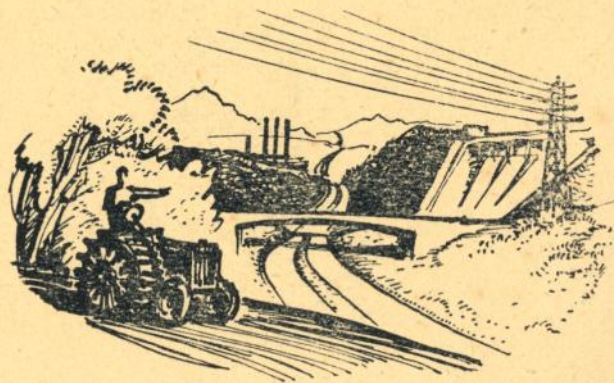
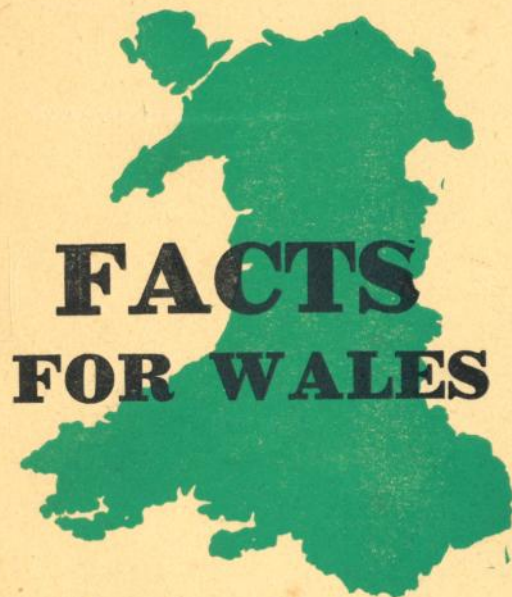


LET US BUILD



THE NEW WALES

FREEDOM AND CO-OPERATION



**Prosperity through
Self-Government**

By

J. E. JONES

Organising Secretary Welsh Party

3rd Edition

2d

FACTS FOR WALES.

SOME SMALL SELF-GOVERNING COUNTRIES.

(Some of them over-run—only temporarily we hope—by imperialist states)

Population		Population	
Denmark	3,700,000	Lithuania	2,250,000
Eire	3,000,000	Luxembourg	300,000
Estonia	1,116,000	New Zealand	1,600,000
Finland	3,810,000	Norway	3,000,000
Iceland	120,000	Sweden	6,500,000
Latvia	2,000,000	Switzerland	4,100,000

The twelve free countries given above all increased their populations substantially from 1920 to 1939 (1)

Sixteen free nations (including some of above) with smaller populations than Wales were members of the League of Nations.

The political parties in power in some of above countries, *e.g.*, New Zealand, Sweden, etc., had social and economic policies similar to the policy of the Welsh National Party.

SMALL NATIONS UNDER ALIEN GOVERNMENT

	Wales ..	Scotland ..	Contrast with England
Population 1921 ..	2,656,474	4,882,288	35,230,225
Estimated mid-1938 ..	2,465,800	4,842,554	38,749,200
Decrease or increase ..	-7.2%	-7%	+10%

If the population of Wales had increased in 1921—38 like that of England, it would now be over 3,000,000. But 430,000 persons were compelled to leave Wales for England!

"Without self-government, the development of agriculture and industry in a country is likely to be retarded while the people are exported as cheap labour for the master State."
A. Lamont (5).

GREAT RESOURCES FOR PROSPERITY OF WALES

Some Facts and Figures.

COAL—	Tons.
Net available reserves not exceeding 4,000 ft. depth	28,207,464.408

In proportion to area this is

- 8 times more than Scotland,
- 8 times more than England.

IRON—	Tons.
Reserves of carboniferous bedded ores ..	5,020,000,000

This is over 30 times more than England in proportion to population)
Per head of population, Wales has 11,800 tons.
Per head of population, England has 1,477 tons.

LEAD, Zinc, Copper, Silver, Gold—considerable.

SLATE—Best Slate in the world.

BUILDING STONE, Clays, Limestone, Silica—great reserves.

WATER-POWER—Ideal country for impounding schemes because of high rainfall, etc.

NATURAL SCENIC BEAUTY—unrivalled.

LAND—generously endowed in comparison with many prosperous countries.

The above are sources of thousands upon thousands of products. Coal alone (in the words of an authority on the subject) (3),

“is a source of electric power, oil, synthetic rubber, plastic and a thousand and one valuable chemical products.”

Some Experts tell us of Welsh Resources :—

1.—“FEW COUNTRIES of the same size possess so rich a variety of natural resources as the Principality of Wales.”—The Times Trade Supplement.

2.—“WALES can, with reasonable national help, support at least three times its present population.”—The Times, February 12, 1944.

3.—“I MYSELF should not be at all surprised, if we could get at the facts, to find that Wales has more resources in herself, more of the raw materials of subsistence for the population she possesses, than England has in relation to her population.”—Wm. Eames, former Editor “Manchester Guardian Commercial,” 1939 (2).

4.—“I HAVE BEEN increasingly impressed by the great potential wealth of this area . . . a region so richly endowed by nature with mineral wealth . . .

“These and other considerable natural and industrial resources of Wales provide the fabric upon which, properly planned and boldly executed, industrial development can weave a brilliant pattern of satisfying employment and prosperity.—“Post-war Reconstruction in S. Wales.”(3)

In spite of rich resources, Wales and the Welsh, without freedom and self-government to develop those resources for their benefit, will remain poor and depressed.

SELF-GOVERNMENT BRINGS PROSPEROUS INDUSTRY

IN WALES, during the twenty years 1919—1939, heavy industries languished, agriculture suffered. Only some 150 new factories were opened in Wales while more than that number were closed. That was under alien government.

Figures of New Industries 1932—8.

Greater London	1190
North-West England	535
Midlands of England	389
Wales	25

But self-governing small nations prosper and progress.

DENMARK.

Denmark is "naturally a poor country with a poor and sandy soil and no mineral resources." (Ramsay Muir, "Civilization and Liberty"). Yet, Denmark manufactures about eighty per cent. of the industrial products used in Denmark. Contrast this with Wales, where the figure would be between ten per cent. and thirty per cent.)

Number of factories or establishments in Denmark (4)	
In 1914	82,000
In 1935	102,000
Increase in 20 years freedom	20,000

"Denmark . . . (has) some of the most up to date ship-building and Diesel engine making plants in the world . . . It means efficiency without dullness." (Commander Stephen King-Hall, "Free Denmark," August, 1942).

"This little nation of three million people and scanty natural resources developed a number of small-scale industries which maintained one-third of the population, and a shipping trade out of all proportion to its numbers . . . In freedom, it created an admirable democratic civilization." (Ramsay Muir, "Civilization and Liberty.").

EIRE.

Ireland was "a country practically bare of industries before self-government," in the words of "The Times."

Number of new Factories 1922—1940...	1,000
Employment given in new factories to ..	100,000
Increase in numbers in work 1926—1939 ..	132,000
Net industrial output, 1931	£18,222,000
Net industrial output, 1940	£28,200,000
Gross Industrial output, 1926	£59,500,000
Gross Industrial output, 1938	£89,270,000

Some of the new industrial products of Eire (6) (and contrast the position in Wales):

Silk Hosiery	Car Assembling	Tennis Balls
Cycles	Footwear	Neon Signs
Corsets	Dry Batteries	Prams
Motor Upholstery	Sheet and Plate	Sacks
Sports Goods	Glass	Wallpaper
Tobacco	Electric Lamps	Pencils
Motor Springs	Plaster of Paris	Ink
Razor Blades	Gas Meters	Silk Wear
Agricultural Implements	Aluminium Ware	Cartridges
Sugar	Chocolate	Bakelite
Washing Soda	Cutlery	Asbestos
Sewing Cotton	Paints	Soap
	Tyres and Tubes.	

An instance of development:—

	Boots & Shoes made	Employees
1926	497,000 pairs	976
1938	4,000,000 pairs	5500

"Not a bad record," was the verdict of "The Times, Trade and Engineering Review" for January, 1938, on industrial progress in Eire.

SWITZERLAND.

"Switzerland is the prototype of our Western civilization and the masterpiece thereof." (Salvador de Madariaga).

"... There is no coal or iron; the only industrial asset is water-power, which provides cheap electricity. It is a remarkable tribute to the ability and industry of the people that in spite of this lack of natural resources they have built up an important export industry in engineering. . . . Their industry generally is in small units." ("Smaller Democracies," by E. D. Simon).

FINLAND (free in 1918).

	Per Cent.
Increase in Industrial output, 1922-38	150
Increase in net exports, 1918-38	250
Increase in Employment, 1918-38	75

Before being self-governing, Finland exported raw materials, like Wales. After achieving freedom, Finland established factories to make finished products and thus prospered (1).

"It can certainly be said of Finland's past achievements that they compel too much admiration not to inspire confidence in her future, given peace in which to work out her own destiny."—English Government's Department of Overseas Trade Report, 1939.(2).

NORWAY.

She is much poorer than Denmark or Sweden. Yet, having self-government, "Norway has developed her own resources to the greatest possible extent."(7).

Norway's shipping figures are remarkable:

Tonnage per 1,000 of population:	Tons
Norway	1412
Gt. Britain	347

Increases of tonnage, 1913-1931—	
Norway	80%
Sweden	48%
Denmark	42%
Holland	154%
Finland	300%

With the exception of Denmark and Sweden, Norway is the only nation that is not subsidising her shipping from state funds.(7).

In fishing, from 1923 on, "the numbers of Norwegian fishermen and Norwegian boats show a small but steady increase. The first-hand annual value of the Norwegian deep-sea fisheries amounts to between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000." ("Towards Freedom", p. 145). Under alien government, the Welsh fishing industry declined heavily.

ICELAND.

Iceland has a population of about 120,000—like Caernarvonshire. This northern island achieved partial self-government in 1874 and complete self-government in 1918. Freedom brought progress.

"Poverty, as it is known in the great countries of Europe, may be said hardly to exist." (Report by British Consul-General on Iceland, 1937; published by H.M. Stationery Office).

The report mentions the "number of new factories established in various parts of the country" and gives encouraging figures for the production of the following among many other commodities:—

Boots and Shoes (2 Factories)	Chicory
Margarine (7 Factories)	Soap (6 Factories)
Packing boxes and barrels	Fishing Tackle
Chocolate (4 Factories)	Beer
Soda Water etc.	Sewing Yarn
Biscuits (3 Factories)	Hair Tonics
Sweets and confectionery	Boot Polish
Jam	Paints
Candles	Cosmetics

"Among other industries which have developed considerably are the manufacture of water-proof clothing for seamen, rain-coats, working clothes, overalls, tweed clothing, etc." (Ibid, p. 16).

"Education in Iceland compared very favourably with that in other countries of Europe." (Ibid, p. 32).

Tiny Iceland prospered under self-government.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

SWEDEN

"An example has been set by Sweden. In that country industry is thriving and unemployment has been reduced almost to a negligible total."—Dingle Foot M.P., in "British Weekly," November, 1937.

ESTONIA

Increase in numbers in work, 1929—1935 26%

FINLAND

			Increase
Numbers in work, 1918—1936	.. ..	73%	
Volume industrial production 1922—38	.. ..	150%	
Value industrial production 1926—37	.. ..	95%	

LATVIA

		1932	1937
Industrial employment	.. ..	71,683	108,618
Index Industrial output	.. ..	114	160

"Latvia, which celebrates today the anniversary of its freedom nineteen years ago, may lay claim to these things: to be free from unemployment; fast improving economic conditions; and every sign of continuing prosperity."—"Evening Times," 18/11/37.

EIRE.

Under alien government, population decreased by half:—

1841..	.. ..	8,175,124
1911..	.. ..	4,390,219

Contrast with increase in Great Britain:

1841..	.. ..	18,861,326
1911..	.. ..	40,980,311

Self-government reduced average emigration from Ireland immediately:

Under England, 1901—1922	.. ..	26,000 a year
Self-Government, 1926—36	.. ..	7,813 a year

Some years, e.g., 1931, more people went into Ireland than out of Ireland. This remarkable change was brought by self-government.

Increase in employment, 1926—1939 .. 132,000

WALES UNDER ALIEN GOVERNMENT.

Wales suffered from 1923 "chronic depression which lasted substantially unrelieved until well into the present war"; the special causes of this "were all deliberate acts of State policy," of "a remote central body." (Quotations taken from First Report of Welsh Reconstruction Advisory Council, pp. 6—9).

Loss of population, 1921—1938 .. 430,000 persons

Unemployment in Wales highest in Europe in spite of mass emigration:—

		April	May	Feb.
		1935	1937	1939
England	.. ..	12.0	8.0	11.0
Worst part of England	.. ..	20.3	17.7	19.8
Wales	.. ..	32.0	22.5	25.4

An alien parliament meant misery for Wales. The alternative is for us to solve our own problems in our own representative parliament.

AGRICULTURE.

This is the basic industry. Its many aspects cannot be dealt with in the space available. The need for self-government in order to obtain agricultural prosperity is however certain.

WALES—under alien government.

"Wales is a poorly farmed little country. Wales has only twelve per cent. of her land arable, and of that forty-six per cent. is poor temporary grass.

"Wales has 2,000,000 acres of permanent grass, and of this only 16,000 acres are first class; more than 1,500,000 acres are poor pastures.

"I am certain that 1,000,000 (of the above two million) would take the plough easily. Agriculturally, our climate is the best in Europe."—Prof. Stapledon, the highest authority.(13).

				Rural Populations.
England—1931	..	..	..	6,262,140
1938	..	..	..	6,467,925
Increase	..	..	..	206,775—3.3%
Wales— 1931	..	..	..	839,162
1938	..	..	..	727,675
Decrease	..	..	..	111,487—13.2%

"Sixty per cent. of the lands of Wales are in urgent need of drastic improvement or of wholesale reclamation," said Prof. Stapledon. Less than £12 million would be needed to do it. An alien government will never supply the money. A Welsh government, however, would (in the words of Prof. Stapledon) "finance the agricultural resuscitation of Wales and bring order, tidiness and progress where now there is only make-shift and steady decline."

NORWAY

1921—38 Increase wheat production—16.6 per cent.
(i.e., from one-third to one-half of country's requirements).

ESTONIA

				1920—1936
Increase in number of milk cows	..	..	..	32%
Increase in milk production	..	..	..	300%

LATVIA.

Animal increases in thousands:—

		Horses	Cows	..	Sheep	..	Pigs
1929..	..	356	..	978	..	906	.. 382
1936..	..	388	..	1261	..	1352	.. 674

EIRE.

Wheat acreages	..	1932	..	..	21,388 acres.
	..	1941	..	..	463,206 acres
Flour imports	..	1931	..	..	£1,662,402
	..	1936	..	..	£35,602

(To such an extent had free Ireland revived its old mills and started many new ones).

DENMARK.

"In pre-war years, of all food units supplied to farm animals, eighty-five per cent. were produced on Danish soil, and fifteen per cent. imported.

"Denmark, with a growing population increased its production so that in 1937 the export of butter was two-and-a-half times the export in 1900, of bacon, almost three times, and of eggs almost five times the figure for 1900."—(Leader, 18/12/43).

NEW ZEALAND.

"In New Zealand there has been a still more spectacular increase in agricultural output." (Leader, 18/12/43).

Wales too, with self-government, could build a prosperous agriculture and countryside.

ELECTRICITY.

WALES (under alien government).

Good electricity service can be the hand-maiden of prosperity; here again Wales suffers, being far behind England and still further behind small free countries. English government is responsible for this injustice :—

"North Wales has . . . to pay roughly fifty per cent. above the average English rate for light and power. Adjacent villages on the (Wales—England) border are on different scales; competitive industries on the Welsh side suffer obvious injustice."—*"Manchester Guardian,"* 19/3/37.

Bulk supply price (1937) to two towns of same size :
Caernarfon, Wales89d. per unit.
Congleton, England5d. per unit.

This *"obvious injustice"* is allowed although *"the three hydro-electric stations (Cwm Dyli, Dolgarrog, Maentwrog) now produce between them (1937) 100,000,000 units a year."* (Ibid).

SWEDEN (under self-government).

Even rural areas electrified; *"fifty per cent. of the farms of over five acres in size are supplied with electricity."*(8)

"Sixty-five per cent. of the farm areas are electrified, and . . . an average farm of fifty acres uses electricity for shed lighting, for threshing, hay hoisting, saw benches, stone-crushers and chaff machines, oat grinding, pumping water and sewerage, milking, water heating, and also for hay and corn drying."(9)

IRELAND.

Under alien government, there was no hope for such development as the Shannon Electricity Scheme, just as here is no hope for Welsh schemes :—

"Problems which have been agitated for years without success at Westminster—where the (English) House of Commons had neither the time nor the inclination to the urgent necessities of Irish development—have been solved almost by consent within a few years under the new regime." (Dennis Gwynn *"The Irish Free State, 1922—27."*)

Development under self-government :—

	Units Generated
1929—30	61 million
1934—35	206 million
1942—43	414 million

DENMARK.

Even of all rural farms and houses, 85 per cent. have electricity supply.

"The organisation and management of rural supply is generally in the hands of co-operative associations of farmers," and not in the hands of capitalist companies.(8).

NEW ZEALAND.

"The vast majority of farms have electric supply"(8) not to mention towns and industry. It would be the same in Wales under self-government.

THE TELEPHONE IN FREE COUNTRIES

Again, statistics such as the following show the *"quality of life and living conditions"* in these small free countries, and suggest that *"even on the material side, the advantage is actually with the little nation."*

	Telephone Instruments per 1000 inhabitants(5)
Denmark	100
Sweden	93
Norway	70
United Kingdom	47
Germany	45
Netherlands	41
Finland	38

(The figure for Wales, under alien rule, would probably be between 20 and 30).

HOUSING

Housing is bad in Wales. It is as bad in Scotland—far worse than in England. Only self-government will remedy the position. Here is an instance of what a free small country, Ireland, did :—

“WORST IN EUROPE.”—When Ireland was under alien government in 1913, “the inquiry held by inspectors of the Local Government Board revealed the fact that in Dublin at this time the housing conditions were the worst in Europe, and that there were in the city, 21,000 families each living in only one room.”(10) Such is the fruit of alien government.

UNDER SELF-GOVERNMENT, in spite of terrible legacy of English government, these numbers of houses built or re-conditioned :—

	Houses
1922—1931	26,000
1932—1940	98,543
1941—1943	8,327
Total	132,870

During 1932—1937, in proportion to population Ireland built almost three times (2.66 is exact figure) as many houses as England and Wales ; it built probably six times or ten times as many houses as Wales. Alien government always makes a mess. Self-government makes progress.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

BEVERIDGE SUPPORTS WELSH FREEDOM.

He knows that self-government for a small nation brings prosperity and security :—he declared (“ Observer,” 11/4/43) :

“To-day human life may be as well worth living in a community of five millions as in a community of fifty millions. . . .

“In all stages of human history relatively small nations have contributed to the general civilization of the world as notably as large nations.

“At the next peace settlement the purpose should be, to make the world safe for small nations.”

Including or excluding Wales ?—We must decide.

BEST SOCIAL SECURITY IS IN A SMALL FREE COUNTRY.

In New Zealand, a self-governing Dominion ; population 1,600,000 (about half of Wales). Wales is richer in resources ; yet New Zealand has made “probably the greatest achievement of the social democratic world.”

Compare 1943 figures with Wales without self-government:

	New Zealand (Self Government)	Wales (Alien Government)
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Universal superannuation max. amount per year	84 10 0 ..	Nil.
Old Age Pension (60 N.Z., 65 in Wales) ..	1 12 6 ..	0 10 0
Invalid's Benefit with dependents ..	1 12 6 ..	18/- to 23/-
(In Wales reduced to half after 6 months)		
Ditto, for wife or child	0 10 6 ..	Nil.
Widow's Benefits	1 10 0 ..	0 10 0
Widow's First Child	0 10 6 ..	0 5 0
Widow's Second Child	0 10 6 ..	0 3 0
Miner's Benefits	1 12 6 ..	Nil.

New Zealand has numerous other benefits as well—Sickness, Orphan, Emergency, Maternity Benefits, etc.

With its greater natural wealth, if Wales was self-governing, Wales could do as well as New Zealand.

SECURITY WITH PERSONAL FREEDOM :

The Great Powers, when they give security, do so at the cost of personal freedom ; Germany, Russia and England (in its new schemes) adopt *Industrial Conscription* which is anti-democratic.

But New Zealand and other small nations give greater social security without the loss of personal freedom.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

They give security with freedom.—“ *The administration of social services afford another illustration . . . of combining the merits of individualism and collectivism, avoiding alike the rigid regulation of bureaucracy and the anarchic competition of laissez faire. . . . The state prescribes the general principle, e.g., health insurance, but leaves much latitude to individuals to choose their method of organisation.*” (“ International Observer, Vol. 2, No. 4).

BELGIUM.

	A Year				
Single blinded ex-soldier in Wales (under English Government)	£130
Ditto in Belgium	£384

STANDARD OF LIVING

WALES (under alien government).

Between the two wars, with its mass unemployment, mass emigration and chronic depression, Wales was “ *the worst hell in Europe.*”

DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN.

“ *Real wages in the three Scandinavian countries are slightly higher than those in Great Britain.*” International Labour Office. (4).

“ *My own conclusion is, that the standard of living of the workers, both rural and urban, is in all three countries certainly as good as in England, and in many ways probably better.*”—Sir E. D. Simon (4).

FINLAND.

“ *The standard of living is comparatively high.*” Sir E. D. Simon (4).

SOCIAL EQUALITY.

England and the big countries have their wealth distributed unequally,—a few with a high standard of living and large numbers with very low standard. In the small free countries it is different, e.g.,

“ *Sweden lacks both of our extremes—the black, helpless poverty of the depressed areas and the staggering superfluity which is flaunted in London shops and coldly expressed in returns of death duties.*”—Mr. and Mrs. G. D. H. Cole.(4).

Sir E. D. Simon adds that these countries “ *are the only countries in Europe which since the (1914—1918) war have become steadily more democratic, steadily more prosperous and more contented.*”

Only through self-government can Wales too be prosperous.

CULTURE

WELSH CULTURE (under alien government).

In 1536, the English Government resolved to kill the Welsh language, culture and traditions; "to extirp all and singular, the sinister usages and customes of Wales." Ever since, this alien government has been trying to do this.

During this war, English officials have called our language "an uncivilized language." In the English parliament, a Labour member (H. T. Muggeridge) called Welsh "a barbarian language." English domination has almost killed our language:

Welsh-speaking	..	1801	..	1871	..	1911	..	1931
English only	..	80%	..	66%	..	40%	..	31%
	..	20%	..	34%	..	60%	..	69%
				Welsh speaking	..	English only		
1871..	..			1,006,100	..	406,500		
1931..	..			811,329	..	1,782,332		
Decrease	..			194,771	..	Increase	..	375,832

National culture dies when a nation is under alien government.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE.

Freedom brings a revival; Norway, Sweden, etc., have the highest cultures; their national languages are strong; all free nations show instances, for which no space is available in this booklet.

Proff. Laski declared: "The evidence is too strong on all hands. I willingly and gladly acknowledge that a nation that is given the responsibility for its own destiny by that means gains a breadth of outlook which it cannot achieve in any other way. Self-respect, vigour, and creative energy. All these definitely emanate from self-government."

We all must acknowledge that self-government is the key to Welsh cultural and economic vigour and prosperity

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR PROSPERITY

"Even when they are judged by material standards, the small states have proved their efficiency.

"Even the poorest of them are far richer and more prosperous than when they formed part of a great empire.

"While those which possess the longest tradition of freedom, such as Switzerland, the Netherlands, Norway or Sweden, have attained the highest standards of life in relation to their resources of any societies in the world."(12).

The evidence is certainly too strong on all hands. All true Welshmen must willingly and gladly acknowledge that, for economic and cultural prosperity, Wales must take responsibility for its own destiny; Wales must have self-government. There is no other way.

WALES UNFREE WILL NEVER PROSPER.

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