



An Aimsir Cheilteach

THE CELTIC TIME

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THE UNION OF Parliaments, 1707

The Act of Union was passed by the Scottish Estates after a prolonged struggle in the Parliament, and was finally signed in a cellar, secretly, because of the fear those who signed it had of the populace.

The man chiefly responsible to the Court for pushing through the Act was the Earl of Mar. Yet in 1708 he wrote from Edinburgh, on June 14th of that year:—

"I think myself obliged in duty to let your Majesty know so far as I understand the inclinations and temper of the generality of this country, it is still as dissatisfied with the Union as ever, and seems mightily soured."

Four years later, whilst writing to his brother, Lord Grange, then Justice Clerk, on the subject of the Union, and the grievous disabilities it imposed on his country, he says:—

"To go peaceably home and rebel, as the Irishman said, is but a bad remedy, and yet it is impossible for us to lie under this hardship. If we saw a possibility of getting free of the Union without a civil war, we would have some comfort; but that, I am afraid, is impossible."

When writing to the same correspondent from London November 20th, 1711, the Earl says:—

"By the situation of affairs 'tis probable that there will never be a time so likely to bring about a dissolution (of the Union) as now, if our country push it heartily."

I am perfectly of that opinion though I thought the Union as good a thing as ever I did."

Who, at that time, could have thought that the chief wire-puller and principle undertaker would have so soon and so bitterly regretted his share in forcing the Act of Union through the Scottish Parliament? But he was only one. The whole nation realised that they had been delivered hand and helpless, into the power of their enemies. The merchants and traders found Scottish trade penalised in favour of that of England. Large numbers of the Presbyterian Clergy were notoriously "disaffected". The nobles except those bought to pass the Act, were violently Jacobite.

The lawyers, disappointed in their projected gains, crossed and interfered with at every turn, were up in arms, or at least as much up in arms, as that calculating brotherhood could be expected to be. Even the time servers and wearers of the woadroom coronets who had forced the Act on a reluctant people, expressed misgivings as to the wisdom of the Act of Union, which, if not very convincing as to their sincerity, at least showed what the temper of the nation was, and the intensity of the rage was felt by a betrayed and indignant country.

And England made no secret of her ungrateful use of the Scottish Parliament was prerogued "sine die" (they could not legally abolish themselves). No sooner was the act passed than orders were despatched from London to Edinburgh directing to the representative peers of the country how they should

vote, and in what manner they should act in a political way, just as Scottish members today, whether Conservative, Liberal, or Labour, receive their orders from London touching the same things, i.e. how they should vote and behave politically in the interest of the (English) Parties. We are used to this now, but our ancestors were still Scottish in politics and patriotism, and the insolence (with which we are treated today, no less than they were), aroused them, and disillusioned those few who had in all honesty believed that Union meant the end of an old and bitter feud. The whole country was conscious of national degradation and loss of those sovereign rights for which their ancestors had fought almost continuously since Calgacus and his Caledonians met the might of Rome at Mons Graupius.

It was known then that had the Act of Union not been passed, England was prepared to invade Scotland and force Union on the country by military might, and Scots knew but too well what that meant. Least we of a later day fail to realise what English conquest would have meant, we were to see it fully illustrated some 39 years later in 1746, after Culloden.

Lord Lovat, writing to Lord Grange many years after the Union had been consummated, relates the following illuminating anecdote:—

"We deserve all we meet with from our old enemies, to whom we gave ourselves up like traitors, like fools and like cowards though we well knew them to be our natural and inveterate enemies for about seven hundred years. There may be a particular Englishman that has a real friendship for a particular Scotsman but the English nation in general always did, and will hate ours. I remember that one day that I was at Court during the late reign (that of George I.) upon the news of a riot in Edinburgh upon the transportation of corn when the country was in great want, there was an insurrection to hinder the corn being shipped. There was a party of the forces to guard the ships from insults, and during the riot there was some of the soldiers killed and wounded; and this made the great minister (Walpole) cry out that he wished all the men in Scotland were in the island (sic) of Eile, cutting one another's throats as long as one of them remained. The late Lord Bellhaven, who stood by the side me, answered: "And you, Sir, in the midst of them."

I own I never could forget that expression; it had such a deep impression on my soul, for passion what all Englishmen feel and think."

Perhaps "all Englishmen" do not think and feel as they did in Lovat's day.

Yet who can think of the desolation of the North and West of Scotland, —

"Our small farms turned to deserts dreary, no Where smoke no homes, no people no name."

Saxa English hunters' — without realising that London rule means ruin to our country.

Continued on Col. 6

DOLLARS, CURRENCY & ECONOMY

Mr. Sean MacBride, in a report to the European Economic Admin. on the 31st Dec., stated that the Republic of Ireland is "exporting cattle to Britain, reared on land which should be growing wheat . . . While we are sending full ships to Britain and empty ones across the Atlantic."

This is but an expression of the crucial problem which our readers know well—and which more people are getting aware of—raised by the dependence of Irish exports on the English market.

Mr. MacBride's report purposes to show that Ireland is not gaining the all important dollars at the required rate. Important as the dollar question is at the moment, it is not a fundamental issue; it is only a temporary one which has accrued from circumstances arising out of the last war; when their effects are broadly overcome, other currencies will settle down to a firm value, generally. No doubt, what Mr. MacBride is firstly interested in are the long term issues which will affect the future of this country; in the vital economic sphere, none is more decisive than the salvation of Irish independence from the British market's grip.

I am sometimes wondering what a debate on external economic policy between Mr. MacBride and Mr. Dillon would be like; but it may be as well if it did not take place . . .

A Vital Problem to us — As well as to others.

We have been overwhelmed by the flow of ink and of saliva poured during the last year over the question of the money, or the currency, which is perhaps the main key issue within the international economic problem at the present time, but few have approached it as directly and as realistically, ignoring the maquis of secondary causes or issues, as the writer of the following lines, published in "The Patriot", London, in Dec. 1949:

"The only foundations on which a sound economy can be built is a sound monetary system, for unless money is sound, stable, constant, and dependable, nothing can be sound or dependable. Money is sound only when it is redeemable in something of a universally recognised and accepted value; and since there is not enough gold in the world to ensure the redemption of currency, silver must be joined with gold at fixed and proper ratio to supply a monetary reserve adequate to insure the redemption of currency at face value on demand."

This will give money a value of its own, entirely unaffected by the credit or lack of credit of the countries in which it circulates, and will thus eliminate most of the trade barriers between nations. The right of redemption will not only restore confidence but will place in the hands of the people an effective brake against Government extravagance and unsound monetary and fiscal policies."

H. GOFF.

Georges Cadoudal

Ar clas a glevan o barzal Setu ar soudarded C'hall (Barzaz Breizh) (I hear the dogs howling Here are the French soldiers coming).

One hundred and fifty years ago Brittany was involved in one of the biggest struggles of her history. France had become a Republic whose unity and indivisibility had become overnight a sacred principle and in the sake of that unity, Brittany had to disappear as a national entity but the fight was to be a hard and a terrible one.

It had begun with the promulgation (12.7.1790) of the civil constitution of the Clergy the aim of which was to reorganise the Church of France without control from Rome. Rites broke out everywhere in Brittany when the few priests who had agreed to submit themselves to the new law tried to exercise their duties.

The Breton reaction had been slow in progress. The previous efforts of the Breton gentry to organise themselves in an attempt to restore Breton autonomy, had come to an end with the sudden death of their leader, La Roncière.

The incessant attacks against religious and national liberties slowly roused a deep resentment in the country but the spark which kindled the whole of Brittany was the threat of a conscription (24.2.1793) by which 300,000 Bretons out of the country. The effect was the same as that in Ireland in 1918. The Bretons found their strength and realised that the time had come for an overall sweep of the French power from Brittany. From the South to the North, from Machecoul occupied on 11.3.1793, from Maures, Coner-on-Savenay, Blain, Douion to Ploùdave, Lesnevén and Kastell Paol, the fight began. Further towards the East—between Lamballe, Dinan, Moncontour, around Redon, Bain, Montfort, Vitre, the whole country was ablaze. In the Morbihan, Guened (Vannes) was attacked on the 14th March and Plumeleven to Questembert, the Church bells called the Bretons to the fight. On the 15th March Pontivy was invested, La Roche Bernard and Rochefort fell into the hands of the insurgents.

The "Chouannerie" was born. The "blues" began to shoot priests, to burn down churches, relics and shrines. The names of towns were changed: Saint Malo became Port Malo, Saint Hervé—Hervé le Loup. At Guingamp the street of Our Lady was renamed street of the Revolution, Saint Yves Street was called Arts Street.

On that great battlefield, appeared Cadoudal, this strong stout, powerfully built man who seemed born for fighting and leadership and whose name was to be known all over Brittany. Born on the 1st January, 1771, at Kerplesno near Abo (Auray) in a Breton speaking family. He received his education in the College Saint Yves of Vannes from teachers proud of their Breton traditions and of their country. History recalls that so strong was the national feelings of those pupils that

they once tried to hang one of their teachers, an Englishman, accused of having spoken evil of the Bretons, and prevented from doing so, compelled him to leave the town.

Cadoudal's ambitions were modest and the general Breton rising found him working as a Solicitor clerk at Auray.

He had already acquired extensive experience in his previous fighting and had seen the reasons why this mass-rising failed. Guerrilla warfare was the only type suitable to the Breton character and the Breton country and was the kind he decided to carry on.

Soon discovered by the Revolutionaries, he was imprisoned with his family, at Brest, but escaped and resumed the fight.

The French royalist leaders whom the Bretons trusted, hoping that the return of the King would bring back to Brittany her usurped liberties, were vain creatures who handled speech better than sword. French Officers who had managed to seize the highest positions in the Breton army, did not understand the Bretons and tried to use them as mercenaries. Nevertheless, the fight went on, and in 1795 Cadoudal and his men came to assist the French Royalists, supported by the English fleet, in their attempt to land at Quiberon. He showed his talents as a tactician in trying to attack the back of the Blues by landing with 3,000 men in the Rhuys peninsula and afterwards moving to the North to obtain help from the English near Saint Briac.

However, Cadoudal's efforts and peace negotiations between the Blues and those Royalists who much preferred to win by words, battles they did not care to wage with arms. After 1799 Cadoudal decided to set out for England himself and seek help and effective intervention but he met only with selfishness and frivolity. The French "augurs" were scattered in small groups without any importance and hostile to one another. Very few of them were in earnest in their fight against the French Revolution.

Cadoudal saw very soon that the help he expected would not come from England and decided to go back to France and to resume the fight alone. He arrived in Paris with the ultimate aim of attacking Napoleon Bonaparte at "equal arms" but before he could make a ny attempt against Napoleon's life, he was captured—not without resistance. His arrest cost the life of a policeman. "Do you know you killed the father of a family?" they asked him. "You should have sent hachelors to arrest me" was his answer.

Cadoudal did not perhaps foresee exactly where his deeds would, at the end, lead him and took a great risk in binding together Breton aspirations and Royalist interests but he sensed this vaguely when he said: "The King will come back but he'll have to shoot us . . . We shall always be conspirators."

He died on the guillotine, a year after Emmett, whom he resembled as a man of honour totally devoted to duty.

Y. G.

Flydd o Loegr i Cymru

Yng Nghaerdydd y mis diweddaf cyhalwyd arddangosfa o dan nawdd Frederasiannu Flydd Prydain, corff a gefnogir gan ddiwyddiannwyr, awdaridau lleol a chyunddeitasaau amrywio, i hyrwyddo ymchwil i ddulliau o wella heolwyd Prydain. Un o'r pwysoedd o'i awgrymiadau yw bod aediladau heolwyd hir arbennig i'w defnyddio gan foduron yu unig, ar batrwn y fudobahnen Alunisien. Trwy gyfrwng y rhain bonair y gelwir arbed llawer o amser iechid, ysgafnhaust cost gramod ynyddau a thralu ar gerbydau, ac hefyd diogel hywyd. Derbydwyr yr egwyddor gan y llywodreth, a bwriadir cysylltir prif ardaloedd diwyddiannol Loegr with ei gilydd a flydd o'r math hwn, a'u cysylltu hefyd with y portihadoedd er myn hwylo, a gostwng cost, allforio.

Ni ddaw Cymru i mewn i'r cysylltiau hyn, ar wahân i ychydig filitroedd o ffordd newydd ydd ynn bellu a Chnatewydd yu Sir Llynwy. Er llynwy, dadlour bod y cysylltu o'r perysgrydd m y w y f i Ddeudharth Cymru. Diben yr arddangosfa yng Nghaerdydd oedd dangos bod aediladau diwyddiannol Morgannwg a Gwent eirlyu hyn yu rhan o fionbarth Loegr, a bod fymant diwyddiannol Cymru yn dibynnu ar ei chysylltu hi'n agos a'i fatrioedd Birmingham a'i cychid, trwy god flydd newydd ac hefyd trwy godi pont drws Hafren.

Yn ôl yr arddangosfa, bydd hyn yu hwylo anton awyddau eraol Cymru i'w trin yu fatrioedd Loegr, iddynt gael eu hanfon yu ôl ar hyd yr un flydd i Cymru ac i'w phorthladdoedd!

Y mae'n amlwg mai cysylltu i ostwng costau fymant Seisnwg s'yn gwerthu nwyddau dro yu môr, ac i wnaid y fureddad Cymru yn fwy ddibynnol byth ar Loegr, yu hwn. Fel ateb i anghlonw Cymru, y mae'r cysylltu yn gwell diwyddu. Os eir ymlaen aget, s'yn effaith fydd gwanyboda bywyd economaidd Cymru trwy ei ddorostwng yu llwyr i les ardaloedd diwyddiannol Loegr.

R. L.

Continued from Col. 2

A crofter today must obtain a licence from London even to build himself a pig-sty. The little towns on the banks of the Clyde are deprived of their river transport at the order of an English bureaucrat in London, though a 20-mile river journey may be replaced by a 90-mile journey by road or rail.

Whig oligarchy, Tory government, Liberal government, Labour government, we have had them all, and all have promised to do better. Let us cease to seek that walter beneath candle-ick. Let us turn to our Celtic kinfolk in Ireland, in Wales, in Brittany, and seek there the friends we need, but have not found in England. Like our ancestors, let us be proud. "Get out our own salvation in freedom, in partnership with the free Celts of Celtic."

TOMAS MAC NEACAIL.

1950 Celtia on the Move

Demand for Parliament Sweeps SCOTLAND

The steps to be taken in Scotland towards the recovery of a National Parliament and the wide-spread campaign in their support are a frequent topic in the daily press.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL CONVENTION IN BELFAST

"Seeking an example of a local parliament which might be applied to Home Rule in Scotland, a delegation of the Scottish National Covenant Committee began a Belfast tour yesterday with a visit to Sir Basil Brooke.

The Committee, which is seeking Home Rule for Scotland, has a second object in visiting Belfast. They propose to ascertain whether workers benefit by being governed by such a parliament rather than from Westminster

The convention is a non-party organisation, and over 500,000 signatures have been obtained for a call for the establishment of a "Home Parliament"

"Irish Press", Dec. '49.

The informed reader will be tempted to formulate two immediate remarks about that visit: Scotland is a nation, the Six-Counties is a non-descript territory cut out of the Irish nation. Whether or not any benefit is actually gained from Self Government within the British State does not affect the issue for Scotland who, as a nation, essentially needs freedom to direct and live its own destiny. Home-Rule or Self-Government have not a value in themselves; it depends how and to whom they are applied. Our friends of the "National Covenant" appear to believe in the gungahap method as applied to human flesh; it is a little too simple.

The Six-County Administration is ruled by a sectarian caucus who applies an unjust rule to a large section of the community, and who renies its own country. This constitutes a bad background and produce a bad atmosphere for any candid study.

But, as the "Irish Weekly" of Belfast writes in its 31st Dec. issue: "These (the industrial Nationalists of Glasgow and other towns) are men that would sacrifice everything for their beliefs. Some of them bitterly deprecate the visit of Scottish Nationalists to the Six Counties. They do not accept the Six Counties and its Government as a pattern for their own proud people. Many of these men favour a republican government for Scotland. They do not want Communism. "If we have a king, we want our own king back" is one of their mottoes.

THE COVENANT CAMPAIGN

The Covenant demanding Home Rule for Scotland has already been signed by 500,000 and it will not be long, we are assured, before the minimum target of a million is achieved. A National Assembly is then to be convened with a view to achieving a proper measure of Legislative Devolution to meet the unambiguous National demand for a Scottish Parliament.

This is what Mr. Grey, vice-chairman of the Covenant Committee is reported in "The Irish Weekly" to have stated in Belfast:

"The Committee aims at obtaining 2,000,000 signatures representing the majority of people of Scotland. The plan of the campaign then is to ask the British Premier to carry out the wishes of Scottish people. If he refuses, King George will be asked to call an all-party conference to appoint commissioners to re-open Scotland's Parliament, adjourned since 1707.

(Continued from col. 1).

"If the King refuses, then we will appoint Commissioners ourselves to deal with Commissioners from England, and re-open the Parliament."

This, the delegation stressed, was a perfect constitutional action permissible in Scottish law.

NOTABLE COMMENTS

"The Irish Press"

of the 30/12/49, commenting on the covenant activities, under the signature of Jim McGuinness, forecast "that the Scots will have a measure of autonomy within the lifetime of the next Parliament."

"A leading and other articles in recent issues of the "Irish Press" about current Scottish affairs call for comment, writes John Murdison.

It is quite true that ever since the Treaty of Union in 1707 no group of individuals has done more to stifle Scottish nationalism than the Scottish M.P.'s. The exceptions can be counted in one hand. Now, the dispensing of all political favours is in the hands of the bosses of the parliamentary party headquarters in London. A careerist Scottish M.P. (and their name is legion) will not risk his political future for the sake of his country. The same applies to ambitious officials of the trade-unions. Again, the Scottish aristocracy and churches have for centuries regarded London as their spiritual home. In like manner the Scottish business community has always followed happily in the wake of their opposite numbers in London.

Politically, culturally and economically, Scotland has thus been leaderless for nearly two and a half centuries and it, in spite of the lack of encouragement from those who should have provided that leadership, Scottish nationalism still persists. It is thanks solely to the common people, who have steadfastly refused to be Anglicised. The fact that in recent weeks something like 500,000 Scots have signed the "National Covenant" in favour of a very modest form of Home Rule proves that Scottish nationalism is by no means dead.

The fact too that Scotland and England form one geographical unit does not mean a thing. Spain and Portugal, Belgium and Holland, Norway and Sweden, all form geographical units, but all are nevertheless sovereign states.

It is now time for many Irish nationalists to get rid of that secular mentality with regard to other small nationalities, particularly the Celtic nationalities which are in the same position as Ireland was early in this century—a mentality of true imperialist venom."

Comunn Impireachd Na H-Alba.

RUN - Cruth-shuidheachadh Gàidhlig Albannach a dh'ull-sàicheas goth comnach as leth na Albannach ann gach ceàrn de 'n t-saoghal chum dìon uachdaranachd na h-Albann agus na h-impireachd: a dh'aisgeas air ais rian buannachd Chrìosdaidh na h-Albann agus moth na Gàidheal: agus a sholasas de 'n t-sluagh Cuibhriann Dhùthachd

Fear-ghairm—

Calum Mac a' Phearsain, Balmorino, Danbury, Chelmsford, Essex.

THE FIGHT for IRISH UNITY in the U.S.A.

What can America do to help end the Partition of Ireland?

Part of the answer lies in the attitude of leaders in Ireland. Do they want and appreciate American aid?

Part of the answer lies in the attitude of leaders in America. Can they bring pressure upon Britain to get out of Ulster? To any Irish-American aware of the problem there is but one answer: Yes, but it may take a little more time.

While expressing optimism that the U.S. State Department will tell the British to get out of Ulster, Rep. Harry J. Davenport (D., Penna.) reviewed the situation with his usual accuracy at a recent Irish-American rally.

"Why should Ireland be partitioned? In my opinion," he said, "it is part of classic British policy. We have only to look around the world. Wherever you find British control, you find sooner or later partition. India is partitioned. Palestine is partitioned. Ireland is partitioned."

Amhran Comh-Cheilteach

A bhàrthracha Cheilteacha, dearc ar a chèile Aontuighidh, oibrighidh, troidhidh aron. I n-oileán is mo-thír tá cúis eannann céadna. Le saoi na laige 'seadh clóidhtear na tréan.

Curfa: Páidr amháin nár mbéal, Treasaer amháin gan staon, Troidhimid, clóidhimid, banáimíd buadh. Saoirse ár gcríocha féin, Teanga á labhairt fé réim Breacadh an lae ghlí a thiofas go luath.

II. Ar spiorad ag treorú,—gidh seagaithe taimid Ni cois dhúna aon aigeán más láidir ár mian Tá glíun-ghlor na firinne 'fogairt go gárthach Ar rosg-thaitha brodamhail thar nuair is thar thír.

—"An Lasair".

Toighneam an t-amhrán seo leonn "O Dombhall Abd".

"How can a solution be found? It can be achieved by peaceful methods, by men sitting down around a table with labour and industry today—men with the will and the desire to find a solution—and men with the power to negotiate a solution."

"Our State Department has enough influence with the British to induce them to consider such a proposal. American opinion, if properly registered, is certainly strong enough in the world for any country to be influenced by it." When the world's two largest labour unions endorsed a united Ireland recently, the most powerful single factor in American political life got behind the free Ireland movement.

President Harry S. Truman has been advised to have nothing to do with Sir Basil Brooke, prime minister of Northern Ireland, if he actually comes to the United States in the Spring.

Persons close to the Irish-American movement here have warned the President, through William Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, if word be disastrous politically for Democratic fortunes. As head of President Truman's political party, generally supported by millions of Irish voters in the country, Mr. Boyle is one of the President's chief advisers.

In the face of this advice, and rather than embarrass President Truman, the British may even withdraw their unofficial pleas that the White House open its doors publicly and officially to Sir Basil.

While the attitude of the President is unknown, and the State Department has displayed a certain reluctance to help end the partition of Ireland, it is no secret that the majority of U.S. Congressmen want the partition ended. Thus, if Sir Basil has been well-advised, he knows any help he can get in America will be from the executive branch, and not the Congress.

Ireland has the foundation . . . The Gaels are on the march . . . Welshmen, too, are on the move

"Derry Journal" 30/12/49.

The start of 1950 sees American sentiment in favour of a united Ireland at the highest point in years—if not in history. A year ago, it was different. Then only a handful of members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate were actively aware of the Irish situation. Now there are scores, and the issue has been carried to the White House where it is a matter of concern.

A chief reason for the advance lies in the work of the American League for an Undivided Ireland. With its nationwide membership of leading Irish-Americans, it has staged a magnificent education campaign.

The league's management has been in the hands of astute leaders. The visits to America by Irish officials, including Sean MacBride's visit early this year, and that of General Thomas Barry, Senator J. G. Lennon and Malachi Conlon, M.P. helped educate Americans to the facts.

The Irish Legation's newest work, distribution of a weekly news round-up, has had a major effect in telling Ireland's story to newsmen, Congressmen and government officials.

When the Congress comes back to town early in January to sit for six to eight months, the prospects are it will face up to the situation in Ireland.

Three bills, any one of which, if passed, would end partition, lie before the House and may be called up for a vote.

One by Rep. John Fogarty, Rhode Island Democrat, would put the House on record as deploring the partition. One by Rep. Thomas Lane, a Boston Democrat, would send a Irish-American commission to Ireland to suggest ways to rub out the border. A third by Rep. Eugene J. Keogh, New York Democrat, seeks the end of partition. The league supports the Fogarty measure 100 per cent, but would endorse any of these.

It is significant that each time a measure to help end the partition came in for attention, the support for it increased. The anti-votes came partly from ignorance of the situation.

Thus, when the Marshall Plan foreign aid plan comes up for extension, someone is sure to suggest an amendment to prevent use of the aid funds to maintain the partition. Irish-Americans who are paying the bill.

When the North Atlantic Pact comes before Congress for final implementation, an amendment of the same nature will be advocated. The chances are other measures will provide the crux of anti-partition amendments in America. With each proposal getting more votes, it appears only a matter of time before one will pass.

Sean O'Kelly.

THE WELSH NATIONAL STRUGGLE

The General Election which will be fought in Britain during the early months of next year is already awakening considerable interest in Wales.

For the first time this century the political and economic problems of Wales figure prominently in the programmes of the various political parties. Welsh nationalists point to this fact as a significant indication of their success in stirring up Welsh political consciousness since the foundation of Plaid Cymru 25 years ago. At that time Welsh nationalism was not an effective political force, and despite the patriotism of individual Welshmen in the English parties, the parties themselves did not admit the existence of a Welsh nation and so allow it to influence their policies.

The conservative Party, traditionally regarded as the Englishman's party in Wales and never having shown the least interest in the Welsh nation, has for the first time evolved a Welsh policy. As related to in previous issues of "An Aimsir Cheilteach", the Party has translated its propaganda into Welsh, and has issued a special statement on Welsh affairs. It argues that Wales is economically inseparable from England, but has a distinctive national culture. Placing great emphasis upon the good work done for the Welsh language by the Conservative Minister of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, the Party claims that it will continue the policy of fostering Welsh, and will also appoint a Minister who will be personally responsible for furthering Welsh interests at Westminster.

The Election policy of the Labour Party is not yet clear, but the official booklet of "Speakers' Notes", which at the time of the last General Election completely ignored Wales, now has a special, though brief, section devoted to Welsh affairs. A preliminary draft of the Labour Party's election statement for Wales has been drawn up in London, but socialist members of parliament are pressing that it should be strengthened. It is reported that in particular they are dissatisfied with the lack of powers of the Advisory Council for Welsh Affairs, and are pressing for a greater degree of devolution of effective power.

At the moment, the Labour Party offers the least concessions of all parties to Welsh nationality, since the socialist-sponsored Advisory Council is also accepted by the Tories. The Liberal Party has now formally accepted the setting up of Welsh and Scottish Parliaments, to deal with home affairs, as its official programme for the election. In the case of the Liberals, however, this offer has been made, on and off, over many years, and was part of the programme of such nineteenth century leaders as Tom Ellis and Lloyd George. When the Party assumed power it was naturally dominated by English interests, and so the matter was carried no further. Today the Party has no chance of winning the election, and so Welsh public opinion is rather sceptical about the effective value of this election programme.

The Communists also claim that they believe in a Welsh parliament for Welsh affairs, and are keen, though not very effective, advocates of the kind of "cultural nationalism" preached by the Tories. They have translated the "Communist Manifesto" into Welsh, and have issued publications which aim at setting Communist doctrine within a Welsh framework. Although the party has considerable influence through the Trades Unions in some areas of industrial southern Wales, it has no possibility of success as an independent political movement, save perhaps in one constituency where the Party's English General Secretary, Mr. Harry Pollitt, has stood many times for election.

Plaid Cymru has as yet made no announcement concerning the number of seats to be contested, and it is expected that a final decision will be made by the Party's Executive Committee shortly after Christmas. At the moment, candidates are conducting campaigns in seven constituencies, and all these will contest the election if the Party feels that its limited financial resources make this possible. At its last Annual Conference the Party decided by an overwhelming majority that its primary task at present is to co-ordinate the new interest in Welsh affairs to be found throughout the country into an effective demand for Welsh self-government. It is felt that, unless Wales has some effective degree of self-government before the end of Marshall Aid, the whole life of the country may be paralysed and shattered by industrial depression as happened before the war. Therefore the Party, while adhering to its long-term policy of full self-government within the Commonwealth, will go to the country on an immediate policy of "A Parliament for Wales within Five Years". It will thus exert all the pressure at its disposal to make Welsh self-government the main issue of the General Election in Wales.

A small body of Welsh nationalists called "The Welsh Republican Movement" have also announced their intention of contesting one seat in the General Election. The name of their candidate has not yet been announced, nor have they issued an election statement. They will, however, presumably fight on a programme of complete independence for Wales involving severance from the Commonwealth. ROY A. LEWIS.

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(We learn that Mr. Ithel Davies, Barrister-at-Law, Swansea, is to be the official candidate of the Welsh Republican Movement in the Ogmore constituency of Glamorgan at the next General Election. He spent three years in English Prisons because he refused to be conscripted by the English Government. —Editor).

"A Parliament for Wales"

As reported in our last issue, the nation-wide campaign now being conducted by Plaid Cymru to win a Parliament for Wales within five years, was opened at Machynlleth at a mass demonstration when more than four thousand people supported the demand. Since then, two more local demonstrations to further the same cause have been held, one at Rhos Banerch rugog, near Wrexham, and the second at Aberdare in Glamorgan. At Aberdare, five hundred demonstrators formed a torchlight procession through the town carrying banners and slogans and led by a band.

The Demands on Welsh Land, "Wales will act in self-defence"

A public inquiry was held at Dolgellau, Merionethshire, last month, into the proposal of the War Office to add a further 5,080 acres to the 8,900 acres already held by them at Trevelyn for war training purposes.

Giving evidence in opposition to the proposal, Mr. Gwynfor Evans, president of Plaid Cymru, declared that Wales would not tolerate the present wholesale annexation of her land by the English government. He reported and announced that the sixty inhabitants of the area affected had signed a statement that they would not leave their homes at the command of the War Office.

(Continued page 4, col. 2)

