signals which have long been received at Jodrell Bank are unintelligible. If only Mr. Goronwy Roberts were in Opposition, he would have had a question down months ago demanding the employment of Welsh-speaking scientists there.—"Western Mail," 20.4.65.

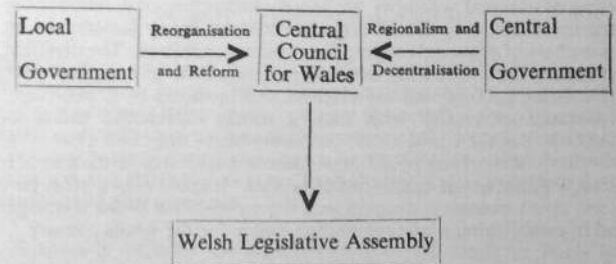
THE NEW RULERS OF WALES

"EDNYFED"

NOTHING is more certain than a big change in the pattern of public administrative in Wales, part of a tendency not confined to our country or even to the United Kingdom. Old administrative patterns and boundaries are no longer suitable to the changes of mid-century life. Distribution of powers and income between local and central government is under review throughout Europe. The rigid centralism of France is yielding to the necessity for regional planning over areas far larger than the Napoleonic departments, and the old provinces of the country are being discreetly re-activated. In Switzerland, on the other hand, a much smaller country, informed opinion is sternly critical of the traditional independence of the cantons, by which power is decentralised almost to the point of fragmentation. The historical role of cantonal independence is gratefully recognised, but the system is now felt to have outlived its usefulness, and serves only to be manipulated by entrenched vested interests for the maintenance of the status quo. Both these instances are relevant to desirable developments in Wales. The London government, admittedly under all sorts of pressure, is showing unprecedented concern for its peripheral provinces, and a willingness to entertain at least the vocabulary of regionalism and decentralisation. In Wales itself, local authorities, especially the rural counties, are beginning to realise how impossible it is for them to continue as viable units for the major commitments such as education. The central government has again shown its readiness to accommodate such changes, and even to anticipate them by creating in England regional councils for the economic aspects of development and also by taking a vigorous hand in the reorganisation of local government to create larger and more powerful authorities, even when such moves are highly controversial, as in the case of Greater London.

This attitude is bi-partisan. The Labour Government, despite its precarious position and crowded timetable, shows no signs of drawing back from the course mapped out by the Conservatives. It is well known that Jim Griffiths is committed to far-reaching reforms in the pattern of local government in Wales, even if the various Labour parties at the local level may be expected to fight to the last ditch in defence of positions which have become untenable and of claims which by now are myth and self-delusion; an attitude of mind in which, it is depressing to reflect, they are more than likely to be echoed by certain elements in Plaid Cymru. For Plaid Cymru should welcome every shake-up on the Welsh scene, whether in administrative or economic affairs. The less of the old scenery the better; the less chance there is for rooted prejudices and habits to flourish, the greater the opportunity for new thinking.

The possibilities inherent in the various tendencies enumerated above may be charted thus:



This may seem wildly optimistic, and the final stage is, of course, quite hypothetical, but the first stages are happening under our eyes. It should not be forgotten that Jim Griffiths wrote a warmly commendatory preface to a pamphlet published by the non-party organisation Undeb Cymru Fydd, in which the above developments, not excepting the last stage, were implicit.

Obviously, this is not a matter for party political activity alone. A completely new administrative structure will have to be set up and one which will have much to commend it in that the present sharp distinction between the organs of local and central government will be mitigated. This should be acceptable to Welsh Nationalists, who look forward to a pattern of broad-based democracy in Wales, having widely distributed powers. In this transformation the permanent officials, whether civil servants or local government officers, will play a vital rôle, perhaps more important than that of elected representatives. The establishment of the Welsh Office has led to the creation of a Welsh-based civil service, whose centre of gravity, in point of numbers, at any rate, is in Cathays Park, not Whitehall. Neither should we forget, in this context, the two commissions appointed by Sir Keith Joseph to deal with the urgent problem of staffing in local government and the competence and qualifications of councillors and chief officials. Some very positive initiative is needed if maximum advantage is to be gained for Wales from such a rapidly developing situation.

A proposal has been made for a Guild of Public Servants of Wales, open to all in the service of the central government or local authorities (and possibly other interested parties, consultants and experts in private practice or the Universities). Its functions would be to discuss

current developments as they apply to Wales, and to inform and educate its members in a Welsh context. The habit of unity and the feeling of national solidarity are largely intangible, and, without the intrusion of party political dogma, could be freely fostered in an atmosphere of practical concern for concrete problems. The dignified but neutral term Guild has been suggested in order not to clash with any existing professional associations and institutes or to avoid any appearance of rivalry with such a solidly entrenched union as NALGO. But the Guild would inevitably have some of the characteristics both of a professional body concerned with standards, and of a union, vigilant about conditions of service. It could play a great part in any developments connected with the status of the Welsh language, and in establishing a unitary staffing policy for the whole country.

It is interesting to note what Mr. Keidrych Rhys said in a recent number of the London Newsletter of Plaid Cymru, "Yr Alltud" :—

"The Irish realised the insidious power of bureaucracy over them during the century of struggle, and, using their thinking historically, have set up a Dublin Institute of Public Administration. We must aim at something likewise in Wales."

Precisely. Now is the time to take advantage of the internal crisis of bureaucracy to implant the healthy seeds of change. The congestion of Whitehall, the dire problems of Town Hall and County Hall present plenty of opportunities for new thinking and vigorous action, and for once, a lively concern with purely Welsh problems would not be regarded as an unforgivable aberration but as a sensible job of work, socially useful and personally profitable. If all this sounds rather a soulless approach to the great task of achieving Welsh freedom, let us remember Gandhi's saying :

"The best way to free your country is to act as if she was already free."

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Colwyn Bay sets up British cremation "record."—"Western Mail," 23.4.65.

BREAKTHROUGH IN SCOTLAND

GORDON WILSON

(Secretary, Scottish National Party)

NEVER so strong in its history, the Scottish National Party is going like a bomb. With a rising membership of over 10,000, and new branches being formed all over the country, the party which states Scotland's case for democratic nationhood is rapidly becoming a political force of some consequence on the Scottish scene. Yet only five years ago the S.N.P. was a discredited political entity living on memories of past successes.

Formed in 1934 by the amalgamation of the National Party of Scotland and the more moderate Scottish Party, strength was quickly built up by virile and intelligent leadership in the days when Scotland lay in the trough of the great Depression, down at heel industrially but undergoing a tremendous cultural revival. Elections were fought throughout the country with creditable results.

But the stamina was not there. Rifts appeared amongst the leaders in the 1940s and personality took over from policy. Despite the fleeting breakthrough achieved by Dr. Robert McIntyre in 1944 when he was elected as the first S.N.P. M.P. for Motherwell, the Party failed to consolidate. In the late 1940s and early 50s the Scottish Covenant Association took over leadership of the national movement. This non-party association launched the National Covenant—a petition calling for a modified version of federal home rule—which stirred the hearts of Scots and obtained over 2,000,000 signatures.

The Covenant, however, soon broke up leaving no permanent political legacy behind it. But the tide was turning the way of the S.N.P. at last. The continuing industrial decline of Scotland under the Tory government gave it an effective role to play.

By 1960 the picture was changing. A small nucleus of members began to develop the Party's organisation. In the bye-elections at Bridgeton (October 61), West Lothian (June 62) and Woodside (November 1963) election techniques as used by the professionals in the other parties were being adopted. More stress was being placed on canvassing—on personal contact rather than on leaflet distributing; literature was being better designed and expressed; more effective use was being made of radio and television appearances on BBC and ITV (supplemented by the Party's livewire radio station—Radio Free Scotland).

The good results achieved in the bye-elections brought in new members. The face of the leadership changed. Names like William Wolfe, Douglas Drysdale, Iain MacDonald and John Gair appeared alongside those of Robert McIntyre and Arthur Donaldson. In the 1964 Election the Party increased its candidature from 5 in 1959 to 15 and its total vote from 22,000 to 64,000. Mr. William Wolfe boosted his West Lothian bye-election vote of 10,000 to 15,000. In an encouraging number of other constituencies the Party polled worthwhile votes.

Since the election, expansion has continued unabated. S.N.P. organisation at administrative level has been overhauled and made more professional and even the deep-seated financial weakness of the past has been eradicated by the formation of Alba Pool, which is now pumping hundreds of pounds into branches and constituency associations, and as Scotland approaches the crossroads of history, so the National Party is gathering its forces for the struggle to give the nation dignity and prosperity by means of democratic self-government.

BURGH ELECTIONS

THE Scottish burgh elections took place on Tuesday, 4th May 1965. Although most of the elections are not fought by the political parties, a number of the larger Burghs have been controlled politically for some years. Many S.N.P. candidates stood for election under a local label such as "independent" or "ratepayer." Thirty-one candidates however stood under the name of S.N.P. and polled well. Apart from retaining some S.N.P. council seats, four gains and no losses were recorded.

In Stirling two seats were won, one each from Labour and Conservative, giving the S.N.P. four seats. The change meant that Labour lost control of the Council and S.N.P. councillors now hold the balance of power.

A breakthrough was achieved in Bo'ness, West Lothian. In a hard campaign Ian Don, 27, beat the longest-serving Labour member, an ex-provost. Bo'ness, a mining town, has been controlled by Labour for many years and the S.N.P. victory shows that Labour support in West Lothian is being broken down. The result was widely discussed on radio and television.

The fourth gain occurred in Irvine, Ayrshire, where Joe Dount became the second S.N.P. councillor to be elected in the last two years.

One of the most encouraging trends was to be found in Glasgow where there were twelve candidates standing. In the face of considerable apathy, reflected in a low vote, Hamish Henderson polled over 2,000 votes in Craigton Ward, and the other candidates scored reasonably well. While the S.N.P. has still a long way to go to become a power in local government, the results show that more and more Labour supporters are prepared to vote for S.N.P. democrats in local affairs.

— — — —
Cllr. A.B. raised an objection to the fact that some members were speaking in English. . . .

Cllr. C.D. said that she was speaking in English because Cllr. E.F., her fellow-member of the Selection Committee, was an Englishman.

Cllr. A.B. : "You need not worry about him. He can understand Welsh well enough, particularly when he is behind the counter."—"Cambrian News," 23.4.65.

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THE STATE OF THE NATION

By NESTA ROBERTS

WALES used to be two nations, North and South. It is still two nations but the components have changed and the geography is less simple. Today there is Industrial Wales and Rural Wales. Industrial Wales, roughly speaking, is contained in an irregular right-angled triangle whose base is along the Bristol Channel coast with what an official called "an Indian paper edition" of it up in the north-east on Deeside.

Rural Wales, again roughly speaking, is the part in the middle. It covers nearly five counties — Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Cardiganshire, Radnorshire, and most of Breconshire. Much of it is more than 1,000 feet above sea level, and most more than 600 feet. The average annual rainfall hovers around 60in., and the average annual income per head of population, £132, is the lowest in the country, comparing with £172 for Wales and Monmouthshire, £182 for five selected English rural counties, and £228 for England.

LARGEST AREA

It is the largest area of depopulation in Britain and 63.9 per cent of its income comes in central Government grants, of which 22.3 per cent are rate deficiency grants. Depopulation areas are, by definition, the social equivalent of remittance men.

Migration has been drawing off the population of mid-Wales for nearly a century. Since 1871 it has gone down by almost 25 per cent. From this, as from any other mountain area, a certain amount of migration is desirable as well as inevitable. It is only a Druid's dream that would keep the whole of each new generation tied to the family hearth singing penillion and carving love-spoons.

But the rate here is disastrous. Since the beginning of the century, while the population of Wales as a whole was increasing by 36 per cent and that of England and Wales by more than 40 per cent, the population of this area dropped by 17 per cent—from 215,000 to 178,500—and the process has speeded up in the past 10 years. It is the young and enterprising who go, and the figures indicate the impoverishment and bleeding out of a society that this entails.

In mid-Wales the proportion of women of childbearing age is 9 per cent lower than in England and Wales, but the proportion of men and women over 65 years of age 20 per cent higher. Cardiganshire and Merionethshire have now reached the stage where, apart from

migration, natural decline has set in—there are more coffins than cardles. The whole body of R. S. Thomas's poetry is an elegy for the society that is dying in these hills.

At this point it is hard to separate cause from effect in the mesh of related problems—the sparseness of the population in an area where children may travel 60 miles a day to school, the lack of public transport, the poor quality of much of the housing, the increasingly limited opportunities for young people leaving school.

What to do? The question has been posed for decades: the answers for decades have been much the same. There are three practical answers. A fourth and obvious one of simply letting nature take its course is unacceptable for human and economic reasons alike. Whatever is done or not done, a certain number of people will go on living in mid-Wales and they cannot be condemned to exist in a sort of cymric Siberia. Economically, if the United Kingdom is to maintain its planned growth rate, then even the relatively modest labour resources of Central Wales must pull their full weight.

The practical proposals, in ascending order, are to attract industry into the area in the hope of arresting, if not reversing, the outward flow; actively to build up the economy of a certain number of small towns (Beacham Report on depopulation in mid-Wales suggested Bala and Towyn, Aberystwyth, Lampeter and Cardigan, Welshpool, Newtown and Llanidloes, Llandrindod Wells and Rhayader, Builth Wells and Brecon) which would revivify the surrounding area; and building a new town.

MORE FACTORY JOBS

In a quiet way, the first has been going on since the war. In 1945 there were 26 factories in mid-Wales. By the end of 1962, the number was up to 54, and they employed some 3,000 people. Since 1957, when the Mid-Wales Industrial Development Association was founded, it has succeeded in attracting 24 firms to the area. Between them they provide 1,000 jobs and are expected soon to provide another 500. The numbers are more impressive when it is realised that the annual total of school-leavers here is about 2,500 of whom only about half come directly on to the labour market. The other half are booked for farming or higher education.

More important, the association has proved that English firms in suitable circumstances can be attracted to mid-Wales and have gained the approval of the Development Commissioners for the policy of building advance factories. These things are so much certain

good as a short-term method of keeping people in the area. The Forestry Commission provides about 1,500 jobs, with another four to five hundred in private forestry, and the tourist industry perhaps 1,000. But the Forestry Commission's plans for extension are not unlimited.

There is probably room for some development in the tourist trade, and one may hope that the present research project of the Welsh Tourist Board will cast up some interesting ideas. They might start by establishing a few motels in what is spectacular motoring country, and refurbishing the wayside pubs in an area where, to quote an embittered English traveller, for years it has been easier to get a drink on a Welsh Sunday than a sandwich on a Welsh weekday.

These are all useful, but they will barely set off the men who will come on the labour market with the railway closures and the rundown of the construction work at the Trawsfynydd atomic power station, the hydro-electric schemes at Tanygrisiau and Rheidol and the Tryweryn reservoir. At the peak, 3,500 were employed between them. Trawsfynydd alone had 1,800. Its permanent staff will be less than 400. Tanygrisiau and Rheidol employed 700 and 550 respectively on the building. The maintenance staff of each will be under 30.

NEW TOWN PROPOSALS

Building up existing towns has attractions, chief of them perhaps that it does not violently change the local pattern but it may be easier on paper than in practice. The contours of Wales are such that it would be difficult to extend some towns other than vertically. In others the existing services would be quite inadequate for an increased population and to enlarge them on the required scale would be liable to cripple the local authorities.

The solution in the air at the moment is the third and most radical, that of the new town. Legislation for the creation of a new town already exists, while there is at present no legislation aimed at the developing of existing towns. It was canvassed during the general election campaign. Within the past month, the statement of Mr. Jim Griffiths, Secretary of State for Wales, that he still had an open mind on the merits of a "green field" site or an addition to an existing town has suddenly made it a solid prospect. Mr. Griffith's other statement that a new town would be like a stone thrown into a pool sending out its beneficial effects far and wide like ripples is another question.

You cannot go very far or wide in Wales without hitting a mountain which checks the ripple and isolates the benefit. Sites possible and impossible are being bandied about energetically. In effect, they fall into two classes—a new town in the Severn Valley

near the border, which would attract industry from the Midlands, but by attracting more migrants would make the situation in the uplands even worse and threaten the Welsh way of life, and a new town in what, late on in the evening, people call the Heartlands of Wales. This should do little harm to the Welsh way of life, but it is difficult to envisage many Midlands industrialists being attracted to, say, Lampeter.

DREAM OF A BRASILIA

At present, the most popular and probably the most reasonable proposal is for the village of Caersws, five miles or so from Newtown. It is well in Wales but not inaccessible, and it offers a fair patch of level land for development. The size of the proposal new town is uncertain. The usual concept for one is a population over 30,000 and nearer 50,000, but Blaenau Ffestiniog and Aberystwyth, the largest towns in mid-Wales, have populations far below this figure. Newtown at present has only 5,500.

When Mr. Griffiths said that a modest new town would give mid-Wales what it lacked, he might have been thinking in terms of 20,000 to 25,000. The lights of a city like that would be bright indeed compared with Barmouth's 2,000 or the 3,000 of Llandrindod Wells. Coupled with a certain amount of Government investment in a few of the surrounding small towns, it could have the effect of a blood transfusion in a near moribund area and it is not beyond reason.

But might it not be that what this wide and noble landscape needs is a mad plan? A new university at Llandrindod Wells; another Geneva set out along the shores of Bala Lake?

A capital outlay not of £50 millions but of £500 millions, the building not of a Harlow New Town but of a Washington or a Canberra. "A Brasilia" murmured one official—"a Brasilia somewhere in Radnorshire so that there would be something worth looking at in the year 2000." He was quite a sensible, practical man. That, after all, is how Brasílias are built.

OLD BASIS FOR NEW ANXIETIES

Success story or still under-privileged area? A verdict on the condition of industrial Wales today depends on the viewpoint. From the outside, looking in, its progress since the war has been phenomenal. From the inside, looking out, the foundations seem not wholly secure, the future prospects patchy and unsettled.

The reason is much less that self-interest flaws the sight than that history makes faith difficult. Middle-aged men in South Wales have the memory of the lean post-war years in their blood stream. Prosperity to them is likely to seem eternally precarious, with every minor check to growth appearing as a major threat. Older men remember that South Wales has been prosperous before and that the roaring, free-spending years before and after the First World War went down into the abyss of the Thirties. What has happened once can happen again.

Traditionally, too, the area grew up around coal and shipping and tinplate. Now coal has dwindled and the complex of docks constructed to ship it looks excessive and obsolete like an Inca city. Are toys and plastics and washing machines and nylon stockings a serious support for a community?

NECK AND NECK

Those are the factors which make Mr. George Thomas, MP for Cardiff West, declare that if Cardiff does not succeed in its claims for the South Wales iron ore terminal, its days as an industrial port are numbered, and Swansea be almost neurotically anxious about the fact that the former Prestcold factory in the district has stood empty for nine months, and both cities go neck and neck in a bid for the new expansion project planned by the Ford Motor Company, and certain elements in South Wales look on the Severn Bridge not as a means of further trade expansion but as a breach in the bastion which will expose Cardiff to severe competition from Bristol. Such doubts are understandable, but their basis is more subjective than objective.

Swansea, for instance, is eager to be classifield as a development area, and it is true that its unemployment figure is twice the national average. What has to be borne in mind is that the figure now stands at only 3.2 per cent. That for the whole of South Wales was 2.5 per cent. Also, without making light of the undoubted cases of individual hardship, a low, steady rate of unemployment, in Wales as elsewhere, covers a fair proportion of people who are virtually unemployable.

"UNEMPLOYED"

Technically, the worker who has been stood off a few months before he reaches pensionable age, and the professional man retired well before it who cares to sign on at the employment exchange, and the unskilled labourer whose health precludes his digging ditches any longer, are "unemployed" equally with the skilled craftsman whose job dies under him. But it would be hard to argue either that they are equally unfortunate or that they constitute a reservoir of labour.

It is worth remembering, too, that, during the recession of 1962-3, unemployment in South Wales rose by a smaller percentage than that of any other part of Britain, which suggests that the area is not specially vulnerable. Admittedly, the annual rate of growth in the insured population of Wales between 1951 and 1963 was, at 7.8 per cent, below the 10.6 per cent for Great Britain as a whole and the expansion was weighted towards women workers. But it was comfortably ahead of the 5.6 per cent of the Northern Region, the 3.3 per cent of Scotland and the 1.6 per cent of the North-west. Perhaps the most heartening and significant factor of the post-war influx of industry into South Wales is that four-fifths of it has come from private industry and only one fifth from Government-encouraged investment.

The assets of the area, in relative accessibility, availability of sites, and a labour force with a good reputation for being willing as well as handy outweigh the disadvantages. Chief of the latter at present is the quantity of that labour force—only gradually are the unions being persuaded to relax their policy of planned scarcity as applied to craft apprenticeships. Also the local government structure means that relatively modest authorities are liable to find themselves hosts to vast developments which, desirable though they are in rate potential (the Llanwern steelworks, for example, is worth an annual million), are more than the available services were ever designed for.

On a lesser scale, local authorities are variable in the degree to which they set out to attract industry. The more enterprising are showing a welcome trend in selling themselves vigorously to Midlands industrialists. This is a newish development for Wales. Over the generations the native genius has expressed itself in scholarship and inspired improvisation. There was hardly a square mile that could not produce a pedagogue, a poet, a divine, and a little man could mend your motor-bike with a screw, a rubber band and a wad of chewing gum, well enough, at least, to get you home.

THE PORTS

The need, today, is to channel the last into technology and management. An observer who knows local industry intimately noted that, on the whole, middle as well as top management tends to be English rather than native Welsh.

The current competition for the iron-ore terminal brings up once more the situation of the South Wales ports. The bids on which a decision is daily expected come from Milford Haven, whose deep water harbour can take carriers of any conceivable size, Port Talbot, Cardiff, and Newport. The last three schemes, all of which involve

building deep water jetties, are on the respective doorsteps of the Margam Steelworks, Guest, Keen and Nettlefold's and the Llanwern works.

Milford would involve a fairly long haul from the port and the district is already benefiting from the oil installation. It is true enough that the jobs they have created have not yet made up the debit left by the naval dockyard and the decline of the fishing industry, but the petro-chemical industries which are confidently expected to grow up alongside them should mop up the margin. Indications at the moment are that the successful schemes will be those for jetties at Port Talbot, the one long, the other short.

BOLD POLICY

If they prove correct, would Cardiff's days as an industrial port indeed be numbered? There is a hopeful school of thought which believes that regular sailing from Cardiff, instead of the present system of "at need" would pay dividends. They point out that, during the recent labour troubles at London Docks, a good deal of trade was deflected to Cardiff. With the Severn Bridge opening up the way to the Midlands, why should not the output of that area be shipped from Cardiff instead of London?

This is a chicken-and-egg problem in which a bold policy might be justified. An even more hopeful school is looking North. Now we have the Severn Bridge, runs the thesis, we look forward to the barrage across the Dee estuary as the next project. Then Merseyside can expand into Flintshire, beyond the present Shotton complex, with suitable light industries establishing themselves well along the North Wales coast and Prestatyn serving as the Southport of the region. Let that become a reality and the "India paper edition" is likely to burst its covers.

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A Worcestershire member of the National Farmers' Union last night denied reports that one of the county's fruit growers was preparing to dump bullfinches in North Wales to prevent damage to his crops. — "Western Mail," 24.4.65.

But in a westward flight from London its (Concord's) speed would not become supersonic until it had passed over Bristol, and the boom would first hit Wales. — "The Observer," 25.4.65.

U.C.A.C. AC ARGYFWNG YR IAITH

(Parhad)

Gan y Diweddar G. J. WILLIAMS

OND y mae gennyf feirniadaeth arall ar y polisi dwyieithog, a honno, i'm tyb i, yw'r bwysicaf. Credaf i mi ddweud eisoes mai'r peth tristaf sydd wedi digwydd yng Nghymru yn y ganrif hon yw diflaniad y cefndir uniaith, cyn belled ag y mae a fynnom â phob agwedd ar fywyd y genedl. Wedi i mi siarad ar y pwnc yma rai blynyddoedd yn ôl o flaen cymdeithas bwysig yng Nghaerdydd, cododd un o wŷr blaenllaw y gymdeithas ar y diwedd a dweud: "Meddylwch am godi'ch plant fel na allent ddarllen gair o Shakespeare." Nid yw'r Cymry yn poeni o gwbl nad yw plant Cymru yn gallu darllen llenyddiaeth Gymraeg, ac ofnaf fod hyn yn wir am yr arweinwyr ym myd addysg.

Gwelsom lawer o gwyno fod gormod o sylw yn cael ei roi i'r Gymraeg. Dyma frwydr y bydd yn rhaid ei hymladd, ac ni ellir mo'i hennill heb greu ymwybod ag angerdd cenedlaethol, ac heb drafod y Gymraeg yn union fel y mae'r Sais yn trafod y Saesneg yn Lloegr. Y pwynt y carwn ei bwysleisio yw hwn: ein bod heddiw yn wynebu sefyllfa hollol newydd yn hanes y genedl. Hyd tua diwedd y ganrif ddiwethaf, bu cenedl y Cymry yn genedl uniaith i bob pwrpas, ac yr oedd hynny'n wir am y mwyafrif llethol o'r ardaloedd Cymraeg hyd ddechrau'r ganrif hon. Ac nid yw'r cefndir uniaith wedi diflannu'n llwyr eto, fel y cawn weld pan gyhoeddir canlyniadau'r cyfrifiad. Ac ni bydd y figurau hynny'n gwbl ddibynadwy oherwydd y mae llawer o'r hen bobl a fyn ddisgrifio eu hunain fel pobl ddwyieithog, o ran ymffrost, yn unieithog yng ngwir ystyr y gair. Ac fe gafodd y rheini ohonom a aned yn yr ardaloedd Cymraeg hyn y fraint o gael ein magu mewn cymdeithas uniaith. Dyma'r fraint fwyaf a gefais i fel Cymro, ac yr wyf yn gwbl sicr fy mod yn iawn.

Yr oedd y Gymraeg wedi ei throsglwyddo o'r naill genhedlaeth i'r llall yn ddi-fwlch ar hyd y canrifoedd—yr ymdeimlad ag athrylith yr iaith, y ddawn gynhenid i lunio gair pan fai angen amdano, yr ymwybod ieithyddol â chywirdeb, y ddawn i ystumio ac i drin iai'h i sicrhau rhyw effaith arbennig. Yr ydym ni wedi gweld y genhedlaeth olaf yr oedd y pethau hyn yn rhan hanfodol ohonynt—hen wŷr a hen wragedd â Chymraeg rhyfeddol ganddynt, brawddegau fel perlau, iaith sy'n egluro gorchest Ellis Wynne.

Gwelir, felly, y cyfrifoldeb arswydus a osodwyd ar ein hysgwyddau ni. Oherwydd un o'r pethau cyntaf a welir heddiw wrth deithio trwy Gymru, ac yn enwedig yn y siroedd Cymraeg, ydyw'r dirywiad

rhyfeddol sydd wedi digwydd yn ansawdd yr iaith lafar, yn enwedig ymhlith y bobl ifainc. Mae hyn yn credu arswyd a theimlad o anobaith, pethau nad yw'r addysgwyr a'r awdurdodau ym myd addysg yn sôn amdanynt. A dyma'r hyn a ddylai eu dychrynu hwythau.

Cymerwch iaith yr hen bobl â'r iaith a glywir heddiw, hyd yn oed gan y bobl a fu'n astudio'r Gymraeg mewn ysgol a choleg, yr hyn a brawf yn derfynol na all hyfforddiant yn y Gymraeg fyth lenwi'r bwllch a adewir pan ddiplanna'r cefndir uniaith. Y mae'r sylfeini yn ymddatod. Ni cheir mwyach mo'r sicrwydd hwnnw—megis pa arddodiad i'w ddefnyddio ar ôl enw neu ferf, enghraifft dda o'r peth, pawb ohonom yn ansicr, ond y mae ar flaen tafod y gŵr uniaith.

Eto, rhaid bod yn ofalus. Mae pob iaith fyw yn newid yn raddol, a datblygiadau arbennig mewn gwahanol dafodieithoedd, megis yn y Gymraeg—au = e ac a yng Ngwynedd a Morgannwg; b, d, g = p, t, c ym Morgannwg a Gwent. Felly, ceir yn yr iaith fyw lawer o ffurfiau gwahanol. Ond peidier â galw'r rhain yn llygriadau—datblydiadau naturiol ydynt. Y llygriadau yw cyfnewidiadau trwy ddylanwad iaith arall, megis y pethau a gafwyd yn y ganrif ddiwethaf trwy ddylanwad y Saesneg, ac ansicrwydd pobl nad ydynt yn feistri, pethau nas clywir yng Nghymraeg y gŵr neu'r wraig uniaith.

Ac fel y dywedais eisoes, collir y nwyf a'r lliw a nodweddai iaith yr hen bobl, a'r ddawn i ystumio'r iaith i union gyfleu'r hyn a welir ac a deimlir, gyda'r idiomaau a'r ymadroddion diarhebol o bob math a oedd at eu gwasanaeth, a'r rheini oll yn rhan hanfodol o'r iaith a drosglwyddwyd iddynt. Dyna a deimlir wrth ddarllen gweithiau'r hen lenorion, Ellis Wynne, Theophilus Evans, Twm o'r Nant, ac yn ein dyddiau ni D. J. Williams a Kate Roberts.

Collir ymdeimlad hwn ag athrylith yr iaith ydyw un o drychinebau mwyaf ein cyfnod ni. Ochr yn ochr â hyn oll, y mae'r unig sylfaen y gellir adeiladu arni yn ymddatod ac yn ymchwalu. Dyna'r gwirionedd, ac y mae'n wirionedd a ddylai fod yn ein meddyliau'n barhaus pan fyddom yn ymdrechu i gadw'r hyn a alwn yn ddiwylliant Cymraeg.

Iaith ddi-liw a thlawd, yn llawn o eiriau ac o idiomaau Saesneg yw iaith y bobl ifainc heddiw gan amlaf, hyd yn oed yn yr ardaloedd Cymreiciaf, o'i chymharu ag iaith gyhyrog eu teidiau yn hanner cyntaf y ganrif, a gair cyfaddas ganddynt at bob achlysur. Oherwydd rhai o'r pethau amlycaf a welir wrth astudio'r iaith yn ein cyfnod dwyieithog ni yw'r holl eiriau Saesneg a ddefnyddir, yn enwedig enwau'r misoedd a'r rhifolion, hyd yn oed gan Gymry blaenllaw;

a'r modd y mae hen cirfa'r iaith fyw yn lleihau y naill flwyddyn ar ôl y llall.

Y mae Mr. Vincent Phillips o Sain Ffagan yn astudio'r pwnc hwn. Nid oes ganddo ffigurau pendant hyd yn hyn, ond yn ôl yr hyn a ddywedodd wrthyf, fe welir dirywiad a lleihad rhyfeddol. Rhoddodd sylw i cirfa a geir mewn teuluoedd arbennig. A chymryd fod geirfa'r tad-cu a aned mewn ardal gwbl uniaith yn gant y cant, mae geirfa'r tad neu'r fam a fu fyw mewn cyfnod dwyieithog yn drigain y cant, a geirfa'r ŵyr a fagwyd y dyddiau hyn, gryn dipyn o dan yr hanner cant, a'r cyfan i'w weld o dan yr un aelwyd. Dylai sgrifennu erthygl ar y pwnc.

Y mae un peth arall yn diflannu, a pheth tra phwysig i unrhyw iaith, sef dawn y bobl uniaith i lunio geiriau newydd am offer, nwyddau a pheiriannau newydd, ac i gyfleu syniadau newydd. Byddai'n werth i rywun lunio rhestrau o'r geiriau hyn, geiriau a luniwyd gan y werin, ac nid gan ysgolheigion a phwyllgorau a geiriadurwyr.

Pwy a ddechreuodd ddefnyddio "dannedd doddi" yn y De, a "dannedd gosod" yn y Gogledd? Erbyn hyn, rhaid wrth bwyllgor o arbenigwyr i lunio termau i gyflawni'r gwaith a wneid gynt gan grefftwyr yn yr hen amser, a byddai'n well gen i ymddiried yn y gwŷr a'r gwragedd a oedd yn ymdeimlo'n reddfol ag athrylith yr iaith fyw.

Pan ddaeth yr "hay-shaker" i Gymru tua diwedd y ganrif ddiwethaf yr oedd pawb yn fy nghyfeffin i yn defnyddio'r gair *ysgwydwr*, a dywedodd gwraig o Sir Ddinbych wrthyf mai *chwalwr* oedd eu gair hwy. Petai "tractor" wedi dod yn yr oes honno, byddai pawb yn defnyddio rhyw air fel *tynnwr*. Dyna ddawn sydd bron wedi diflannu'n llwyr, canlyniad anochel dwyieithedd.

Os bydd yn rhaid inni yn y dyfodol ddibynnu ar bwyllgorau o arbenigwyr, yna rhad arnom. Oni allwn edfryd doniau tebyg i hyn, ac ni welaf y gellir gwneuthur hynny mewn gwlad ddwyieithog, nid yw'n werth inni wario ein hamser a'n hynni a'n harian yn ymladd brwydr dwyieithedd. Nid addysg, nid ysgol na choleg a eill roi inni'r ymwybod ieithyddol hwn.

Ac yna, pwnc a gafodd gryn sylw'n ddiweddar, llenyddiaeth yn y Gymru newydd, y Gymru ddwyieithog. "Y mae'r iaith Gymraeg wedi byw," meddir yn "Y Gymraeg mewn Addysg a Bywyd," "oherwydd hanfod ynddi egni bywyd yn helaeth." "Nid rhyw hap a damwain ffortunos a'i cadwodd yn fyw pan oedd mewn cyfyngder."

meddir drachefn—"byddai defnyddio'r ddadl hon yn dangos nad ydym yn deall feithiau bywydeg, ond yn hytrach yr egni cysefin a oedd ynddi hi ei hun."

A'r egni hwn—yr egni a welir yn yr hen iaith lafar—sy'n egluro bywyd llenyddol Cymru ar draws y canrifoedd. Y mae'n wir ei choleddu fel iaith ysgol—ffrwyth yr addysg a gyfrennid gan genedlaethau afrifed o athrawon barddol oedd yr hen iaith lenyddol, yr iaith a drysorwyd wedi hynny yn y Beibl Cymraeg, ac a ddaeth, oherwydd hynny, yn rhan o etifeddiaeth pob bardd a phob llenor Cymraeg, iaith gelfyddydol i raddau helaeth iawn, ond eto, offeryn rhyfeddol ac un o'r prif drysorau a feddwn fel cenedl.

Iaith gelfyddydol—ie—ond iaith a seiliwyd ar yr iaith lafar rywiog a siaredid drwy Gymru benbaladr. Yr oedd pob bardd a llenor yn siarad yr iaith honno, beirdd fel Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr a Thudur Aled, i enwi dim ond dau o'r meistri. Pan fo traddodiad ysgol yn dechrau prifo'n ormes, fe welir yr elfen fywydol sydd yn yr iaith lafar yn ei hadfywio eilwaith.

Mae canu Dafydd ab Gwilym yn enghraifft nodedig o hyn. Yr egni cysefin yn yr iaith fyw sy'n egluro godidowgrwydd ein llenyddiaeth. Ac y mae hyn wedi parhau hyd ein cyfnod ni. Y mae pob bardd a phob llenor Cymraeg hyd yn hyn wedi ei fagu mewn gwlad, neu y mae'n byw ymhlith pobl a fagwyd mewn gwlad uniaith.

Mae nifer fach wedi dysgu Cymraeg mewn ysgol a choleg; eithriadau yw rhain ac y maent yn byw mewn cymdeithas o bobl a godwyd mewn ardaloedd lle mae dylanwad y bywyd uniaith heb ddiflannu'n llwyr. Y dylanwad hwn a wnaeth adfywiad llenyddol yr ugeinfed ganrif yn bosibl, llenorion erbyn hyn sy'n heneiddio.

Bydd Cymraeg o'r math hwn, gyda'i awen a'i egni, y sicrwydd a'r gallu i ystumio ac i drin yr iaith gan ymdeimlo'n reddfol ag athrylith yr iaith honno, yn amhosibl yn y man, wedi dydd yr hen bobl a'r bobl ganol oed.

Ni eill dysg roddi inni'r iaith sy'n anhepgor i'r llenor—ni eill roi inni'r ymdeimlad awenus a'r bywyd a geid yn yr hen iaith fyw. Ac y mae llawer ohonom yn teimlo cryn wahaniaeth rhwng Cymraeg llenorion ddechrau'r ganrif a Chymraeg gwyr ifainc heddiw. Peidiwch â'm camddeall. Y mae'r bobl ifainc—lawer ohonynt—yn sgrifennu'n dda, ond ni ellir peidio â theimlo nad ydynt wedi etifeddu'r elfen fywydol honno a'r cystrawennau awenol a welir yng ngwaith y llenorion gorau. Cymraeg pobl wedi cael hyfforddiant rhagorol yn y pwnc a geir ganddynt yn aml, yr unig fath o Gymraeg

y gellir ei ddisgwyl mewn gwlad ddwyieithog. Bydd rhai ohonynt sydd wedi dysgu'r Gymraeg yn cydnabod hynny, ac yn ymgysylltu â bywyd ardaloedd a oedd hyd yn ddiweddar yn ardaloedd uniaith.

Ond ni chaiff gwyr ifainc y dyfodol mo'r fantais hon. Mae'n sicr y byddai bri mawr ar ddysg Gymraeg mewn Cymru ddwyieithog, o'r hyn lleiaf yn y cyfnod cyntaf byddai pawb yn sillafu'n iawn a byddai eu Cymraeg yn weddol gywir, ond byddai'r rhywbeth hwnnw sy'n troi darn o ryddiaith yn llenyddiaeth, byddai sgrifennu darn o farddoniaeth y gellir ei roi ochr yn ochr â chlasuron ein llenyddiaeth, yn amhosibl.

Fe ellir gwneud hyn heddiw, canys nid yw'r traddodiad iaith wedi diflannu. Y mae heddiw ysgolheigion Lladin sy'n feistri ar yr iaith honno, ond ni all yr un ohonynt roi bywyd yn eu Lladin. Dŵr merilyn, merddwr, neu ddŵr pon fel y dywedir yn Sir Aberteifi, a geid mewn Cymru ddwyieithog, nid dŵr ffynnon yn tarddu ac yn byrlymu o ddyfnder y ddaear. Mae nifer cynyddol yn cytuno heddiw y byddai'r bywyd llenyddol rhyfeddol hwnnw a fu'n nodweddu ein cenedl o'r cyfnod cynharaf hyd heddiw yn dirywio a marw mewn gwlad ddwyieithog.

Hyd yn hyn, yr wyf wedi trafod sefyllfa'r iaith heddiw, ac wedi ceisio dangos na ellir sicrhau ffyniant parhaol iddi heb chwyldroad, deffroad cenedlaethol a hunanlywodraeth. O dan y gyfundrefn bresennol, nid oes dim yn sicrach na thranc yr iaith, a hynny mewn cyfnod cymharol fyr. Eto, nid yw'n rhy hwyr. Fe ellir, cyn inni sicrhau hunanlywodraeth a chael y cyfle i drefnu'n bywyd ein hunain fel cenedl, wneuthur llawer iawn i hyrwyddo buddiannau'r iaith. Soniaf am rai o'r pethau hyn, pethau a ddylai gael ein sylw fel aelodau o Undeb Athrawon Cymru.

Yn gyntaf, y mae'n rhaid inni yn awr gytuno mai un o'r prif amcanion fydd gwneuthur y Gymraeg yn iaith gyntaf pob Cymro, fel y mae'n Saesneg yn iaith gyntaf pob Sais. Nid oes amcan brwydro o gwbl oni thybiwn y gellir sicrhau hyn. Ceisiais ddangos eisoes mai'r unig bolisi sy'n mynd i achub bywyd diwylliannol Cymru yw'r polisi unieithog.

Pa beth a olygir heddiw wrth unieithedd? Y mae un peth yn gwbl eglur, na ellir sicrhau yn y byd modern yr hen fath o unieithedd, corff y genedl heb fedru darllen na siarad Saesneg. Heddiw, gyda'r mynd a'r dod, y darlledu a'r teledu, a'r bywyd masnachol a diwydiannol, hyd yn oed wedi sicrhau ymreolaeth a chael papurau newydd a chylchgronau Cymraeg, ni ellid cael yr hen fath o unieithedd.

Ond y mae math arall o unieithedd yn gwbl bosibl, sef, mai'r Gymraeg fydd iaith gyntaf a'r iaith naturiol i bob Cymro ei siarad. O dan yr amod hynny, fe ellid diogelu'r hen fywyd a'r asbri a'r hoen rhyfeddol a oedd yn nodweddu'r iaith lafar gynt. 'Dyw hi ddim yn rhy ddiweddar tra pery'r bobl a fagwyd yn yr hen gymdeithas uniaith gyda ni. Yn wir, fe welir hyn mewn gwledydd eraill, gwledydd fel Norwy, Sweden a Denmarc.

Iaith y wlad yw iaith gyntaf pawb, iaith y beirdd a'r llenorion, ond fe ddysgir ieithoedd eraill yn dra effeithiol, ond iaith y wlad yw iaith naturiol bywyd yn ei holl agweddau. Dyna'r patrwm i ni mewn gwladwriaeth rydd Gymraeg, ac y mae hyn yn hollol bosibl os ydym yn barod i dalu'r pris.

Fe ellir gweithio i sicrhau delfryd hwn heddiw. Yn yr ardaloedd Cymraeg, fe ddylid gwneud y Gymraeg yn iaith gyntaf pob ysgol gynradd ac uwchradd a phob ysgol ramadeg. Rhaid gwneud hyn ar unwaith os ydym o ddiffrif am ddiogelu'r iaith yn yr ardaloedd hyn, ac y mae, fel y gwyr pawb ohonom, yn fater brys.

Yn gyntaf oll, rhaid i'r ysgol gynradd gyflawni'r gwaith a wneid gynt gan y gymdeithas uniaith, cyflwyno'r iaith fyw, yr heniaith draddodiadol, i'r plant nes bod honno'n dod yn rhan hanfodol ohonynt, ac adfer yr hen sicrwydd, ac os gellir (ac y mae hwn yn bwnc nodedig o bwysig ac anodd) y ddawn honno i drin yr iaith y soniais amdani eisoes. Anodd gorbwysleisio hyn, trosglwyddo'r ymwybod ieithyddol a fu'n rhan o etifeddiaeth pob cenedlaeth ar hyd y canrifoedd. Diogelu'r elfen fywydol y soniais amdani.

Yr wyf i'n dal ers blynyddoedd y dylai'r athrawon yn yr ysgolion cynradd yn y parthau Cymreig fod yn frodorion o'r cylch sy'n siarad y dafodiaith. Yn yr hen amser nid oedd mor bwysig rhoi athrawon o'r Gogledd yn y De, etc., gan fod y gymdeithas yn gofalu am ein Cymraeg ni; ond heddiw y mae'n bwysig iawn gan fod y gymdeithas uniaith yn diflannu'n gyflym.

Hefyd, dylid astudio'r dafodiaith, casglu'r hen eiriau, idiomau a dywediadau ac ymadroddiad diarhebol. Dylid cael hen bobl yr ardal i recordio'r defnyddiau hyn ac i adrodd hanesion a thraddodiadau lleol a'r geiriau a ddefnyddid am bob math o flodau, coed, crefftau, bywyd yr ardal yn ei holl agweddau.

Dyna'r allwedd i gynllun Mr. Jenkins yn Sain Nicolas, rhoi sylfaen gadarn i addysg y plant, sef eu cysylltu'n glos â'u hardal a'r gymdeithas leol fel rhan o'r gymdeithas genedlaethol. Dylid cael y plant i gyd i wrando'n gyson ar y recordiau hyn fel y bo iaith draddodiadol y cylch yn dod yn ail natur iddynt. 'Rwyf i'n credu y dylid cael ym mhob ysgol yn yr ardaloedd lle y parheir i siarad Cymraeg gasgliad mawr o recordiau o'r nodwedd yma, llyfrgell ohonynt a fydd o ddi-ddordeb arbennig iawn i genedlaethau'r dyfodol.

Rhaid gwneud ymdrech ar frys mewn ardaloedd lle ni cheir namyn hen bobl yn siarad Cymraeg. Rwy'n sicr bod pawb ohonom yn gweld pwysigrwydd hyn. Nid yn unig diogelu trysorau'r iaith fyw—y gwaith a wneir heddiw gan Amgueddfa Sain Ffagan a chan adrannau Cymraeg y Brifysgol—ond peri i'r ysgol gymryd lle'r hen gymdeithas uniaith. Ac yn sgîl hyn, daw problem arall.

Rhaid dechrau hyfforddi'r plant yn yr iaith lenyddol, nid fel iaith i'w siarad—a hynny sy'n digwydd mewn llu o ysgolion heddiw—ond fel iaith i'w darllen ac i'w sgrifennu. I'm tyb i, fe ddylid cael pwyllgorau o athrawon cyfarwydd ac o arbenigwyr i astudio y gwaith yma, a hynny ar unwaith, ac i gyhoeddi pamffledi a roddai arweiniad i holl athrawon Cymru. Rhaid dysgu sut i gadw'r gwahaniaeth yn glir rhwng yr iaith lafar a'r iaith lenyddol gelfyddydol.

Ond y mae agwedd arall ar waith llafar yr ysgolion. Er bod yn rhaid rhoi sylw manwl i'r dafodiaith leol, a chysylltu'r plant â'u gorffennol, a pheri bod y cefndir ieithyddol hwn yn rhan hanfodol ohonynt, rhaid sicrhau hefyd iaith lafar safonol, ond gydag arlliw tafodieithol, ym mhob rhan o Gymru. Dyma bwnc arall nad ydym eto wedi ei wynebu'r briodol, er bod pwyllgorau yn gweithio arno ar hyn o bryd.

Rhaid cael yr iaith safonol hon mewn dramâu a nofelau, hynny yw, mewn sgwrs neu ddeialog ac wrth siarad yn gyhoeddus. Bydd yn anhepgor i'r athrawon wrth siarad â'r plant, yn enwedig wrth ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg fel cyfrwng hyfforddi. Nid wyf yn gwneud dim yn awr ond nodi pwnc arall y dylem fel athrawon roi sylw mawr iddo.

Gwrandewch ar iaith y myfyrwyr yn y dadleuon cyhoeddus ar y radio—gan amlaf, yr iaith lenyddol yn cael ei hadrodd yw hi, a honno'n cynnwys ffurfiau sydd wedi diflannu o'r iaith fyw ers canrifoedd. Dylem gael llyfrau i fanlyu ar y pwnc hwn, sy'n bwnc sylfaenol i'n gwaith mewn ysgol a choleg.

Gobeithio y cawn bamffled yn y man ar hyn, a pheth gwych iawn a fyddai cael gramadeg i ddisgrifio'r iaith fyw, nid yr iaith lenyddol, gelfyddydol.

Yn yr ardaloedd sydd wedi eu Seisnigeiddio, dylid sefydlu ysgolion Cymraeg ym mhob man—mae hyn yn gwbl hanfodol, yn enwedig ysgolion meithrin a chynradd, a'i gwneud yn nôd pendant i gael y plant i siarad Cymraeg erbyn gadael yr ysgol yn un ar ddeg oed. Fe ddengys arbrawf Miss Rosser yn Llanilltud Faedre—sy'n llwyddiant mawr—fod modd cael plant bach o Saeson uniaith i siarad Cymraeg yn un ar ddeg oed.

Y mae'r amser yn mynd ymlaen, ac y mae llawer iawn o bethau y dylid eu dywedyd am Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru ac

argyfwng yr iaith, pethau y mae'n rhaid eu hystyried yn fanwl yn y dyddiau argyfyngus hyn, megis lle'r ail iaith pan fo'r Saesneg yn iaith gyntaf, a sut i ddysgu'r ail iaith yn effeithiol fel y geill pob plentyn siarad Cymraeg ar ddiwedd ei gwrs, peth cwbl eithriadol heddiw yn yr ysgolion cynradd ac uwchradd.

Rhaid deffro a dylanwadu ar yr awdurdodau addysg a ddywed fod un wers y dydd yn ddigon i greu cenedl ddwyieithog. Rhaid Cymreigio'r ysgolion gramadeg yn lle eu bod yn ganolfannau i Seisnig-ciddio'r ardaloedd Cymraeg. Fe ddylai'r Gymraeg fod yn gyfrwng hyfforddi pa le bynnag y bo modd gwneud hynny, a threfnu arholiadau yn Gymraeg yn yr holl destunau.

Gwneud ymdrech arbennig i sefydlu ysgolion Cymraeg yn y siroedd Seisnig ar gyfer yr holl blant Cymraeg a Saesneg, a chael ysgolion uwchradd a gramadeg ar gyfer y plant yma, megis yn Sir y Fflint heddiw a Sir Forgannwg yn Rhydfelen. Y Gymraeg a ddylai fod yr ail iaith yn yr ardaloedd Saesneg. A hyn oll yn gwneud yr angen am gael Coleg Cymraeg yn y Brifysgol. Dyma'r unig fodd y gellir gorfodi awdurdodau'r sefydliad hwn i wneuthur hynny.

Dylid calonogi'r gwŷr da hynny a fyn na ddylai neb gael derbyniad i un o Golegau'r Brifysgol onid oedd wedi llwyddo yn y Gymraeg. Y mae hyn yn hanfodol os ydym o ddirif ynglŷn ag achub yr iaith—yr eglwyddor sylfaenol ydyw rhoi'r un lle i Gymraeg ag a roddir i iaith y wlad mewn gwledydd eraill. Heb greu'r ymdeimlad Cymreig, bydd yn frwydr fawr. Ond y mae'n fater brys, y mae datblygiadau'r deng mlynedd diwethaf yn eglur ddangos hynny.

Ond, wrth orffen, rhaid i mi ddechwelyd at y pwnc sydd o ddi-ddordeb arbennig i mi—yr iaith ac ansawdd yr iaith. Fe all ansawdd yr iaith lafar ymhen ychydig flynyddoedd, rhyw ddeg neu bymtheng mlynedd, dyweder—fod yn gyfryw fel na byddai'n werth ei chadw'n fyw. A thrwy'r ysgolion yn unig y gellir adfer y sefyllfa, megis y'n Seisnigeiddiwyd ganddynt.

Heddiw, y mae llawer o'r bobl ganol oed a'r hen bobl o hyd yn ymglywed ag athrylith yr iaith, a hynny sy'n gwneud llenyddiaeth fawr yn bosibl yng Nghymru yn ein dyddiau ni. Fe ellir, fel y dywedais, drosglwyddo'r iaith hon i genedlaethau'r dyfodol, er gwaethaf y dirywiad a fu yn y ganrif hon, yn enwedig yn y cyfnod diweddar, os yw'r ewyllys gennym.

Fe eill athrawon ymroddedig sy'n dal i ymglywed â rhin yr iaith lafar a drosglwyddwyd yn ddi-fwlch o genhedlaeth i genhedlaeth ar hyd y canrifoedd—fe all yr athrawon roi hon eto yn etifeddiaeth i genedlaethau'r dyfodol os gall deffroad cenedlaethol gynhyrchu cymdeithas gwbl Gymreig. Nid mor llawn o fywyd, efallai, â'r iaith a glywsom ni'r hen bobl yn ei siarad yn ein hieuenctid, ond iaith y byddai cysylltiad bywydol rhyngddi â honno.

A gawn ni fel athrawon gyfle i gyflawni'r gorchwyl hwn? Y mae'r cyfan yn dibynnu ar ewyllys y genedl yn ystod y blynyddoedd hyn. I ni, sy'n gwyllo'r byd Cymreig yn ymddatod mewn ardaloedd ym Morgannwg, ardaloedd a oedd yn llawn bywyd Cymraeg ddeugain mlynedd yn ôl, mae'n edrych yn ddu.

Ond os cawn ni'r athrawon gyfle, gyda chymorth arweinwyr ac awdurdodau addysg, gydag ewyllys a dyhead cenedl yn ein gyrru ymlaen, fe allwn gyflawni un o'r gwyrthiau mwyaf yn ein hanes, iaith y bu nwyd, athrylith ac asbri bywyd yn curo yn ei gwythiennau am dros bymtheg cant o flynyddoedd. Dyna'r frwydr sydd o'n blaen, ac y mae'n werth ei hymladd.

G. J. WILLIAMS.

THE BRETON LANGUAGE COUNCIL

THE Breton language movement faces a more serious situation than any other of the major Celtic languages. It has inherited a desperate historical situation, since Breton has not been the language of Brittany's rulers for nearly a thousand years. The French government has always been hostile to minority languages, and its attitude today is about as enlightened as that of the London government of the mid-Victorian period.

The Breton literary tradition is tenuous; this century's literary revival had to build almost in a vacuum. The movement itself is divided, hence the importance attached to the two different orthographies. The so-called "Z" orthography is that formulated by Professor Falchun of Rennes; the "ZH" orthography was drawn up by a group of leading Breton writers during the 39-45 war. The "Z" orthography is propagated by the Kendalch movement; this group has generally sought co-operation with the Paris government, hoping for cultural rather than political devolution. It has published a number of books, but its most useful contribution to the language movement has been the production of two LP records for learning Breton, much the best so far for any Celtic language.

It is sadly typical of the division that Kendalch's French guide-book to Brittany, in its paragraphs on modern Breton literature, does not mention Roparz Hemon, the kingpin of post-1920 literature, because he inspired the "ZH" orthography and has always been an uncompromising nationalist. The Kendalch movement only co-operates with nationalists with the greatest reluctance.

Activity on the nationalist front in the language movement is much more convincing and unified. Eighteen organisations have formed Kuzul ar Brezhoneg (the Breton Language Council) and it is hoped that this article will give some idea of the varied activities going on within the Breton language movement.

Of the eighteen organisations, seven are magazines in Breton : Al Liamm, Skol, Preder, Hor Yezh, Barr-Heol, Wanig ha Wenig, Ar Bedenn evit ar Vro, and Ar Bed Keltiek. Al Liamm is the heir to Roparz Hemon's pre-war review Gwalarn ; it has published over 100 bi-monthly issues, and now proudly claims to have published 10,000 pages of Breton—a remarkable achievement in face of massive difficulties and a miniscule audience of readers of Breton. Al Liamm is also the title of the only worthwhile Breton publishing organisation, run by the magazine's Editor, Ronan Huon. A recent Al Liamm catalogue contained eighty-two titles, of which thirty were children's books ; it can be obtained from the Director, 2 venelle Poullbrikenn, Brest.

Skol, as its name suggests, is a magazine dealing with education, publishing studies of bilingual education in various countries, and material for teaching Breton in school, allowed by the Government for a short period a week out of school hours). Its editor, Father Le Calvez of Crec'h Avel, Lannion, C-du-Nord, also produces the children's paper Wanig ha Wenig.

Preder is the product of Dr. Guy Etienne, well-known in Wales for his struggle to educate his own family through Breton. Preder is impossible to describe in a phrase ; almost single-handed its monthly numbers cover philosophy, science, philology, politics and higher education. It should be understood that, unlike English and Welsh magazines, Breton magazines frequently publish a whole book as a single number. One number of Preder, for example, published the Welsh text of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi with a complete Breton translation and a partial Cornish translation. Another number consisted of the complete transactions of the Celtic Congress at Treguier.

Closely associated with Preder is S.A.D.E.D., the movement for higher education in Breton. This remarkable organisation is unique in my experience. It enables Breton-speakers to take correspondence courses (eighty in number) through the Breton language, under qualified teachers, in Literature, History, the Breton language, Physics, Geography and Chemistry. The pupils and teachers each undertake a strict contract specifying their obligations, in order to maintain progress and academic standards. Some of the textbooks and technical vocabularies used are published by Preder.

Also associated with S.A.D.E.D. is the periodical Hor Yezh, a philological journal dealing with the Breton and related languages. In conjunction with Skol Ober, courses are run to teach Breton to beginners and Welsh and Irish to Breton-speakers. Skol Ober is now over thirty years old. Thousands have completed its courses, and the only closure was while its director spent a week in prison in 1944, a period when to reach a Breton book was considered virtual treason against Paris.

Barr-Heol and Ar Bedenn evit ar Vro are both religious magazines; the latter produced by the Breton Spiritual Union, which works along with an organisation called Bible Editions to produce Breton translations of the Bible.

The other groups belonging to the Breton Language Council are extremely varied ; there is the Association of Breton Language Writers, the Association of R.T.F. Listeners, the Children's Books Group, the Breton Scouts, the magazine Ar Bed Keltiek, the Breton-Speakers' Camp and the Breton Branch of the Celtic League. These groups have met with varying success. The R.T.F. listeners, who exist as a pressure group on the French broadcasting authorities, are handicapped by the extreme insensitivity of the Government-controlled authorities. The Breton Scouts, on the other hand, have already been recognised by the Scouting Movement as a national group in their own right, and at Europe's biggest Jamboree last year the Breton flag flew alongside the French.

Closely associated with the Council is the Breton Association for Culture and, of course, the well-known (mainly French) magazine AR VRO. The former group is busily engaged on the Menez-Kamp project. Menez-Kamp is a manorhouse in the heart of Brittany which has been put at the disposal of the Breton movement. At the moment vigorous work is being put in to make the house a centre of Breton and European cultural activity ; Flemings, Welsh, Basques and Scots have been camping there and helping with the work. Anybody in search of worthwhile volunteer holiday work should apply to Per Denez, Le Ris, Ploare, Douarnenez, Sud Finistere.

There is no doubt that, though the Breton position is so much tougher than the Welsh, the extremity has bred at least some of the men needed in such desperate straits.

NOTES :

- (1) Dr. Paul Laurent, Direction Départementale de la Santé du Morbihan, Rue Hoche, Vannes, Brittany, invites any Plaid members visiting Brittany to ask him for advice and help.
- (2) Those desiring to keep up to date with Breton affairs are advised to subscribe to AR VRO if they can read French ; if not, to read "Breton News," 10/- p.a., 9 Br. Cnoc Sion, Dromchonnrach, Baile Atha, Cliath 9, Eire.

AR VRO

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(ed. Per Denez)

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- 3—Membership for Wales of U.N.O.

I DESIRE TO BECOME A MEMBER OF PLAID CYMRU : I am not a member of any other Party.

I enclose £ : : (Minimum 2/6 ; or 1/6, which includes a Party badge, for those not earning).

(M)

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(It would help if you noted your job

and your Union

If under 18, your age

Also please send me (mark with ✓ and enclose pay)

- (a) Party Badge—1/6 plus 3d. postage, in the form () Tiepin ; () Button Hole ; () Brooch.
- (b) () "Welsh Nation" monthly by post, 7/6 a year.
- (c) () "Y Ddraig Goch" monthly by post, 7/6 a year.

Give this form to local official of the Party or return to
Plaid Cymru Offices, 8 Queen Street, Cardiff, Tel. 31944,
or Plaid Cymru Offices, 89 Stryd Fawr, Bangor, Tel. 2073.
A membership card, list of publications, etc., will be sent to you.