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Wales Against Conscription

by

GWYNFOR EVANS
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EMRYS P. ROBERTS
LYNN MOSELEY

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AWAY WITH CONSCRIPTION

by Gwynfor Evans



WHY must military conscription be abolished utterly? Because it is the worst social evil of our time: for Wales an unmitigated evil. It is true that the majority of men are apathetic and that some are prepared actively to defend it, as they defended negro slavery until fairly recently. Yet the tenacity of a minority destroyed the one evil as it could overthrow the other.

Both forms of slavery are morally indefensible. The one may be for life and the other for part only of life; the one may be imposed by individual persons and the other by the State; **but be it for a day or for a lifetime no person or institution has a right to seize and use the life of another.**

Therefore it is not against conscription for two years rather than eighteen months that we take our stand, *but against the principle and the practice, whether it be for days or for years.*

It is ironical that the defence of the individual person against this unjustifiable extension of the State's powers should fall in Wales upon Plaid Cymru alone amongst political bodies, for in the past some of those who now uphold this totalitarian institution have tried to tar Welsh nationalism with the totalitarian brush. Welsh nationalists have, however, consistently and continuously stood for the limitation of the State's powers. Their nationalism has always been of the liberal and democratic category rather than of the totalitarian brand which has elevated the State to a place of complete domination.

The State's powers *must* be limited and in conscripting the lives of persons it goes beyond its lawful limits.

There have been two clearly distinct streams of nationalist thought in Europe and elsewhere, and the difference between them has centred mainly on their conception of the place of the State. One line of thinkers has held that the State is the supreme power to which all persons, institutions and societies are subordinate. These thinkers have had a great influence in England, though not as great as in Germany, Italy and Russia. The other line of thinkers insisted upon the supremacy of human personality and held that the State is essentially the servant rather than the master of the community.

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Most of the evils fathered on nationalism are attributable to the first of these doctrines of the State. It is practiced by the totalitarians of the Left as of the Right. Its adherents have been Statists rather than nationalists. Since it dominates the practice of the U.S.S.R., Communists can never effectively oppose conscription. It is of the essence of Communist practice. Imperialists cannot oppose it because it is necessary to the maintenance of the imperialist structure.

Since they are free from totalitarian tendencies and from imperialist commitments Welsh nationalists can and do stand for the freedom and dignity of the human person and against conscription in all its forms. In this they are near the heart of the Welsh tradition as exemplified in the religion, literature and ancient law of their land. The State, they say, has its legitimate claims against members of the community which it serves, but if it is to enrich the national community its rôle of servant must not be exchanged for that of master. If the State to be established in Wales is to embody the Welsh tradition, with its deep respect for human personality, it must be free of conscription. It will be difficult to build that kind of State tomorrow if Welshmen acquiesce in conscription today.

Our stand must be as unequivocal against the conscription of persons as it is against the use of violence against persons to achieve our ends. We are not fighting as animals in the jungle for mere self-survival, but for the principles which all men must some day recognise or perish. By being true to their highest principles will Wales and her national movement make a contri-bution of universal significance.

THE Conservative Party has a long association with imperialism, and as this must be based upon military power it has accepted and even welcomed military conscription. The antecedents of the Labour Party are different and a small section, particularly in Wales, has never been reconciled to militarism or conscription. Yet this was the Party which re-imposed the evil on the country in 1947 and which embarked on the huge armaments programme of which conscription was a corollary.

As freedom was the central political conception for the Liberal Party one would have expected it to have fought whole-heartedly against the servitude of conscription. But apparently there is no energy and passion left in the Party for any great cause. It must stir itself if it is not to appear as the embodiment of the worst bourgeois vices.

Unlike the Communists these Parties all pay lip-service to the conception of a limited State, but none is prepared to withstand its excesses nor to give the national community its due place. For the corollary of the doctrine that the State exists to serve the nation is the primacy of community. Man's first political allegiance is due to the nation not to the machinery which the community has evolved to serve it

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Normally there is no conflict between loyalty to nation and to the State, but there may be, particularly in a multi-national State where the State machinery is directed in the interests of the majority nation.

Conscription in Wales is just such a case. It was imposed against the will of the nation as expressed by the majority of her parliamentary representatives. Though they opposed it and asked that Wales be excepted from the measure, as the Six Counties of Northern Ireland are, the Government completely disregarded Welsh opinion and clamped conscription on the Welsh people as rigorously as if they longed to see their youth wearing this "badge of the slave" as Keir Hardie called it.

Nothing can show more clearly the extent of the subservience of the Welsh nation to the English State than the way in which this most repugnant extension of the State's powers has been forced on Wales.

The Government's oppressive procedure was followed by a series of other consequential wrongs. Welsh youth were scattered amongst non-Welsh personnel as if their two years in the Forces were to be utilised to de-nationalise them. Thoroughly Welsh-speaking areas in Wales were taken by the War Office, denuded of families, their communities destroyed, on the pretext that conscription made such action necessary.

And after training in the use of their various weapons, young Welshmen were sent to suppress national movements elsewhere. As some of these unfortunate young men found themselves in Cyprus the circle is complete when those in Wales are told that they should therefore refrain from expressing sympathy with Cypriot patriots.

There is thus a clear conflict between the claims of the State and the interests of Wales. *When loyalties to nation and State conflict a man's first loyalty is due to his nation.*

We would be craven indeed if we tamely submitted to this arrogance of the State which is the chief author of the destruction of the Welsh Nation.

We assert that it has no moral right to impose conscription upon Wales. It is an oppression which Welshmen have a right and indeed an obligation to resist. If Welsh resistance achieves success then the national movement of this small country will discover itself to be a liberating force in a far wider sphere.

The Badge of the Slave

By Dr. Tudur Jones

CONSCRIPTION in Wales is a badge of our national slavery. The Welsh people have never wanted it. No majority of Welsh M.P's has ever supported it. It has been imposed upon us against our will and in defiance of our publicly expressed wishes.

It is the result of our subjection to a foreign imperial power which believes that it knows by infallible intuition what is best for other people. It has acted, as always, upon the supposition that an English majority invariably express the true wishes of Wales. This is the much-lauded democracy to defend which young Welshmen are conscripted. It is now maintained by a government which believes that the ideals of colonial peoples are best quashed by machine-gun bullets.

End it

It is high time this piece of cynical oppression were ended and its attendant trumpery cast into the rubbish heap. There are better agents of European culture than be-medalled generals with Poona accents, and more efficient moulders of character than blaspheming sergeant-majors.

Members of conscientious objectors' tribunals have healthier things to do than to dispose in 20 minutes of matters which God had meant to deal with in the Final Judgment. The elaborate farrago of homiletics which has been devised to add a pious veneer of moral varnish to the commandeering of human beings rings hollow when "democracy", "the values of Western Civilization," "Self-determination," and "Justice" are denied in the case of Wales as well as of Cyprus.

Hypocrisy is not enough to turn imperial bayonets into Excaliburs.

Morality

But if the defenders of conscription in Wales want to talk morals, morals it will have to be. What do they say is the purpose of conscription? To defend the great traditions of freedom, of democracy and of justice. Against whom? A potential aggressor. Such as Russia? Maybe.

Before we talk of potential aggressors, let us look for a moment at real aggressors. What about England? She has absorbed Wales many centuries ago. She has spent four centuries in the task of turning Welshmen into Englishmen. The Welsh language is still proscribed officially (unlike the languages of the national constituents of the U.S.S.R.). Russia, constitutionally, is a Union of Republics, but Wales does not exist at all according to orthodox English constitutionalists.

"Ah!" we are told "if Russia conquered Wales, your workmen would be moved about like cattle!" We must yield that point—it would indeed be a tragedy to see tens of thousands of exiled Welshmen in Birmingham, London and Coventry. "And, moreover" our unionists add, "if you did not deign to serve Russian imperialist might, you would be clapped in prison." How very true! We must not have men who would rather go to prison than help the great imperialists powers!

Would we then prefer to be absorbed by Russia? Not at all. But the fact that it has learnt some of its more sinister principles from England is no justification for these principles. People living in glass houses should not tease brick-throwers. **If all the talk about democracy, justice and freedom is to be sincere, England should apply its high principles to its next-door neighbour.**

The Basis

Wales is a nation, and has the privilege of making up its own mind on questions such as these. **No other nation has the right to commandeer its manhood to help preserve the power that is slowly but very effectively destroying it.** If it would be wrong for Russia to conscript English boys, it is equally wrong for England to conscript Welsh boys.

This is an obvious moral principle. Even if the Welsh people had indicated its desire to have conscription imposed upon it in our present circumstances, the imposition would be a morally wrong act. **No nation has the right to hand over its young men for indoctrination by a foreign power—and no free country would ever dream of such a mad possibility.** But in fact Wales has shown a vigorous and continuous opposition to conscription. This makes a wrong act a tyrannous one, as well. In the name of decency, conscription in Wales should be discontinued at once.

Fair Shares

It is an insult to argue that since Welshman receive the benefits of government by the English State they should also bear their fair share of onerous and disagreeable duties. This is a most pernicious doctrine. The idea behind it is that I am indebted to the State for certain good things. Let it be put quite clearly that *whatever I receive from the State is my due—I am entitled to it.*

The State deals with justice and it must dispense to its citizens what is just—no more and no less. If I pay my N.H.S. contributions regularly I have the **right** to the benefits stated in the relevant Act of parliament. After I have received the benefits, the State may not turn upon me and say, "Look how good I have been to you, I must have your son as a soldier." When I receive what is my due I incur no new obligations.

The doctrine that we owe even our lives and the lives of our children to the State merely because it has been just towards us is to convert the State into

a god, a thing to be worshipped. It is the essence of the Fascist doctrine of the Corporate State.

That is the general principle. When we turn to Wales we have to examine, first of all, the credentials of the so-called benefits of London government, and then secondly, the justice of Conscription. There is no denying that London rule is aimed ultimately at destroying the Welsh nation as a distinct entity. The fact that London government may be good in patches does not lessen the force of this accusation. It means that the government which has sovereign authority in Wales at the moment is working to destroy Wales.

A government which does that is no government but a dangerous and sinister travesty of government. A member of a nation which is being legislated out of existence by a government cannot be expected to wax joyfully over the prospects of annihilation. So, enough of the 'benefit' of being ruled by England.

We have already shown that conscription in this context is unjust. No citizen has a moral right to promote injustice; the State certainly has no right to claim an unjust reward for dispensing justice. And only an imperialist power, like England, would have the effrontery to demand an unjust reward for dispensing injustice!

Unity

We have been concerned with the question of conscription in Wales. That, we have attempted to show, is wrong in itself. There are some of us who believe that all conscription is wrong; there are others who believe that conscription in some cases is right. But, truly, on this issue all Welshmen can come together.

None but the apologist of imperialism and totalitarianism can logically defend the continued imposition of conscription upon Wales.

Why I Objected

By Emrys P. Roberts

I AM not sure that conscription in itself is necessarily an evil thing. It represents a form of forced labour, and as such is undesirable. But taxes and national insurance are but two examples of forced financial contributions to the state economy, yet few people refuse to make such contributions. To abolish these public intrusions on private freedom would be to create anarchy, and that could never produce a reasonable society unless we could depend on the morality and public conscience of all men. As it is unlikely that this will ever be the case we must have governments which can never be an expression of true democracy or a true Christian society, but will reflect the degree to which we lack them.

Why, then, did I object to Conscription?

It seems to me that if society demands of the individual something that is contrary to his conscience, then that individual has the right to refuse to be coerced. I could not conscientiously object to conscription, even at the hands of a Whitehall government, that was directed to providing labour for building homes or schools in African or Asian countries. But I objected to that specific form of conscription to which we are now subject, and in my 'statement' to the tribunals I gave two reasons for this,—namely, my nationalism and my pacifism.

I will not deal in full with my pacifist objection, but merely note that it sprang from a realisation that material force can defend and destroy nothing but material things, and a belief in the Christian teaching that ideals and spiritual values are more important than material things, and in the Christian faith that love will eventually prove more powerful than physical force.

The important point is that many pacifists were surprised that I should have objected on nationalist grounds also, whilst many nationalists, and certainly the members of the tribunals, were almost shocked that I should have given my nationalist objection precedence over my pacifism.

Nationalism

For that is what I did,—and I still think that nationalists should object primarily on that ground, whatever other reasons for objecting they may have.

As a nationalist, I believe that Wales should have its own government and that a government in Whitehall, which is composed predominantly of men elected by another nation, should not have the power to impose conscription on Welshmen. To object to such conscription is not only

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to stand out against this state of affairs, but it also high-lights the issue and may lead others to think about it.

But that is, to some extent, a manoeuvre in political propaganda and is not entirely motivated by conscience. It is equally true that the Whitehall government should not have the power in Wales to impose taxes, to require national insurance or make sure that our children are educated,—even in a 'Welsh school'. But the line has to be drawn somewhere,—it is impossible to be entirely consistent and resist all traces of Whitehall authority. If that were done nothing could be bought for fear of purchase tax, no use could be made of modern travel facilities in view of government aid, slight as it may be, to the improvement of those facilities; one would, in fact, have to withdraw from modern society. This would be committing social suicide and would not contribute to the solution of social problems. Thus, to a certain extent, we must partake in, and contribute to, that system of which we disapprove, whilst refusing to become a part of its worst features.

Each man must decide for himself where he will make his stand; refusal to accept military conscription from the Whitehall government seemed the best place to me. I refused alternative employment, (although I should probably join an ambulance unit during a war to relieve suffering,) because such employment seemed to me to be as much a part of the over-all scheme as joining the forces, and I did not want the government to count on my being an effective unit in its schemes.

And the World

But I have been writing purely as a Welsh Nationalist, and there is as much relationship between such a person and a true nationalist as there is between those who opposed merely the rearmament of Germany and a true pacifist.

There are more important things in this world than the fate of Wales and her language and culture. The plight of mankind in every part of the world is in the balance and destruction or degradation face us all. I would gladly see the loss of the Welsh nation as a separate people if some means could be found of giving men the rights and dignity they deserve. Anyone who would rate the fate of his own nation above this is not a true nationalist. He is as selfish and narrow-minded as the imperialism against which he is protesting; his nationalism is of the type which, though seemingly innocent at present, with a little encouragement will turn into fascism and militarism, as many so-called nationalists have turned into imperialists and dictators.

I am a member of Plaid Cymru not because I am concerned primarily with Wales, but rather because I am concerned with the world. But the only way to found a satisfactory civilisation is to give each man his full rights and dignity, and that cannot be done without granting him as much responsibility for his own life as possible. That is, we should seek a true democracy, where all men can co-operate as equals in the

ordering of the community. But true democracy has many facets, and those in the Western world who claim that we achieved democracy merely because we have granted a universal franchise in political elections are either frauds or dupes.

Democracy

In fact the whole trend in the modern world, both East and West, is away from democracy. The prevalent mistake is to regard persons as parts of a state unit, rather than as units in themselves, and thus we have a policy of searching for peace by making the state as extensive and all-inclusive as possible (by the denial of self-government to various nationalities, especially those whose land lies at strategic points, and by the pressure brought to bear on satellite states).

But in a democracy each individual is a unit in his own right and a state is merely a community of such units. If this truth be realised it will be seen that for each individual to gain his full status as a human-being, the smaller the state of which he is a part, the better. It is only in a small community that the individual can exercise any real share in the government of the society: the larger the community, the more the individual becomes a member of the mass, the more remote he becomes from the seat of government and the easier it is for the ruling of the society to fall into the hands of a particular class,—whether that class be such by virtue of its leadership of a vast party (as in Russia), by virtue of its bureaucratic and administrative status (as in Britain) or by virtue of its financial power (as in America).

This is but political democracy. To make democracy complete man must also exercise his share in the control of the social and economic life of his community. For instance, the workers must control their own industries, and in as small units as possible, in order to break the industrial and financial monopolies (whether they belong to individuals or the bureaucratic state) which at present have such a large effect on our lives and over which we have so little control.

Decentralisation

I cannot deal with this point in full, but I think enough has been written to show that man cannot lead a satisfying life (the only life that will not lead him to exploit his fellow-man in the search for luxuries in a vain attempt to find mass-produced satisfaction) without the radical decentralisation of all forms of authority, so that each governing body is as near the individual as possible. This does not discount co-operation at all levels, even to a world assembly through district, national and regional assemblies. Indeed as internal peace was not established within states until the power of the barons who forced their vassals and tenants to support them was broken and political rights given to all men, so we shall lack international peace as long as the big power-blocs

force their subsidiaries and satellites to support them and until each nation is given its proper voice and vote in international discussions.

That is why a nationalist should want for all other nations what he desires for his own. The Whitehall government, perhaps unwittingly, is killing the Welsh nation, with its language and culture,—but it is doing the same for England! The English language is dying, for there are thousands of children who can speak nothing but a shoddy slang language filled with the worst Americanisms, whilst English culture is dying and Sunday newspapers, gangster films and Teddy boys are taking its place.

The great colossus of present-day government denies man his dignity because it denies him, in practice, the right to take any effective part in the controlling of his own life and of the society in which he lives.

And the problem of decentralisation is almost as urgent in England as it is in Wales.

Plaid Cymru

The problem is, in fact, world-wide. But we cannot expect a rapid, world-wide solution. We must be practical and attempt the possible, and as we are Welshmen our field of work is Wales.

Plaid Cymru recognises the need of national institutions, not excluding political institutions (for a nation is the store-house of the past and it cannot flourish except under the control of its own people, whilst it is important because man, like all living things, must maintain close connection with his roots if he is to reach proper maturity). But Plaid Cymru also places emphasis on the decentralisation of economic, industrial, agricultural and social control.

We should work for Plaid Cymru and for the preservation of the Welsh language, traditions and culture because that is the practical problem before us. But we should do so not forgetting that it is but a part of something greater,—a world-wide movement for the recognition of the dignity of the individual. We can but hope that our work and eventual success in Wales will prove a pattern and a stimulus to other peoples, whilst a free Wales will be able to make its opinions heard in international councils.

Nationalism, with its emphasis on the dignity and rights of a nation, is but a step in the right direction, and all nationalists should bear this in mind, for unless we do something worth-while with our own government when we obtain it, we might as well remain without it.

Objection

The British government, by its policies and even by its very nature, is working against this democracy and peace-seeking programme. It

is multi-national with one nation dominant; it supports large-scale and centralised finance, industry and administration; it is making man a machine. The armed forces are one of its major instruments, not only in maintaining political and financial control over other nations and in furthering thoughtless centralisation by its support of bodies such as N.A.T.O., but also, during strikes and industrial stoppages, in maintaining the absence of any real control by the workers over their trades and industries. **Anyone who joins the British forces is thus becoming an instrument in the implementation of a policy totally contrary to nationalist ideals.**

Surely the re-ordering of our civilisation so as to give man his proper rights and dignity and so to allow him to live in peace and happiness is of prime importance. That is the end to which nationalism is a step and of which it is a significant symbol and as such it is more important than pacifism, which relates merely to the type of policy that should be adopted in order to achieve this end.

Such an end is not only desirable, but also essential if we are to escape the horrors of another war. For that reason I ask all young men who are confronted with the call-up (and, as Chris Rees so rightly stressed in Llanuwchllyn, all parents and families also) to ponder over this,—*that to object to conscription as a nationalist is not merely a matter of being true to Wales, or even of being true to a wider nationalism—it is a refusal to co-operate in that process which is degrading man in every part of the globe, a process which, unless halted, can end in nothing but war.*

ARMY, NAVY or AIR FORCE?

THOUGHTS ON REGISTERING

by Lynn Moseley

ON Saturday afternoon, November 19th, 1955, being, so they tell me, a British citizen, eighteen years of age, and sane, I presented myself, in company with a fair cross-section of my local contemporaries, at the offices of Her Majesty's Ministry of Labour and National Service to register as a person liable for military service.

Unfortunately, having made reasonable progress in answering such questions as "*Are you married or single?*" I met with some difficulty in dealing with "*Army, Navy or Air Force?*" On hearing that I regarded all three with considerable apathy, the poor clerk grew quite irritable, but when I explained that I wished to register as a Conscientious Objector, he passed me on with obvious relief to a more impressive bureaucrat who was apparently kept in a back room for the express purpose of dealing with difficulties like me.

His obvious distaste was increased when I produced as my address a series of unpronounceable south Welsh place-names; nevertheless, I emerged still a free man, provisionally registered as an individual with a troubled conscience. In my hand, however, I held the greater bureaucrat's Parthian shot, a form on which I must, within fourteen days, make a statement of my reasons for objecting to serving Her Majesty.

CONSCIENCE

THIS is my problem, and this should be the problem of every young Welshman who loves his nation and his fellow men, who presents himself for registration. If

he objects to military service, on what grounds will he make his stand? If he is a Christian Pacifist, he will have his religious reasons for objecting. He will also have general rational objections to waging war. If he loves his nation and respects its honour he will also object to joining the military forces of another nation. He may object on all of these grounds, as I do; his problem then is, on which grounds will he base his statement?—should he emphasise one group?—if so, which? *Should he keep his political views discretely in the background lest they should prejudice his chances of obtaining exemption?*

Many who object on purely Christian grounds tend to look down on people whose politics as well as their religion enter into their decision, and there is even a tendency among the latter to be somewhat ashamed of their political views—as if they were separate or inferior to their religious objections.

Many do not believe in the relevance of morality to politics, or conscience to political decisions (and vice versa). It is often forgotten that conscription is a political compulsion and that one can object to the act of compulsion as well as to that which one is compelled to do. There is also a temptation to keep the political aspect in the background because it is felt that the religious one will suffice.

The answer is simple. One cannot pick and choose one's conscience—if political as well as religious views do exist then they must be included, or else one is not being honest with oneself. One's primary object should be

not to present one's conscience in the most attractive way, but to present it as honestly and as completely as one can.

OBJECTIONS

HOW then shall I go about my task of making my statement? Let me first set down my objections, religious and political, great and trivial. First, my religious objections as a Christian Pacifist:

(a) *Christ taught that evil must be met by good. He did not mean this as a vague ideal but as a guide for practical behaviour in the present world.*

(b) *The act of killing a fellow human being is never consistent with the doctrine of Christian love.*

(c) *Christ gave us a precedent of non-resistance, or rather passive resistance, to evil in His death on the Cross. This action proves that non-resistance is not a negative but a positive action that can have wide-spread results.*

(d) *Christ said that His Kingdom is not of this world. A Christian's obligations to his God are greater than his obligations to his community, and he must be prepared to sacrifice his obligations to society to serve Christ.*

My objections as a member of Plaid Cymru to joining the English government's armed forces are:

(a) *According to the United Nations Charter no nation may impress its will on another; therefore England may not impose conscription on the Welsh Nation.*

(b) *When the National Service Acts were passed, a majority of Welsh representatives (therefore by parliamentary democracy—the Welsh nation) were against it. I have therefore no obligation towards my nation to go to war in its defence—or even do certain work on its behalf for two years.*

(c) *Although I have obligations to all men my first obligations are to my nation. I am not being loyal to my nation if I become a paid servant of another national government—in spite of the fact that*

protempore my nation happens to form a political unit with that nation.

(d) *As a member of Plaid Cymru, I have no sympathy with the Government's foreign policy. I will not, therefore, render myself liable to help it in pursuing that policy.*

(e) *I can spend my two years of National Service time more constructively serving my own nation and helping her to make her own valuable contribution to further peace, than in serving the English government.*

The first group of objections is based on the doctrine of Christian Love, which leads to a personal kind of pacifism, the doctrine of non-resistance. An objection to this perhaps is that if one does not fight one is causing someone's death anyway. This problem non-objectors resolve by taking what they call "the lesser of two evils."

The lesser of two evils, however, should be that nearest to Christian teaching; in other words—non-resistance. It must be remembered that the ways of God often entail suffering and that in a way Christ's death on the cross has led to the suffering of Christian martyrs.

How then do the political arguments fit in? And are they inferior to the others?

I was once told that one could not be a Nationalist and a Christian. Many people suffer from this ignorance of what Welsh Nationalism stands for. A recent Liberal contribution to the *Western Mail* accused Plaid Cymru of basing its policy on hatred and bitterness and not love and respect for the individual. I personally have no bitterness towards the English; my politics are not anti-English but pro-Welsh. And not only am I pro-Welsh but also pro every other nation on this earth which sincerely desires peace and a semblance of sanity in the political order of the modern world.

I am a Nationalist because I love my Nation, because I wish to see it free to make its own valuable contribution to the life of the human family of nations.

I believe that Welsh Nationalism is fully compatible with all that

a Christian holds dear, its ends are the Christian's ends in the world today, peace, a happy family of Nations, and a return to the principles and traditions enshrined in our national heritage.

Let no Pacifist be ashamed of his politics; let him bear in mind the traditions of his nation, which have shown the way to resist force, by peaceful means, ever since the last days of Welsh Independence.

So now where am I? What shall I

put in my statement? I have a fortnight to make up my mind.

My beliefs are all equally honourable; they are not all equally valid in the eyes of my friends (they certainly won't be equally valid in the eyes of the Tribunal).

But what does that matter? I take my stand on my conscience. I say with Martin Luther: "It is neither safe nor honest to act against one's conscience. Here stand I; I can do no other. God help me."

The articles in this booklet were first published in "The Welsh Nation."

Send this form or a letter in the same terms to—
PLAID CYMRU, 8 QUEEN STREET, CARDIFF

PLAID CYMRU AIMS

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- 2.—To safeguard the culture, language, traditions and economic life of Wales.
- 3.—To secure for Wales the right to membership of the society of nations.

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