



TALAR WEN,
LLANGADOG.

17-10-64

Confidential

DEAR FRIEND,

television
news coverage
fighting back
small Labour majority
what we must press for
efficiency

I am sending this letter to you as one who worked very hard for Wales in the election. I appreciate the amount of work you put in and, as President of Plaid Cymru, would like to thank you very warmly.

I think I should send you some of my personal impressions of the new situation. As I am writing this the day after the results were announced, these are my first reactions, but they may be of assistance in directing our thoughts in this situation.

In general, although we had hoped for better results, we had feared that they might have been worse, except in Anglesey and Merioneth. We knew it would be a very difficult election for us, (1) because the Labour Party has regained a tremendous amount of strength ; (2) because it was very close between the two major parties in England ; (3) because the Liberals were stronger and fought more widely , (4) because of the continuance of the Radio and T.V. ban ; and (5) because the Party's own unhappy internal situation after the last election did not allow us to organise sufficient determined and effective work between elections.

Because we knew very well that we could not hope to do more than hold the votes we had already won in 1959, it was decided, months before the election, to hold a meeting in Aberystwyth shortly after the election to bring all the main party workers together in order to give direction to the work with which we must get to grips at once. (This meeting will be held at 3 p.m. on Saturday, November 7th, in Neuadd y Buarth, Aberystwyth. I hope you will be able to come.)

Circumstances were even more difficult than we had anticipated, and for the first time, apart from the very special election of 1951, our total votes went down. The explanation for this lies quite simply in T.V. This is not an excuse, but plain fact. In an article in the Western Mail a week before the election, I said that our enemies would say that the people of Wales had rejected us if we did badly, but that the truth would be that they had not even heard our case. Many of our own workers do not appreciate the position as they were out working. This election was fought under totally different circumstances from any previous election. It was fought on television.

By now, nine out of every ten homes in Wales have television. And for nearly three weeks, the election was the main subject dealt with on the screen, in the news and current affairs programmes and of course, in Party Political Broadcasts. Not once, but four or five times a night there were programmes discussing the English parties

It is well known, of course, that Plaid Cymru never once had the opportunity either before or during the election to state its case to the people of Wales. The Ban continued and was reimposed on August 20th. The Liberal candidate in Carmarthen boasts in the press that his own appearance in a broadcast for his party had trebled the support he got in the election. This was but one programme amongst a host on behalf of the Liberals, although they had only 12 candidates in Wales.

The English Parties knew what they were doing in banning us. They hoped to kill us. But .he B.B.C. and T.W.W. did something which had even more drastic effects than the Ban itself ; indeed it was so harsh that one wonders whether it was done under the influence of the English parties. They arranged their news programmes in such a way that Plaid Cymru was virtually excluded, and that on programmes which are entirely under the control of the Welsh Broadcasting Council and T.W.W. Their general news, as usual, was taken from London (there is no legal necessity, and no necessity under the Charter for them to take them at all ; it is the choice of the Welsh authorities who completely control these programmes). A great portion of these news broadcasts was given to politics, and the three English parties were given equal treatment. The Liberals had the same amount of time as the Labour Party on television in Welsh homes, and it had such coverage several times every night. It had such coverage in the topical programmes connected with the news as well as in the news itself. In consequence, in the twelve seats they were contesting in Wales, they appeared to be a powerful party on the increase ; whilst Plaid Cymru, which did not appear on the screen, appeared as an odd little party, without position or support, not important enough to be given T.V. coverage apart from an occasional question programme put on more as entertainment than anything else.

It was these programmes in every home that sustained the Liberal Party. It was not necessary for people to go to their meetings. The real election was fought on television, and all that the other parties did locally was to encourage their workers and get their supporters out to vote. This situation continued for nearly three weeks.

Plaid Cymru was not part of this real election. It did not appear before the electors in Party programmes nor in the tremendous amount of exciting election news. To make things worse,—and this suggests a malicious attitude, the Welsh authorities of the B.B.C. and T.W.W. decided to confine election news to a very small amount of time in their Welsh and English language programmes from Wales. Plaid Cymru certainly shared in the coverage that was given,—but the total time given was pitifully small to share. A high official in the B.B.C. told me that this decision was made "as there was already plenty of politics on T.V."

The Welsh authorities of the B.B.C. and T.W.W. made no attempt throughout the three weeks to ensure a balance between the four parties in Wales, even though in matters affecting programmes in Wales they are self-governing ; in Radio and T.V. matters, Wales is recognised as a national entity. As the news taken from London ignored Plaid Cymru, it was the responsibility of the Welsh authorities to redress the balance. They did not try to do so. We are taking legal advice in this matter.

The impression given by the television programmes night after night was that there were only three parties in the field. The Liberals were one of them, whilst Plaid Cymru was not in the election as far as they were concerned.

Democracy is not particularly bright in Wales, but was there ever such disgustingly undemocratic behaviour ? Freedom of speech was thrown to the winds. The only party belonging to the people of Wales was completely gagged, and as we fought in two-thirds of the Welsh seats, this flouted all democratic principles and was an insult to Wales. Naturally, the English parties in Wales were quite happy with the situation, and their leaders even tried to maintain that we enjoyed equality with them because a few of our members were allowed to answer a couple of questions on one or two programmes.

It is this situation which explains the vote in Anglesey and Merioneth where we suffered most heavily. In these two constituencies, the Liberals would have been completely out of the running but for the nightly support they got from television. In Cardigan, the Labour organisation was a complete shambles on this occasion, but their vote went up substantially ; it did not need organisation with T.V. to support it. As the contest between the English parties is fought centrally on the T.V. and in the press, it is said that the best possible candidate and the best possible organisation is worth only some 500 votes to them.

Even under these extremely favourable conditions, the Liberals lost ten thousand votes in the seven seats they contested in 1959 ; they had no candidate in the eighth. **If the Liberals had received the same treatment as Plaid Cymru they would have been completely destroyed.**

It is obvious that they have no future in Wales. They are on the way out in Cardigan, where their majority was cut from 9,000 to 2,000. Their majority dropped in Montgomery to 3,000. The Labour Government intends to establish a New Town there ; this may well lose Montgomery to the Liberals as well.

The 1964 election now belongs to the past. We must understand what happened in order to face the future intelligently and with courage. It is essential that we must move forward as a united and disciplined party. We are bound to lose some of our members ;—the old advice that we must work through the English parties is bound to be heard again, and we shall possibly be exhorted to use 'direct methods' once again. Our lot will be difficult, but it is useless to fall into a fit of self-pity. Plaid Cymru is the hope of Wales. We must make sure that we do not fall into this mistake. Remember what Gerald the Welshman said of us 800 years ago :

"In a battle we are a fierce nation in the first assault. But if that assault is withstood and a counter-attack mounted, we are easily driven into disarray and tumult. Once we have turned our backs we have no faith in reorganising our forces, merely in the speediest flight."

We might now easily find reasons for withdrawing, but they must be ignored. Yes, we have suffered a severe blow, but it must be withstood and we must fight back.

Our enemies will say it is the end, as they have said after every election campaign. They do not understand that a general election is but one incident in a continual national campaign. The campaign bears fruit in the spirit and will and the mind of the people as well as in politics. If it were not for Plaid Cymru, no mention would be made of Wales. It would die a slow death. Thanks to Plaid Cymru, Wales is not dead. Even in the tremendously difficult conditions of this election 70,000 refused to bend the knee to Baal.

If we can keep the Blaid together solidly, the present situation gives us our best opportunity ever.

An important element in the new situation is the Labour Party's failure to secure an effective majority, so that they will scarcely be able to rule for more than a year ; added to this is the Liberal's failure to add to their number of seats in both Wales and England.

But there is a Labour Government. This makes Plaid Cymru's task easier than it was under a Tory Government. No one will be able to say anymore that the cure for the problems of Wales is a Labour Government. That Government must assume the responsibility if those problems persist, and the great expectations of Labour supporters are bound to be disappointed.

It has decided to establish a New Town in Mid Wales. This is an example of the harm done to Wales and the Labour Party by Government policies. It is probable that this New Town will be established in Montgomeryshire. It is likely to be a largely English town, anglicising Mid Wales more than ever before. But it will draw people from Merioneth and Breconshire, weakening those counties. That is why their M.P.'s have been so apathetic in this matter. It is likely to do far more harm than good.

But we can ensure some important improvements through the Labour Party. We can justifiably ask that the radio and T.V. ban be raised immediately. Labour leaders have voiced their condemnation, they cannot easily refuse to act.

As the Government majority is so small, Welsh Labour M.P.'s are placed in an extremely strong position. If they are prepared to put Wales first, they can secure very great things for us. We must use whatever strength we have to urge them to do so. A great deal will be heard of this matter in the future.

We shall have to consider the best means of raising the question of a Parliament for Wales which is supported by a number of Labour Members and two Liberals. No doubt we shall co-operate with the Scots in this.

The most important thing which the government could establish at once in Wales is an Economic Development Authority with sufficient powers and finance, similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. This would be a tremendous benefit to Wales if it created conditions of balanced development. We must press continuously and strenuously for this to be done.

The conditions of Welsh Railways is a challenge to the Labour Government. It is known that Welsh Railways make a vast profit. Will the Government establish a Welsh Transport Board? Will it re-open Railways which have been closed and which are essential to the economic and social life of Wales?

We have no industrial roads in most parts of the Country. Shall we have a Central Trunk Motorway . . . one of Labour's promises in 1945—and other good roads in Gwynedd and the West.

The Government intends to establish a Water Board. Will it be allowed to sell Welsh water and invest the profits in the areas suffering from depopulation?

Will the Welsh Language be recognised as an official language? Will adequate support be given to Welsh books? Shall we, at last, have a National Theatre? These are things which we can reasonably expect in a Country three-quarters of whose M.P.'s are Labour.

A Secretary of State has already been appointed. This is an important advance, not because it will do much good—it may do more harm than good—but because the appointment removes an obstacle on the path to Self Government. If it were not for Plaid Cymru's work, a Secretary would not be appointed. Mr. James Griffiths can thank us for his job.

In the current circumstances, we must preserve an open mind on the matter of tactics avoiding inflexibility. This is not the place to enlarge on this very important point. Of the conditions making for our success, the most important under our own immediate control is an effective organisation. A substantial improvement has been seen throughout the Party in this respect, but we have a long way to go before we have the kind of organisation which will be worthy of a National Party. We depend on our members throughout the Country, on their spirit and determination. The work of our organisers is wasted if members are not determined to make their own branches and district committees fully effective. The creation of effective machinery calls for self-discipline and single mindedness. This will add considerably to our strength and influence. Thanks to your work and that of others, we have created better organisation throughout Wales than ever before. If we have another election soon, at least we have this much to start with. If the spirit is healthy and the will is strong, the finding of money for the work is not such a big problem. It must be found to defray costs and build for the future. Lack of money accounts for the main weaknesses of our organisation. The first thing is to ensure an adequate income. "It appears that they enjoy giving their life for their Country" said Gerald the Welshman. Just one per cent of each of our member's income would make us a truly effective party. Very many respond magnificently to the challenge. We must have more general response of this nature.

Many thanks once again for your great work.

Yours sincerely,

Gwynfor Evans



TALAR WEN,
LLANGADOG.

17-10-64

Cyfrinachol

ANNWYL GYFAILL,

teledu

y newyddion

taro'n ôl

mwyafrif bychan

yr hyn i bwys o amdano

effeithioldeb

Danfonaf y llythyr hwn atoch fel un a weithiodd yn galed dros Gymru yn yr etholiad cyffredinol. Gwerthfawrogir eich gwaith yn fawr ac, fel Llywydd Plaid Cymru, dymunaf ddiolch i chi yn gynnes amdano.

Meddyliais y dylwn ddanfon atoch rai sylwadau personol am y sefyllfa nwydd. Gan mai ddoe yn unig y cawsom y canlyniadau, fy adwaith gyntaf yw'r rhain, ond gallant helpu cyfeirio meddwl.

A siarad yn gyffredinol am ganlyniadau ymgais Plaid Cymru, er inni obeithio am well, ofnem y gallai fod yn waeth nag y bu, ar wahan i Fon a Meirion. Gwyddem y byddai'n etholiad anodd iawn inni, a hynny (1) *am fod y Blaid Lafur wedi ymadfer yn grif yng Nghymru*, (2) *ei bod yn dyn iawn rhwng y ddwy Blaid Fawr yn Lloegr*, (3) *fod y rhyddfrydwyr ynamlach ar y maes ac yn grifach*, (4) *fod y ban radio a theledu yn parhau*, a (5) *na chaniataodd sefyllfa fewnol anhapus y Blaid wedi'r etholiad o'r blaen waith digon penderfynol a threfnus yn ystod y pum mlynedd rhwng yr etholiadau*.

Am y gwyddem na allem ddisgwyl gwneud mwy na dal y rhan fwyaf o'r bleidlais a gawsom ym 1959, y penderfynwyd fisoeedd yn ol y cynhaliau gyfarfod yn Aberystwyth yn union wedi'r etholiad i dynnu'n prif weithwyr at ei gilydd a rhoi cyfeiriad i'r gwaith y byddai'n rhaid cydio ynddo ar unwaith. (Cynhelir y cwrdd hwn am 3 o'r gloch ar Dachwedd 7fed, yn Neuadd y Buarth, Aberystwyth).

Bu'r amgylchiadau'n anos hyd yn oed nag a ddisgwyliem, ac am y tro cyntaf erioed, ar wahan i etholiad anghyffredin 1951, y mae Plaid Cymru wedi colli tir mewn etholiad cyffredinol. Teledu sy'n esbonio's sefyllfa enbyd y cawsom ein hunain ynddi eleni. Nid esgus yw hyn ond datganiad o ffaita. Mewn erthygl yn y *Western Mail* wythnos cyn yr etholiad dywedais y daliai ein gelynion, pe caem gefnogaeth wael. fod pobl Cymru wedi gwrrthod ein hachos, ond maf'r gwir yw eu bod heb glywed ein hachos. Am eu bod allan yn gweithio yn wleidyddol, nid yw llawer o'r pobl ein hunain yn sylwedol i'r sefyllfa. Ymladdwyd yr etholiad dan amgylchiadau anhebyg i bob etholiad o'i flaen. Fe'i ymladdwyd ar deledu.

Erbyn hyn ceir teledu mewn naw cartref o bob deg yng Nghymru. Ac yn agos i dair wythnos, yr etholiad oedd y testun mawr ar y sgrin, yn y newyddion a'r rhagleni cysylltiedig a nhw, ac wrth gwrs yn rhagleni'r Pleidiau. Nid unwaith, ond pedair neu bum gwaith y noson y cafwyd y rhagleni hyn yn trafod y Pleidiau Seisnig.

Gwyddys na chafodd Plaid Cymru gyfle gymaint ag unwaith trwy gydol yr ymgrych etholiadol, na chynt, i osod ei pholisi gerbron pobl Cymru na neb arall ar deledu. Parhaodd y ban, a osodwyd o'r newydd ar Awst 20fed. Ymfrostiai ymgeisydd Rhyddfrydol Caerfyrddin yn y wasg fod ei delediad ef ar ran ei Blaid wedi trebu'r gefnogaeth iddo gan ei effeithioled. Un telcdiad oedd hwn ymhliith llawer a roddwyd ar ran y Rhyddfrydwyr gyda'u deuddeg ymgeisydd Cymreig.

Gwyddai'r Pleidiau Seisnig pa beth a wnaent wrth ein gwahar.id : gobeithien ladd Plaid Cymru. Eithr, gwnaeth y B.B.C. a T.W.W. beth a oedd yn waeth ei effaith na'r ban ; yr oedd mor fileing nes codi'r cwestiwn a wnaed ef o dan bwysau'r Pleidiau Seisnig. Sef oedd hymny, trefnau eu newyddion mewn ffordd na roddai le i Blaid Cymru, a hymny ar y sianeli sydd o dan reolaeth llwyr y Cyngor Darlledu Cymreig a T.W.W. Cymerwyd eu newyddion cyffredinol, fel arfer, o Lundain (nid oes reidrwydd cyfreithiol nac yn codi o'r Siarter i'w cymryd o gwbl : dewis yr awdurdodau Cymreig, sy'n rheoli rhaglenni'n llwyr, ydyw hyn).

Rhoddyd adran helaeth yn y newyddion hyn i wleidyddiaeth, ac ynddi cai'r tair Plaid Seisnig le cydradd a'i gilydd. Cai'r Rhyddfrydwyr yr un lle a'r Blaid Lafur ar deledu yng nghartrefi Cymru, ac fe'i cai sawl gwaith bob nos ; cai'r lle hwn yn y rhaglenni cysylltiedig a'r newyddion yn ogystal ag yn y newyddion eu hunain. Gan hymny, yn y deuddeg sedd a ymladden yng Nghymru ymddangosent fel Plaid fawr a grymus ar ei chynnnydd ; tra nad ymddangosai Plaid Cymru o gwbl —plaid fechan, od oedd hi, heb safle na chefnogaeth, yn rhy ddbiwys i roi lle ar deledu, ar wahan i ambell raglen o gwestiynau i ddifyrru pobl.

Y rhaglenni hyn ymhob cartref a gynhaliodd y Blaid Ryddfrydol. Nid oedd angen i bobl fynd i'w chyfarfodydd. Ar deledu yr ymladdwyd yr etholiad real, a'r cwbl a wna'r Pleidiau yn lleol oedd calonogi eu gweithwyr a chael eu pobl allan i bleidleisiau. Parhaodd y sefyllfa hon am bron tair wythnos.

Nid oedd Plaid Cymru'n rhan o'r etholiad real hwn. Nid ymddangosai gerbron pobl Cymru yn y rhaglenni i'r Pleidiau nag yn y newyddion gwleidyddol helaeth a chyffrous. I wneud pethau'n waeth—ac awgryma hyn falais—penderfynodd awdurdodau Cymreig y B.B.C. a T.W.W. gyfngu eitemau gwleidyddol yn eu newyddion Cymreig a Chymraeg i ychydig iawn o le. Cai'r Plaid Cymru ei rhan o'r eitemau hyn yn ddiau, ond nid oedd fawr o ddim i'w rhannu. Dywedwyd wrthyf gan swyddog uchel o'r B.B.C. eu bod yn gwneud hyn am fod "mwy na digon o newyddion gwleidyddol ar deledu yn barod !"

Ni wnaeth awdurdodau Cymreig y B.B.C. a T.W.W. yr un ymdrech trwy gydol y tair wythnos i sicrhau cytbwyssedd rhwng y pedair Plaid yng Nghymru, a hymny er bod gan Gymru ymreolaeth mewn materion perthynol i raglenni ; i amcanion radio a theledu y mae'n cael ei chydabod yn endid cenedlaethol. Gan fod y newyddion cyffredinol a gymerodd y Cyngor Darlledu Cymreig o Lundain yn anwybyddu Plaid Cymru, dyletswydd y Cyngor oedd sicrhau ffordd i adfer cymesuredd. Ni cheisiodd wneud hyn. Cymerwn farn gyfreithiol ar y sefyllfa.

Yr argraff a roddwyd gan y rhaglenni teledu nos ar ôl nos oedd mai tair Plaid yn unig oedd ar y maes. Yr oedd y Blaid Ryddfrydol yn un ohonynt, ond nid oedd Plaid Cymru yn yr etholiad.

Ni bu democrataeth yng Nghymru yn od o loyw, ond a welwyd yma erioed ymddygiad moi warthus o anemocraidd â hyn ? Aeth rhyddid llafar i'r pedwar gwynt. Yr oedd llwyr fygu'r unig blaid a berthynai i bobl Cymru, ac un a ymladdai mewn dwy o bob tair sedd, yn drais ar ryddid ac yn sen ar Gymru. Yn naturiol, bu'r Pleidiau Seisnig yng Nghymru wrth eu bodd, a chafwyd ei harweinwyr i ddweud ein bod yn mwynhau'r un rhyddid a nhw am fod ychydig o'n haelodau yn cael ateb cwestiynau mewn ambell raglen

Y sefyllfa hon a esbonia'r bleidleisias ym Môn a Meirion, lle y cawsom yr ergydion trymaf. Yn y ddwy sir hon buasai'r Rhyddfrydwyr yn llwyr allan o'r darlun onibae am y gynhaliaeth nosweithiol a roes teledu iddynt. Yng Ngheredigion, yr oedd trefniadaeth y Blaid Lafur yn draed moch y tro hwn, ond aeth ei phleidlais i fyny'n sylweddol ; nid oedd angen trefniadaeth arni gyda theledu i'w chynnal. Gan mai'n ganolog yn Llundain ar deledu ac yn y wasg ddyddiol yr ymleddir brwydr y Pleidiau Seisnig, dywedir nad yw'r drefniadaeth orau a'r ymgeisydd gorau yn werth mwy na phum cant o bleidleisiau iddynt.

Hyd yn oed o dan yr amodau tra ffafriol hyn, collodd y Rhyddfrydwyr ddeng mil o bleidleisiau yn y saith sedd a ymladdwyd ganddynt ym 1959 ; ni bu ganddynt ymgeisydd yn yr wythfed. Pe cawsai'r Rhyddfrydwyr yr un driniaeth a Phlaid Cymru cawsent eu dileu'n llwyr.

Y mae'n amlwg nad oes ddyfodol iddynt yng Nghymru. Maent er eu ffodd allan yng Ngheredigion, lle y torryd eu mwyafrif i lawr o naw mil i ddwy fil. Disgynnodd eu mwyafrif ym Maldwyn i daid mil. Yno, mae'r Llywodraeth Lafur yn bwriadu sefydlu tref newydd ; gall hyn fod yn ddigon i beri bod y Rhyddfryawyr yn colli Maldwyn hefyd.

Perthyn i'r gorffennol a wna etholiad 1964 bellach. Rhaid inni ddeall yr hyn a ddigwyddodd er mwyn **wynebu'r dyfodol** yn ddeallus a gwrol. Mae'n hanfodol inni gyd-symud fel Plaid unol a disgwybledig. Mae'n siwr y collwn rai o'n haelodau ; fe adferir yr hen gri am weithio trwy'r Pleidiau Seisnig ac effallai am weithredu "uniongyrchol." Caled yn wir yw ein rhan, ond nid oes werth mewn ymollwng i hunan-dosturi. Plaid Cymru yw goibath Cymru. Rhaid inni wyllo rhag syrthio i'r pechod parod. Cofiwch yr hyn a ddywedodd Gerallt Gymro amdanom wyth gant o flynyddoedd yn ôl :

"Wrth ymgrychu mewn brwydr, ar yr ymosod cyntaf . . . y mae'n genedl erwin dros ben. Ond os derbynir hi'n wrol, a dioddef ohoni wrth-ergyd, gyrrir hi yn hawdd iawn i anhrefn a therfysg. Cyn gynted ag y byddont wedi troi eu cefnau, nid ymddiriedant o gwbl mewn adfyddino, ond yn unig yn niogelwch ffoi."

Hawdd yw ffeindio rhesymau da dros ymgilio, ond dylem eu hamau. Derbyniason ergyd, do. Ein dyletswydd yw sefyll, a tharo'n ôl.

Bydd ein gelynnion yn dweud ei bod ar ben arnom, fel y dywedsant ar ol pob un o'n cychrheodd etholiadol. Ni ddeallant mai digwyddiad yw etholiad cyffredinol inni yng nghwrs ymgrych genedlaethol barhaol. Mae'r ymgrych yn dwyn ei ffrwyth yn ysbyrd ac ewyllys a meddwl y bobl, yn ogystal ag mewn gwleidyddiaeth. Onibae am Blaid Cymru ni byddai sôn am Gymru erbyn hyn. Byddai'n marw'n dawel. Diolch i Blaid Cymru, nid yw wedi marw. Hyd yn oed yn amgylchiadau gerwin yr etholiad hwnn cafwyd gweddill o 70,000 o wyr, "y rhai ni phlygasant eu gliniau i Baal." Codwch eich calon a daliwch ati.

Os gallwn gadw'r Blaid ynghyd yn solet, y mae'r sefyllfa bresennol yn cynnig ini'r cyfle mwyaf a gawsom erioed.

Elfennau pwysig yn y sefyllfa newydd yw methiant y Blaid Lafur i gael mwyafripholig i reoli'n gadarn am fwy na blwyddyn, a methiant y Blaid Ryddfrydol i ychwanegu dim at ei chynrychiolaeth seneddol yng Nghymru a Lloegr.

Ond y mae Llywodraeth Lafur. Gwna hyn waith Plaid Cymru yn haws nag y bu dan lywodraeth Doriaidd. Ni all neb ddweud mwy mai'r feddyginaeth i ddoluriau Cymru yw cael Llywodraeth Lafur : y mae gennym. Rhaid iddi dderbyn y cyfrifoldeb os peryr'r doluriau, ac y mae disgwyliadau eiddgar pobl Lafur yn rhwym o gael eu siomi.

Penderfynodd sefydlu tref newydd yng nghanol Cymru. Dyma enghraift o'r drwg a wneir i'r wlad ac i'r Blaid Lafur gan rai o benderfyniadau'r Llywodraeth. Mae'n debyg mai ym Maldwyn y ceir y dref newydd hon. Bydd, y mae'n fwy na phosibl, yn drefedigaeth o Saeson yn bennaf, gan Seisnigo'r canolbarth yn fwy byth. Ond bydd yn tynnu pobl o Feirionydd a Brycheiniog, gan wanhau'r siroedd hynny ; dyna paham y bu eu Haelodau Seneddol mor glaebar dros y syniad. Y tebygrwydd yw y gwna fwy lawer o ddrwg nag y gwna o les.

Ond gallwn sicrhau gwelliannau pwysig trwy Lywodraeth Lafur. Gallwn yn deg **ofyn am godi'r ban radio a theledu** ar unwaith. Mynegodd arweinwyr Llafur eu hanghymeradwyaeth ; ni allant yn hawdd wrthod ei symud.

Gan fod mwyafripholig y Llywodraeth mor fychan, **rhoddir Aelodau Seneddol Llafur Cymru** mewn safle anghyffredin o gryf. Os ydynt yn barod i roi Cymru'n gyntaf, gallant sicrhau pethaa mawr iawn iddi. Rhaid inni ddefnyddio ein nerth i'w cymhell. Clywir llawer am y sefyllfa hon yn y dyfodol.

Bydd yn rhaid inni ystyried y ffodd orau i godi cwestiwn **Senedd** i Gymru, a gefnogir gan naw A. S. Llafur a'r ddau Ryddfrydwyr. Diau y cyd-weithredwyr a'r Scotiaid i'r amcan hwn.

Y peth pwysicaf y gall Llywodraeth Lafur ei sefydlu ar unwaith yng Nghymru yw **Awdurdod Datblygu Economaidd** gyda galluoedd ac arian digonol, tebyg i Awdurdod Dyffryn Tennessee yn yr U.D. Gwnai hyn wahaniaeth mawr a llesol i fywyd Cymru pe creai amodau datblygiad cytbwys. Rhaid inni bwys o'n drwm a di-baid amdano.

Mae sefyllfa **rheilffyrdd** Cymru'n her i Lywodraeth Lafur. Gwyddys fod rheilffyrdd Cymru yn gwneud elw mawr. A sefydla'r Llywodraeth Fwrdd Trafnidiaeth i Gymru? A adfera ieilffyrdd a gaewyd, sy'n hanfodol i fywyd economaidd a chymdeithasol Cymru?

Nid oes gennym **ffyrrdd** diwydiannol yn y rhan fwyaf o'r wlad. A gawn ffodd fawr ganol trwy Gymru, un o addewidion Llafur ym 1945, a fyrdd mawr eraill yng Ngwynedd a'r Gorllewin?

Bwriedir sefydlu **Bwrdd Dŵr**. A gaiff werthu dŵr Cymru a budsoddi'r elw mawr yn y rhannau a ddiboblogwyd?

A gaiff iaith Cymru ei chyd nabod yn iaith swyddogol? A roddir cefnogaeth ddigonol i lyfrau Cymraeg? A welir o'r diwedd **Theatr Genedlaethol**? Dyma rai o'r pethau y gallwch yn deg eu disgwyd mewn gwlaid y mae dros dri-chwarter ei A.S. au'n Llafur.

Eisoes penodwyd **Ysgrifennydd** i Gymru. Mae hyn yn gam pwysig ymlaen nid o achos y gwna lles mawr—gall wneud mwy o ddrwg na llês—ond am fod y penodiad yn symud hen rwystr oddiar ffodd ymreolaeth. Onibae am waith Plaid Cymru ni phenodid Ysgrifennydd. Gall Mr. James Griffiths ddiolch inni am ei swydd.

Yn yr amgylchiadau sydd ohonynt rhaid inni gadw meddwl agored yngylch tacteg, gan osgoi anystwythder. Nid dyma'r lle i ymhelaethu ar hyn, ond y mae'n dra phwysig.

O'r amodau a benderfyna fesur ein llwyddiant, y pwysicaf o dan ein rheolaeth yw **trefniadaeth effeithiol**. Gwelwyd cryn welliant trwy'r Blaïd yn hyn o beth, ond y mae llawer i'w wneud cyn y cawn drefniadaeth deiliwng o Blaïd genedlaethol. Ar ein haelodau trwy'r wlad y dibynna hyn: ar eu hysbryd a'u penderfyniad... Ofer yw gwaith cawraeidd ein trefnyddion onid yw'r aelodau'n gosod eu bryd ar sicrhau effeithiolrwydd yn eu canghenau a'u pwylgorau rhanbarth. Mae creu peirianwaith effeithiol yn gofyn hunan-ddisgyblaeth ac ymraddiad cyson. Ychwanega hyn yn fawr at ein gallu a'n dylanwad. Crewyd trwy'r rhan fwyaf o Gymru diolch i'ch gwaith chi ac eraill, well trefniadaeth nag a welsom erioed. Os cawn etholiad buan, y mae hyn gennym. Codwn hi a gwella arni. Pan fo'r ysbyryd yn iach a'r ewyllys yn gryw nid yw ffeindio arian digonol i'r gwaith yn ormod o problem. Rhaid ei gael, i dalu costau'r gwaith ac i adeiladu'r mudiad. Prinder arian a esbonia prif wendidau ein trefniadaeth. Y peth cyntaf yw sicrhau cyllid digonol. "Tros eu gwlad," meddai Gerallt Gymro am y Cymry, "melys yr ymddengys iddynt roi eu bywyd i lawr." Byddai un rhan o gant o enillion ein haelodau yn ein cadw'n Blaïd effeithiol... Gwych yw ymateb llawer i'r angen. Gofynnwn am ymateb mwy cyffredinol.

Diolch eto am eich gwaith ardderchog chi. Bendith arno.

Yr eiddoch yn gywir.

Gwynfor Evans