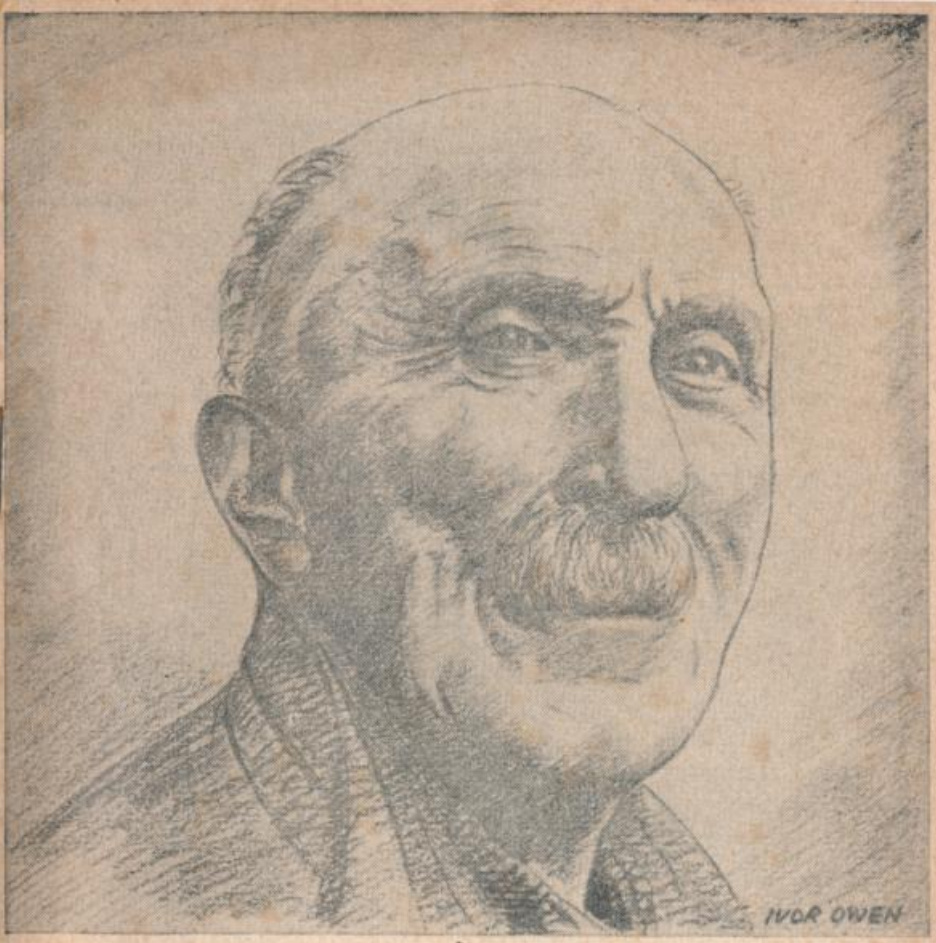


SAVE
CWM TRYWERYN
FOR
WALES

BY GWYNFOR EVANS

ONE SHILLING


CYNLLUN CORFFORAETH LERPWL
I FODDI CWM TRYWERYN
Milltiroedd
SIR GAERNARFON
CAERNARFONSHIRE
Llyn Conwy
Afon Conwy
Ysbyty Ifan
Afon Caldwr
Hafnant
DDINBYCH
DENBIGHSHIRE
CAMLAS
LEAT
SIR
Afon Serw
TWNNEL
TUNNEL
Marddwr
Nant Coch
Nant y Coed
CAPEL CELYN
Afon Hesgyn
Cwmtirmynach
Llyn Arennig Fach
Afon Celyn
Ffestiniog
CHWAREL
Tairfelin
Frongoch
Afon Tryweryn
GRANITE QUARRY
Llyn Arennig Fawr
Aber Bleiddyn
Arennig Fawr
Nant Hir
Waun y Bala
Aber Lladdog
Y BALA
Afon Lafar
Llangycil
Afon Twrch
A. Dulo
Afon Lliw
Y Parc
Llyn Tegid
Llangywair
Llanuwchllyn
FFYRDD PRESENNOL
FFYRDD NEWYDD Y CYNLLUN
RHEILFFYRDD PRESENNOL
RHEILFFYRDD NEWYDD Y CYNLLUN
TERFYNAU SIROEDD
LLYNNOEDD NATURIOL
YR ARDAL A FODDIR

SAVE CWM TRYWERYN FOR WALES

⊙

AN EXAMINATION OF LIVERPOOL'S PLAN FOR A RESERVOIR IN PENLLYN

THOMAS PENNANT, in his famous "Tours of Wales" nearly two hundred years ago, is obviously attracted by the life of the people who lived in the mountainous heart of Merioneth. "Some vein of the ancient minstrelsy," he says, "is still to be met with in these mountainous countries. Numbers of persons, of both sexes, assemble, and sit around the harp, singing alternately **pennills**, or stanzas of ancient or modern poetry . . . Oftentimes, like the modern **Improvisitore** of Italy, they will sing extempore verses . . . They will continue singing without intermission and never repeat the same stanza."

Pennant might have been describing a **noson lawen** in a farmhouse in Penllyn today. I don't know how old a tradition it was in his time, but I know that it is vigorous to this day. It is probably true to say that in no part of Wales is the art of singing **penillion** to the harp, and the knowledge of literature that is associated with it, as highly developed as it is in Penllyn. A great proportion of the people not only appreciate but practice the art, and from this district come some of our best choirs and finest artists in this metier. What could be more natural, therefore, than that a ballad singer of such extraordinary quality as Bob Roberts, Tai'r Felin, should have lived his whole life in this neighbourhood?

THE LAST DAYS OF CELYN?

It is near Bob Roberts' home that Liverpool Corporation intends building a huge dam, 140 feet high and 1,800 feet across. Filling the valley between Tyddyn Bychan and Hafod Fadog (where there is an old Quaker burial ground), this is to hold back a sheet of water, covering six hundred acres of land, which will drown the little village of Capel Celyn, with its school and post office, chapel and cemetery, and a number of farms and homesteads.

The name of Bob Roberts means nothing to those who neither know nor love Wales; nor, for that matter, do the language and life of the people of Penllyn. To members of the Liverpool Council Water Committee the farms which are to be drowned are no more than convenient stretches of second-rate land along a remote valley floor. To the Welshman, their very names ring like bells—Hafod Fadog, Garnedd Lwyd, Coed-y-Mynach, Hafod Wen, Gelli Uchaf, Gwern Delwau, Ty'n-y-Bont. But they are bells which may soon be ringing, like those of Cantre'r Gwaelod, under the waters, if Liverpool Corporation gets its way.

No doubt Capel Celyn can be rebuilt, with a modern bathroom in each house, and the dead can be re-interred. But the sixteen farms which will become uninhabitable cannot be moved elsewhere, and their sixteen families, which are now the nucleus of this rural community, will have to look for a home somewhere else.

THE GATHERING OF THE WATERS.

The direct effect of the scheme will be felt far more widely than in the area occupied by the reservoir, for the waters are to be impounded from a great catchment area extending into Caernarfonshire and Denbighshire.

In Merioneth itself the River Erwent, above Llanuwchllyn, and the Tylo, Nant-Hir and Llafar are all to be diverted and their waters taken through a leat four miles long to join the stream that runs from Llyn Arenig Fawr through Aberderfel, collecting on its way the water of all the streams that now flow down towards Llyn Tegid. To the North of the Tryweryn the water of Afon Hesgyn is to be taken by a leat nearly a mile long.

Penbryn Mawr is one of the farms to be submerged.

In Denbighshire the head waters of Nant-y-Cylchedd, Crymnant and Nant Fuddol are to be diverted, while water from Afon Serw, as from Llyn Conwy in Caernarfonshire, is to be carried through a 1½ mile leat to a 1,400 yard tunnel, which will pour it through Afon Celyn into the new reservoir.

Thus the resources of the most important untapped watershed in Wales are to be fully exploited by Liverpool. It is a much bigger and more profitable scheme than the Dolanog proposal. Possibly the latter was never seriously intended. Certainly it was not abandoned as a concession to Wales, but rather because the Tryweryn area had far greater possibilities. Here is to be the gathering ground for sending each day 75-80 million gallons of water to Liverpool and district.

It is hard to imagine what that quantity of water means, but it will be easier if we remember that Afon Tywi, the biggest river in South-Western Wales, has a normal summer flow of some thirty-three million gallons a day.

At present the water consumption in Liverpool is 51 million gallons a day, and a further 11.79 million gallons daily are sold in bulk to other water supply undertakers. This, too, comes from Wales, and brought Liverpool Corporation last year an income of £1,078,000. Work on the dam of Llyn Fyrnwy will soon increase the supply from that reservoir by four million gallons a day.

The cost of the new Tryweryn scheme is estimated at £16 million, and spokesmen for the Corporation say that it will ultimately employ about twenty people.

LIVERPOOL'S NEEDS.

LIVERPOOL needs more water if it is to develop industrially. Of its present supply 41% goes to industry, but in the future new industry is likely to require greater water supplies. It is understood by Liverpool spokesmen that the demand for water for industry has a slighter emotional appeal than water for human consumption, so that they play down the former and emphasise that **half** the new supplies will be for domestic use.

That is, they say that half the 75-80 million gallons a day from Tryweryn, as well as 59% of the 55 million gallons from Fyrnwy, will be consumed by the 750,000 people of Liverpool. *We are being asked to believe that the men, women and children of Liverpool will* **each** *consume* 100 *gallons per day.* The daily consumption for each family of six will be 600 gallons. How fortunate that they drink only Welsh water!

The people of Liverpool are suffering no undue hardship from water shortage today. Their consumption is high. If 59% of their present supply is devoted, as the Corporation says, to domestic use, they are each using 44 gallons a day. On what ground is it alleged that this consumption is going to rocket to 100 gallons?

There may be some growth of population to account for some increased consumption, but this is not likely to be great, if only because official policy is discouraging the further extension of existing towns.

The claim that half the water is needed for human consumption is patently fantastic, and Liverpool apologists would have been in a stronger position had they honestly admitted that although there is likely to be a slight increase in the City's domestic use of water, the greater part of it is intended for other purposes. These are for industry and for re-sale. The sale of pure, fresh water is obviously going to be a very good business indeed in the future.

The Manchester Guardian put succinctly, in a leading article on April 4th, 1956, the experience of large towns.

> "The consumption of water," it said, "keeps on going up by 2 or 3 per cent each year. The increase comes now more from industrial than from domestic use. Over the last fifty years, of course, the growth of population, the building of new housing estates, and better standards of hygiene have called for very large fresh supplies. **But that curve is no longer steeply upward,** and indeed domestic demand has shown itself creditably responsive to a crisis in supply.
>
> In Manchester, for instance, the great scare of 1947 was followed by **a marked drop in domestic use, which by 1950 had fallen back to the pre-war level, and has not risen much since.** But the industrial demand has risen steadily and more than cancelled the saving."

From the experience of Manchester (Population 700,000) whose domestic demand is little higher than in pre-war years we can assess Liverpool's additional need for domestic water.

SOCIAL EFFECT IN WALES.

To understand the anger aroused by Liverpool's decision we must know something in the first place, not of the agricultural potential nor of the landscape of Cwm Tryweryn, but of the character of the community which it supports, and of its place in Welsh life. The people of Capel Celyn are an integral part of the pattern of one of the richest folk-cultures in Europe. No civilised person would wish to see such a community of high artistic and intellectual attainment invaded and destroyed by an alien institution.

Greater schemes in England have been rejected by government because ruins of antiquarian value, or swans, geese or other wild life, must be protected. Here in Cwm Tryweryn is a living community of men and women whose continued existence is of far greater moment to Wales, and indeed to Europe, than any ruins or wildfowl, important though these may be.

Though the valley is remote, the civilisation of Capel Celyn is an old one having connections with the Roman period—a Roman road runs but a few miles away—and the names of farms, such as Gwern Delwau and Coed y Mynach, suggest an association with a religious institution of the Middle Ages. Indeed, there is a tradition that Boch Rhaiadr was the site of a monastery. We can be sure that the valley has known social life for a period as long as the history of the Welsh nation.

Families living here can trace their history back for centuries in the same farm. Their forbears built the Methodist chapel nearly a century and a half ago; their families have maintained it to this day, and the present generation lacks none of the qualities of character and intelligence that made the past notable. Should anyone inquire what is meant by a Welsh way of life, let him be brought to Penllyn and Cwm Tryweryn, where he will see it in full vigour. In language, interests, values, he will find here a community which is essentially Welsh and from which the national tradition, which is so gravely imperilled, can draw strength. Miss Elizabeth Watkin Jones who, like her father, the well-known local poet Watcyn o Feirion, was born here, has written of "the fluent Welsh spoken by the inhabitants of the district, whose speech is full of Welsh idioms, sayings and proverbs."

AN ENGLISHWOMAN'S TESTIMONY.

ONE of the many letters of protest against the scheme from English people resident in Wales appeared in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, from Mrs. Gertrude M. Armfield, who wrote of the social life of Capel Celyn in this way:—

> "The way of life nurtured in these small villages which serve, with their chapel and school, as focal points for a widespread population—this way of life has a quality almost entirely lost in England and almost unique in the world. It is one where a love of poetry and song, the spoken and written word, still exists, and where recreation has not to be sought after and paid for, but is organised locally in home, chapel and school.
>
> The life is often hard on a small farm, and requires great industry, but is graced with wit and gaiety. It produces a type of character we can ill afford to do without—robust, independent, clear headed and ingenious. While our educational system is doing all it can to produce such qualities in our drama and games, it seems entirely uneconomic to destroy a centre where such qualities arise naturally and are a living example of a good way of life."

The language and life of Wales are in such great jeopardy today that were it not for their strength in some rural areas their disappearance would be sure. Quite naturally, therefore, the struggle in defence of Welsh land has been most fierce where the community it supported was Welsh in language and life.

Nowhere are these characteristics more evident than in Penllyn. This country, famous in Welsh history and literature and unsurpassed in accomplishment today, is one of the most creative communities in the whole of Wales, and is a source of vigour and inspiration to other parts where the struggle is hard.

Do not wonder then at the anger of the Welsh when Liverpool calmly proclaims its purpose of putting an immense waterworks in the heart of Penllyn.

THE ANGLICISATION OF LLANWDDYN.

SINCE the reservoir is for a City that would take no pains to succour the Welsh life of Penllyn, its social effect would be disastrous. Three things would happen quickly. The native community would be destroyed. An English settlement would replace it. The vitality of the surrounding countryside, down to Bala, would be diminished.

We have seen the same process so often before when an English institution is planted in the heart of Welsh-speaking Wales. Indeed, Liverpool itself can provide an example in Montgomeryshire, where its present reservoir, Llyn Fyrnwy, is in the midst of a thoroughly Welsh neighbourhood. In *The Welsh Nation*, Mr. Elwyn Edwards has reported on his visit to Llanwddyn, the village near which it was built. He found that some one-third of the inhabitants are English and that nearly half the children in the village school are English-speaking. He was told that "all the high-ups in the Corporation are English" and that "the place is rapidly becoming a little England in Wales." In 1880, before the dam was built, there were six hundred inhabitants; today there are 302 on the electoral list.

The coming of another reservoir to Tryweryn would result in the destruction of a community of vital importance to Wales and the anglicisation of a wider area now notable for its creative Welsh vigour.

* * * * *

WATER—A MAJOR WELSH RESOURCE.

THE supply of clean, fresh water on this island is limited and there is now a growing appreciation of its importance as an industrial resource. It must be considered as much a raw material of industry as coal or iron ore. In Wales it is one of the most importance of our resources, and if we have been irresponsible in the past in our attitude to the rich resources of our land, we must mend our ways.

Water taken by a conurbation outside Wales is lost to Wales. That is a blunt statement of what is becoming the truth of the position. *A responsible attitude towards Welsh resources will ensure that the people of Wales will have the benefit of them in Wales.* In the past our basic resources have enabled industry to develop in Liverpool, Birmingham and the English Midlands, while Wales herself has been largely a stranger to such development. Her people had to follow the raw materials to find work. So it is that the population of Wales in 1951 was lower than in 1921, while England's had grown by five millions; and that is why there are today three-quarters of a million Welsh-born Welshmen in England, though the total population of Wales is but two and a half millions.

Liverpool's unilateral decision to take 80 million gallons of water a day from Gwynedd is a crucial challenge to every Welshman's sense of responsibility for his country. If it goes, it will certainly be followed by the development of industry in the Liverpool area which would otherwise be compelled to come to Wales.

Wales has not too much water for her own present and future needs. Cardiff is looking, as are so many other Welsh towns, for new water supplies. On June 6th, 1956, the headline on the front page of *The Western Mail* ran,

"WATER CRISIS WARNING

South Wales Worst Hit by driest May for 56 years."

On May 9th, 1956, the same paper carried this headline as the main news:

"New £100 M. Welsh Steel Project

Search for Second Margam Site in West Wales

WATER IS VITAL FACTOR."

The report underneath had this to say:

> "Most likely site is the stretch of ground between the old town of Kidwelly and Pembrey, near Llanelly. Experts are said to have examined this area during the past few weeks and passed favourable judgment. **One factor, however, may decide whether the vast project will eventually find its home in an area long renowned for its steel and tinplate industries. That factor is—water.**
>
> "Can the Gwendraeth rivers and any other supplementary source supply the vast quantities of water required for present day production methods? Again, the experts have been assessing the prospect. A report is being prepared.
>
> "Many other sites have been surveyed. One of them was between Cardiff and Newport. Another was in Monmouthshire. **Most have been ruled out because of the water supply problem."**

Note that this concerns only one large industry, and yet the question is raised whether there is enough available water for it in South Western Wales. If it were taken from Afon Tywi it is doubtful whether there could remain enough to maintain the fish life and avoid pollution.

WATER AND MODERN INDUSTRY.

A STEEL plant may take 100 **tons** of water for one ingot of steel. But consumption on this tremendous scale is becoming common in modern industry. Coal-fired power stations need 600 tons of water for one ton of coal, and to burn an electric fire in the house for one hour consumes power that has needed one hundred gallons to produce. A big oil refinery takes 1¼ million gallons of fresh water a day, as well as sea-water. In terms of power, it takes 200,000 gallons of water to produce a car.

The proposed new atomic station at Bradwell will use 200,000 gallons of fresh water a day, as well as sea-water for cooling. The development of the atomic plant at Capenhurst is made possible by the great quantities of water abstracted from the Dee.

A final example from Merioneth and Caernarfonshire is the supersonic drill, whose use may inaugurate a new era of prosperity in the quarrying industry. This tool is able to drill with rapid precision through the hardest granite, and yet so gentle is its action that not the slightest fracture is caused even when drilling or carving glass. With this invention we may see the hardest stone competing with brick as a popular building material, and the non-ferrous metals in Gwynedd may also know new development as a result of its use. But each of these supersonic tools requires for its operation a jet of water, so that they may soon make new demands on the water resources of the province.

These facts help us to appreciate the force of this point made by *The Manchester Guardian*, "We may soon have to watch our water supplies as carefully as we should our fuel supplies; and consider whether we have found the most economical methods of storing, using and re-using them, instead of building more reservoirs".

WATER AND THE FUTURE OF WALES.

THE time is coming when Wales will have her own Government which will put her in a position to develop fully her rich resources. Water is still one of the most important of these, but if Liverpool, and possibly other towns (Birmingham and Birkenhead already depend on Welsh supplies) are to take most of what remains, then the balanced industrial development which is yet possible for Wales will become more difficult if not impossible. This aspect of the matter is bound to be felt most deeply in Gwynedd, for the unemployment in Merioneth and the contiguous counties is proportionately heavier than in any part of England.

A self-governing Wales will decide for itself on the best use of its resources and would not be morally bound to continue to allow the free flow of water to a City over the border which had taken it in the teeth of Welsh opposition.

Thus a major economic issue is raised by Liverpool's plan for this great watershed in Gwynedd—the most important unexploited catchment area in Wales. *Is Wales to be enabled in the future, by her fortunate possession of this basic raw material, to secure the development on her territory of industries for which this water is essential, or is the use of the water outside her borders to prevent this development? Will there be work in Wales for Welshmen in the future, or will they have to continue to go to Liverpool and the Midlands to find it?*

THE EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE.

SOME dismiss too quickly the agricultural loss involved in the scheme on the ground that there is in the district no first-class agricultural land. Yet Mr. Moses Gruffydd, the well-known grasslands adviser, is able to say that, "When examining the quality of the soil in this valley, Dr. R. I. Davies, chief soil chemist of Bangor University College, and myself, were surprised at the quality of the soil even between 3 feet and 4 feet deep—first class alluvial soil, capable of growing first class crops and pastures".

That concerns the land which is to go under the water, but we must further take into account the effect on the farms not in the immediate reservoir area, whose buildings and lands will be deprived of the water drained into the leats. The number of farms dependent on the affected sources for domestic purposes and for watering stock in the summer months runs into many scores.

HOW THE CONWAY VALLEY IS AFFECTED.

FROM an examination of the broader issues raised by the scheme we turn to its impact upon one locality, the Conway Valley. Of the 75-80 million gallons of water to be taken daily, 15½ millions are to come from this district in Caernarfonshire, where a much smaller scheme for Denbighshire awaits the Minister's approval.

This Denbighshire scheme, involving five million gallons daily, is itself a good illustration of the difficulty in which a County finds itself when its water has been taken by an outside body. Birkenhead gets its water from Llyn Alwen, which,

The glorious Afon Conwy will carry little more water than a wayside pipe

situated in the middle of the County, is admirably placed to satisfy Denbighsire's own needs. Since the County's water goes to Birkenhead, it has itself to go to Caernarfonshire for its new supply, though this is more inconvenient and costly than its own source would be.

There is, however, no sustained objection to Denbighshire's use of the Conway's waters, but is not yet known how far the Liverpool scheme has jeopardised the plan. When the two schemes are combined the prospects for Conway are appalling.

The average flow of the Conway is 22.9 million gallons a day. Of this, Denbighshire proposes taking 5 millions and Liverpool 15.4 millions, which will be collected by the leats

to which we have referred. In a letter to the Clerk of the Betws-y-Coed U.D.C. the Town Clerk of Liverpool stated the position thus:

> "Out of an average run-off of about 22.9 m.g.d., the quantity intercepted by the catchwaters would be about 15.4 m.g.d. . . . Compensation water left in the particular lengths of the streams would amount to about 1.7 m.g.d."

That is, Liverpool anticipates that 92% of the water will be taken and 7.7% left in the river. *The quantity of water which will be left in the river would pass easily in a full day through a six-inch pipe, and on the magnificent bed of the Conway it would hardly be seen.*

There is no certainty that even this "prescribed minimum flow" of 7.7% would always be available, for there is no plan for storage in the Conway Valley. The fluctuations in the flow of Afon Conwy are very great indeed. On January 10th, 1955, 201.5 cubic feet per second were recorded at the C.E.A.'s gauging station below Pont-ar-Conwy, whereas the same station on 24 days in August of the same year recorded less than one cubic foot per second. The aggregate flow for the whole month of August was but one-sixth of the volume that had passed in a single day six months earlier.

In these circumstances there is no meaning in the phrase "minimum prescribed flow." On many days nothing like the meagre trickle stipulated would pass down the stream, which would become a stagnant and unhealthy ditch. The scheme sounds insane and one is amazed at the Council of a great English City adopting such shameless vandalism as its policy.

The Conway Valley is one of the most important tourist centres in Wales. People come there from far and wide, attracted by the beauty of the river and mountains and by the fine fishing to be had there, which, if this scheme goes through, is likely to be ruined along the whole length of the river. It needs little imagination to realise the disastrous effect upon the beauty, and therefore the prosperity, of the district which the drying up of the glorious Afon Conwy would have, with its famous falls carrying little more water than a wayside pipe.

THE ALLEGED LOCAL BENEFITS.

THE credit items which apologists for the plan place against its huge loss to Wales are few and slight. There are none at all in Caernarfonshire and Denbighshire, but in Merioneth they are able to speak of the benefit to the County rates and the **employment given,** temporarily during the construction period to some hundreds and permanently to "about twenty" people. Almost any atrocity can be justified in Wales, because of her past suffering, on the ground that it gives employment; but in this case the loss of employment to farmers and others—possibly a large number of railwaymen and quarrymen among them—far outweighs the work given by the complete scheme to "about twenty", who would almost certainly be brought in, as in Llyn Fyrnwy, from Liverpool.

The water is, of course, taken for nothing, but **rates** are paid on the installations. They amount annually in the case of Llyn Fyrnwy to £33,000, or rather less than one-thirtieth of the income the City gets from the water. In Merioneth they would be much less than this, for the main installation on which rates are paid in Montgomeryshire is the pipe-line. In Merioneth there is to be no pipe-line: the water is to run from the Tryweryn to the Dee, where it will be collected by Liverpool somewhere West of Chester.

In any case, a gain to the rates will be balanced by a reduction in the exchequer equalisation grant, so that there is no perceptible advantage to the County's financial position. Even if the financial benefits were considerable, how are they to be measured against the loss of Welsh homes? Who is to say how much a community in Penllyn is worth to Wales? Talk of rateable values, even if they were greatly affected by the scheme, would leave unchanged the resistance of those who are concerned in the first place in this matter with other values.

The fact that three miles of the present **railway line** between Bala and Ffestiniog would have to be re-laid and re-graded could lead to very serious consequences for those employed on it. In fact it has already caused a crisis of confidence; the mere suggestion that this is necessary has bred a feeling of insecurity among the ninety railwaymen involved. The Transport Commission has been non-committal

Section of the Bala—Ffestiniog railway as it runs through Cwm Tryweryn.

in its replies to inquiries about its reaction to the proposal. In recent years many branch lines have been closed in Wales, and the intention is to close more. There is more than a possibility that the necessity for relaying a part of this line would be made the pretext for closing the whole of it, which would throw out of employment more than four times the number to be permanently employed by the Liverpool Corporation.

Near this line, and dependent upon it in more than one way, is the Arenig **Granite Quarry,** which employs thirty men. Should the reservoir scheme lead to the closure of the line, this quarry would be placed in jeopardy, and might find it difficult to continue. Even if it did continue, the number employed would be substantially reduced.

THE PRICE OF LACK OF LIBERTY.

No Welshman can feel happy about the position of his country when it is possible for any body outside Wales, which can command enough financial credit, to decide to take Welsh land and resources regardless of the social and economic

effect of its decision in Wales, and subsequently obtain legal confirmation of its initiative. This is part of the crippling penalty paid by a nation without a government. *Had Wales her Government, Liverpool would have had to negotiate with a responsible Welsh body for the resources it required. A unilateral decision to take Welsh land would be as unthinkable as it would be for an English authority to walk into Ireland and take a valuable part of the Gaeltacht.*

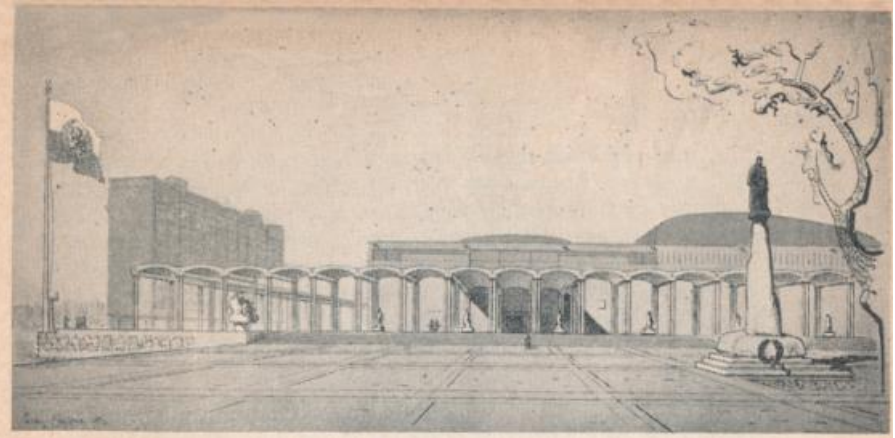
As things are, Liverpool makes its decision without consulting anyone in the country affected, and since it is a compact and wealthy authority, it has good reason to think that it can force it through.

There is always in these cases a great parade of legality and some show of impartiality in a public inquiry or parliamentary discussion. Merioneth had experience of this impartiality a few years ago in the lengthy public inquiry into the seizure by the War Office of land near Trawsfynydd. The fact that the evidence was, with one exception, wholly against the taking of the land in no way affected the result. An English public authority can be sure of obtaining Government approval for an action of this kind in Wales unless the Government fears the consequences of angering the Welsh too much. *In no case has there been an indication that it allows concern for the welfare of Wales to sway its judgment.*

Those who try to defend the Welsh heritage have, from the nature of things, a far more difficult task than those who have the initiative in attack. Organised marauders have throughout history had an easy time against scattered defenders. Being continually on the defensive, forced to react to the aggression of others who have the power of initiative because they have an organised government, whether local or national or purely commercial—this is dispiriting to the Welsh. The task of welding, without financial resources, scattered and disparate elements into an organised defence is an unenviable one.

THE POLITICAL LESSON.

Is this kind of thing to continue indefinitely? The answer seems to be that it will be attempted as long as the Welsh nation has no national freedom. Today she has only



An artist's impression of the Parliament House which will house the Government of Wales.

the freedom to protest, the freedom of a weak organism to recoil from the hostile interference of others, but none to take the initiative, to act for herself, to make her own choice.

As long as Wales remains in this condition, without responsibility for her own government, so long will she continue to be the object of others' actions, at the mercy of events over which she has no control, until her shuddering reactions fade and cease altogether. The Welsh problem will then be finally solved; Wales will be the name of an English peninsula, popular as a playground for the masses, useful for its reservoirs, forests, artillery ranges and bombing grounds and sustaining the Midlands with its coal, steel and cheap electric power. But of the nation which had such great possibilities, there will be no more than a memory. This is the solution to which so many present tendencies point and for which many earnestly hope.

Working against it, however, there are strong, vital and creative elements in the nation's life, whose will to live is indomitable. They can see the political significance of the present conflict, which cannot fail to add fuel to the fires of their campaign for national freedom. They will readily admit that as long as Wales has no national status, Liverpool's decision is natural, and of course perfectly legal. If the conflict illuminates for Welshmen the shame of their nation's lack of status, these men believe that it will have performed a valuable service.

Since the time when Liverpool last took a Welsh valley, although Wales has not yet won self-government, there has been a notable development of her national consciousness, and this has bred amongst Welshmen a quicker sense of responsibility for their great heritage. There is no longer anyone in Wales who is not aware that the Welsh are a nation and that Wales is her homeland. This must now be made clear to all who have designs on the homeland. The integrity of Wales must be respected.

By the strength of enlightened patriotism and a complete acceptance of our responsibility for Welsh life, we must today, even when Wales has no government, compel for her the respect that she will enjoy when self-governing. The days when anyone who had the money or power to take large parts of her territory or resources for purposes inimical to her—those days are gone, and it must be shown that this has happened for the last time. To do that, Liverpool must be made to abandon this scheme completely.

HOW THE WELSH HEARD.

A FEATURE of Liverpool's attitude to Wales in the matter has been its lack of candour. The Welsh people were not told by the Council of its intentions but were left to infer from reports of engineers at work in Cwm Tryweryn in the Spring of 1955 that something big was afoot. Nothing was heard from Liverpool until it was able to confront Wales in December with the complete scheme, after rejecting the much smaller Dolanog plan on account of its inadequacy and high cost.

Plaid Cymru had made it clear at the Llanuwchllyn rally on September 25th, 1955, that it would oppose a unilateral Liverpool decision to take Welsh land and resources wherever they might be. At this time the Dolanog scheme alone was under discussion, but the anger of Liverpool's reaction to the nationalist statement, which evoked the only official statement on behalf of the Corporation to date, strongly suggested that it had a different plan in mind.

When this was publicly admitted some months later, those who live in the farms to be drowned read for the first time in the press of their intended fate, and there was no doubt about the

strength of the opposition, both local and national. Locally, the farmers involved barred, when they could, the engineers and surveyors from their land, and made their work difficult. They put their names with striking unity to a statement expressing uncompromising opposition. They established their Defence Fund, contributed liberally to it, and took the initiative in forming a national Tryweryn Defence Committee, to which representatives have been elected by public bodies directly concerned, such as the County Councils. Apart from the Councils, the Joint Advisory National Park Committee for Snowdonia and the Dee and Clwyd Rivers Board have expressed their opposition, as have great numbers of cultural, religious and political bodies both in and outside Wales.

The morning after Liverpool published its plan, the Welsh reaction was summed up in an editorial article in *The Western Mail*, the only morning paper published in Wales, and one which is strongly Conservative in politics.

> "By transferring their water project from Dolanog to Tryweryn Valley Liverpool Corporation have shown that they fail completely to understand the nature of Welsh opposition to their schemes to dam Welsh valleys . . ."
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> "Our view of the Dolanog scheme was that it was not permissible for representatives of English cities that needed water to roam about in North Wales, fix on a valley, and say 'This will do.' That view holds for Ann Griffiths' valley, Bob Roberts' valley, or any other valley as long as it is in Wales . . ."
>
> "The handing over a large areas of land to distant cities offends local sentiment and flouts the inhabitants' natural and proper claim to a say in the development of their own countryside.

WELSH DEPUTATION IS REFUSED HEARING.

ONE of the first actions of the National Defence Committee was to ask the Liverpool Council to accept a strong and representative deputation from Wales which would put before it the Welsh case. In the view of the Committee the matter had been kept so quiet by the Council that the people of Liverpool themselves had not had an opportunity to consider it. Things were being done in their name which threatened to embitter the relations, hitherto most amicable, between their City and Wales; and yet since they were unaware of what was happening, their responsibilitity for it was only formal.

It appears that letters, articles and reports on the matter in *The Liverpool Daily Post*, the main part of whose circulation is in Wales, have not been allowed to appear in the Liverpool editions on the ground that they are of interest only to Welsh people.

There was, therefore, good reason for requesting the Liverpool Council to accept the deputation. The request was refused. The Town Clerk stated that though the Water Committee would be willing to meet the deputation, the Council itself had not received one for some years, and its sessions dealing with important local matters were, said the Clerk, often long.

This rebuff, which implied that Welsh opinion of the Tryweryn scheme was of small importance in comparison with local Liverpool affairs—too slight to justify giving half an hour of the Council's time to consider it—this might have driven the Defence Committee to lose all patience. But instead, it wrote again to the Council, explaining why a meeting with it, a body which meets in public and with whom the final decision lay, would alone be of value, and again urged it to accept a national Welsh deputation. Again it was refused.

So that the authority which has gratuitously put Welshmen to such trouble and cost to defend what is theirs, refuses even to listen to their case.

It remains to be seen whether the refusal was motivated by an arrogant confidence in the City's power to force the scheme through regardless of Welsh opinion, and without condescending to go through the motions of considering it; or whether it was inspired by a fear of the consequences of allowing the Council and people of Liverpool to hear the Welsh case.

HAS LIVERPOOL AN ALTERNATIVE?

WALES is a small country whose language and way of life are threatened with extinction. England is a country, ten times her area, whose language and life are in no peril. Liverpool is an English City. It could and should find supplies in England.

To suggest to it where it can find them is not our concern, but by pointing out that sources do exist we avoid the charge that we would leave Liverpool waterless. The initiative shown by the City is highly commendable, even if the water will be used mainly for re-sale. Our concern is with the defence of Wales.

There are great untapped resources in Cumberland and Westmoreland, where the water of many natural lakes is used by no English authority. Manchester has found a plentiful supply there, and although it has refused to co-operate with Liverpool in sharing this, the utilitarian possibilities of the district are far from exhausted. Or can it be that in England literary associations and natural beauty are allowed to come between the City and its natural ambitions? If so, there are other valleys where, in collecting water for industry, no homes, no language, no culture need be destroyed, and whose exploitation will in no way imperil the economic future of England. Or again, the great accomplishment of London, which gets its water from the Thames, might be emulated.

WHY INSIST ON WALES?

If there are many alternative possibilities in England why does Liverpool insist on getting its water from Wales? The answer has been given quite openly by its own spokesmen. *They come to Wales not because water is unavailable elsewhere but because they can get it more cheaply in this way. It is purely a matter of business, of profits.*

The profit on water obtained in England would be less than that which can be made on Welsh water. More money would have to be borrowed, more interest paid.

The issue is not whether Liverpool is to get more water, but how cheaply it is to get it. What must be weighed against the huge social and economic loss to Wales is the state of this particular account in Liverpool Corporation's books. For Welshmen, the question is whether they think the territory, community and future prospects of their own land well sacrificed in order to add some pounds to Liverpool's water profits.

END WATER ANARCHY.

ALREADY there is competition for the possession of fresh water resources and its increase must be expected in future years. Local authorities of all sizes throughout the country, as well as industrial concerns, are looking for supplies, and there is no guarantee that in the ensuing free for all the water which exists will be put to the best uses or that each authority or concern will get fair play. In Wales the fact that the questions of how and by whom the water will be exploited is so intimately bound up with the social and economic future of the country, gives and added impetus to the demand for co-ordinated control of Welsh water.

There is urgent need for a Wales Water Board in which powers are vested comparable with those excercised in its own field by the Wales Gas Board. *To fulfil its purpose, this Board must be endowed with authority to ensure that this great resource is used in the best interests of Wales. Merely to give it an advisory capacity would rob it of any potential value.* We have long experience of the exasperating futility of advisory councils or committees and from it we can deduce that such a device would be of little value in dealing with water supplies. The needs of Wales call for a Board which will have full control over Welsh water and a lively concern for the effect of its exploitation on other aspects of Welsh life.

One of its first functions would be to survey Welsh resources, for today nobody knows exactly what they are. Then it will have to make some assessment of future needs in Wales. When this is done, it will be in a position to judge whether it can sell any water, and if so, how much, to bodies outside Wales.

In the meantime it must be, in the interest of Wales, a cardinal point of policy to prevent an English authority exploiting Welsh water resources. The Tryweryn threat shows how very injurious this kind of action can be to the Wales of today and tomorrow. As responsible Welshmen our concern must be as much for future generations as for the present.

> We are less children of this clime
> Than of some nation yet unborn.

Looking as we do towards a better Wales in the future than the one we have known, we have to be economical and completely responsible in our use of the natural resources which will be the raw materials of the Wales that is to be. Because both the social life of Cwm Tryweryn and the waters of the district are of such great value to the Wales of the present and of the future, Tryweryn must be saved for Wales.

TRYWERYN

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