

78. *Why do you want to see Wales more self-sufficient ?*

Plaid Cymru has emphasised this throughout the years. It is beneficial to have as much variety in industry and work as possible. and it is dangerous to depend on too few industries. We should make in Wales many of the commodities we now import. We should grow as much food as we can at home, for our greater physical, social and economic well-being, and in order to help the world in its greatest need. This is recognised more readily today.

And lastly, the least competition for export markets the better, because the fight for markets is so important a factor in causing wars. If external trade is to be a peaceful affair every country should use its own resources as much as possible.

79. *Are you opposed to the State ?*

We want to see a Welsh State, but it is essential to keep this instrument in its place. The State is a servant, but when its powers are increased indiscreetly, it becomes a master. Its powers must be decentralised as much as possible, by distributing responsibility widely, rather than concentrating it in the hands of a few. As part of this policy the power of local authorities can be increased, and the many societies that are part of the state can be encouraged. This is better achieved in a country that places the welfare of its people first, rather than in one that subjugates everything to military power.

80. *Why do you place so much importance on decentralisation ?*

It is Fascism that believes that the State owns the individual. Plaid Cymru maintains that the nation is a society of societies, and the State has no moral right to violate the rights of these societies. The Blaidd also rejects the belief "that the class is the natural social unit, the family, neighbourhood, country and nation being secondary". We do not believe that it is the essential nature of the State to be a handmaiden of a certain class. Because we do not believe in the totalitarianism either of the Right or Left, which crushes the individual and small communities, or in the capitalism that makes man a mere tool, we believe in the decentralisation of authority and in the distribution of property in order to strengthen their position and to safeguard the very essence of society.

(Translated from the Welsh by Meirion Lloyd Davies)

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PLAID CYMRU, 8 QUEEN STREET, CARDIFF

3RD EDITION



80

Questions & Answers

ON

Plaid Cymru

(WELSH FREEDOM PARTY)

BY

GWYNFOR EVANS

6^D.

PLAID CYMRU, 8 QUEEN STREET CARDIFF

1—PLAID CYMRU

1. *What is Plaid Cymru ? (Plaid — Party ; Cymru — Wales).*
The only independent Welsh political party ever.

2. *When was it formed ?*

In August, 1925 by a handful of Nationalists who came together for this purpose during the Pwllheli National Eisteddfod.

3. *What organisation has it ?*

Over two hundred branches, fourteen Area (Rhanbarth) Committees, and one hundred and fifty secretaries not attached to branches.

4. *Has it any publications ?*

Y Ddraig Goch has been published monthly since 1926 and the *Welsh Nation* monthly since 1932. Apart from this it has published dozens of books and pamphlets.

5. *Has it a staff ?*

Apart from the Secretary there is an Assistant Secretary, an Accountant and two assistants in the headquarters in Cardiff, a Manager-Organiser for its papers at Bangor, and an organiser "in the field."

6. *What is the Membership ?*

14,000 in 1958 and it is increasing more rapidly than ever. The membership of English parties in Wales is not known apart from the largest one, the Labour Party. It announced in 1956 that its membership in Wales was 39,000.

7. *How is it governed ?*

The governing body is its Conference which has met annually since 1926. The Executive Committee, which is elected mainly from the Rhanbarth Committees and the Conference, is responsible to the Conference.

8. *How is the Party financed ?*

Through the contributions of its members and supporters and through functions which are arranged to raise funds. The party depends to a large extent on the St. David's Day Fund.

9. *Does it receive a subsidy from any other country or body ?*

No. It is supported entirely by Welsh nationalists.

10. *What was the main aim in forming the party ?*

To save Wales, a nation which was declining, and to ensure for it full nationhood by restoring its national freedom.

2—SELF GOVERNMENT

11. *Why self government for Wales ?*

Because Wales is a nation.

12. *Has not the nation survived for centuries without its own Government ?*

Yes, but its life has been hopelessly incomplete, as can be seen by comparing Wales with small free nations. Instead of developing vigorously, it is obvious, considering the strength of the anglicising influences which permeate all aspects of life, that Wales cannot for long now maintain any form of national life, unless it obtains independence.

To give one example of this deterioration, here are the percentages of Welsh-speaking Welshmen since Wales has been incorporated into England:—

1536—almost 100 %
1800—80 %
1900—50 %
1951—29 %

13. *What harm has the English Government done to Wales ?*

If the English Government had safeguarded the welfare of Wales in all things, the claim for self government and the need for it would remain, but the government has hardly ever thought about the existence of this small nation.

The greatest damage it has ever done has been to keep from Wales the virile development it would have enjoyed had it been

free. This has harmed the life and spirit of the nation. It has done its best to uproot Welshmen from their Welsh environment, by trying to make them into Englishmen or Britishers. They have been wrenched from their traditional values and dragged into its bellicose imperialism.

The unity of Welsh society has been shattered by sucking its strength. The depression after the 1914-1918 war left Wales defenceless and many of its people had to emigrate to England ; 500,000 left Wales in the years between the Wars and this impoverished the country in all its aspects. If Wales were free then, it would have seen no more of this great evil than did the other small countries of Europe.

14. *Is Plaid Cymru anti-English ?*

There is no enmity between Welsh Nationalists and the people of England. The mission of Plaid Cymru is to stand for Wales rather than to be against any other nation.

When Wales attains its freedom we look forward to seeing a happy relationship between the two peoples. We are only opposed to the English government being the government for Wales. It must be uprooted from our country and a Welsh government responsible to the people of Wales must be substituted for it.

15. *Would every Englishman be thrown out of Wales if home rule was achieved ?*

There is no need for any Englishman living in Wales to worry, but we ask him and everyone else who comes to live in Wales to respect the way of life and the customs of our nation.

16. *Would the Welshmen who live in England have to return ?*

No, but there would be work for many of them if they wanted to return. There would be no compulsion placed upon them, any more than there is for Irishmen to return to Ireland. Although there are so many Welshmen living in London today there are more Irishmen.

17. *Would every Englishman be forced to speak Welsh ?*

Adults could not and would not be forced to learn the language. But after awakening a healthy national pride, it is hoped, through a Welsh education system, to bring up the younger generation throughout the country as Welsh-speaking Welshmen who are proud of their national inheritance.

18. *Can Wales ever hope to win its freedom from England ?*

Wales is certain to succeed if the nationalist movement becomes strong enough.

It is the policy of England, as has been stated many times recently, to ensure responsible self-government to every nation within its Empire. It has followed this policy in Asian countries and it has moved to fulfil it in countries like Nigeria.

On March 4, 1957 Plaid Cymru sent a message to the Prime Minister of Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) and on August 30, 1957 to the Prime Minister of Malaya, congratulating them on the achieving of Commonwealth status by their countries. Our task is to make England realise that Wales is a nation having the same right to freedom as every other nation.

19. *Is not Wales free already ?*

Some say that it is free because it sends 36 M.P.'s to Westminster. This gives to Wales a part in the English Parliamentary system, but it does not give it national freedom. There are 625 M.P.'s in Westminster, the vast majority of them Englishmen, and they, through their parties, rule. Wales cannot obtain anything it needs without the consent of England, its government and parties. Wales itself cannot make any effective choice, neither can it initiate anything which calls for political action ; and all the important actions which deal with society today are political.

Wales has no responsibility therefore over its life ; it is not free. Here are four examples out of many :

(a). Wales has attempted to get its language recognised as an official language in Wales, and although a petition with half a million signatures was organised, this failed.

(b). The great majority of Welsh M.P.'s opposed conscription in time of peace but this was imposed in Wales in the same way as if it was keenly in favour of it.

(c). The majority of Welsh people voted for a Labour government but they have a Conservative one.

(d). Twenty five Welsh M.P.'s voted against the Liverpool Bill to drown Cwm Tryweryn and so to take immense Welsh water resources to England ; not one Welsh M.P. voted for the Bill ; yet it was passed by the London Parliament.

A democratic nation is not free unless it enjoys responsible self-government.

20. *Do you see any advantage in appointing a Secretary of State for Wales ?*

The setting up of this post could hasten the establishment of a Welsh Civil Service, and in consequence it would add to administrative devolution. That is the only important advantage that would be achieved. It would hardly improve English rule in Wales although the Secretary would have a seat in the Cabinet. It could damage the effectiveness of government by slowing essential improvements because the decisions of many government departments would have to go through one man.

It would not contribute towards self-government as all power to legislate concerning Wales would remain in London. Every important decision would be made there. The great need of Wales is self-government. But despite this, because the proposal of a Secretary of State has been used for 80 years to hinder self-government, one must be appointed in order to get rid of the excuse.

21. *How would free Wales defend itself in time of war ?*

This is a matter for the free Wales to decide for itself. It is possible that it would choose the conventional way of armaments, although there is an alternative. It is fairly certain, however, that it would not spend such a high percentage of its revenue on armaments as imperialist England. The position of Wales would be similar to that of the other small Northern European countries.

Without imperial obligations, Wales could play its part in any co-operative defence scheme embarked upon by the other free nations. What is essential is for Wales to have the right to decide its own policy and to be able to choose neutrality, if it wishes, without being dragged into every war that England engages in.

22. *Would there be soldiers on the boundary between Wales and England, and would there be passports and customs ?*

There are no soldiers on the 3,000-mile boundary between Canada and the U.S.A. ; none would be needed between Wales and England. Passports are not required for travel between Ireland and England ; neither would they be required between Wales and England. If the Welsh Government raised customs dues on some imported goods in order to obtain revenue or to defend young industries, the minor discomfort would be a small price to pay for the benefits of freedom. The Benelux countries have shown that it is possible to obtain these benefits without raising customs dues and violating freedom.

23. *What is your attitude towards an European Common Market ?*

We welcome this development, but it is essential for Wales to take part in it as a national entity. Without a government to safeguard it, many Welsh industries could be damaged through the scheme without any compensating gain.

3—THE ENGLISH PARTIES AND WALES

24. *Why do you not entrust the task of winning home rule to the old parties ?*

The English parties *could not save* Wales and they will not try in earnest. Wales must save itself through its own efforts. For this purpose all the forces which are at work to preserve the Welsh nation must be concentrated in one party. The main task lies in Wales itself, within the nation. It is there that the re-awakening and the strengthening of will power, which is essential for freedom, must take place. The work of restoring the life of a nation and creating a state is an immense one, and it is folly to believe that this can be achieved by adding a Welsh addenda to the tail of the policy of an alien party.

25. *Would it not be fairer to call the other parties British ones ?*

Only 5% of the population of Britain lives in Wales. The vast majority of the members of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties are English. These parties grew in answer to English conditions and needs, and it is the needs of England now that determine their policies.

Their headquarters are in England and they are controlled from there. Their sympathies lie with England and their knowledge is of England. Most of their members and leaders know next to nothing about our small nation, and they have no sympathy with it. They are English institutions.

Their hold on Wales depends on Welshmen continuing to think politically like Englishmen. No institutions do more to anglicise Wales and to make it culturally as well as politically a part of England.

26. *Do not the English parties seek home rule for Wales ?*

Home rule for Wales has been on the programme of the Liberal, Communist and Labour Parties.

The Liberal Party did nothing about it when they had the opportunity.

The Labour Party had the latest opportunity, but it confined its zeal for home rule for the peoples of Asia and Africa. For fifty years Welshmen worked within the Labour Party trying to get it to secure home rule for Wales. Its final answer was in 1954 when the Annual Conference in Scarborough rejected all measures to win home rule for Wales.

When Welshmen in these parties obtained important posts in the government, they did not use their opportunities to further Welsh interests. On the contrary, Wales lost their services more completely.

27. *Would it not be more effective for Welshmen to work within an English party ?*

That is what happened in the past but with no success. The freedom of a nation has never been recognised unless that nation has had a strong enough nationalist movement to force respect. The way to convince Westminster and Whitehall that there is no need to change the regime of Wales is to strengthen the hold of the English parties on it.

28. *Is there any difference between the English Labour Party and similar parties in Denmark or New Zealand which are commended by you ?*

Every Labour Party in these small countries is a nationalist party which supports the freedom and welfare of its own nation, unlike the Labour Party in Wales. They reject state socialism and they are anti-militarist and anti-imperialist.

29. *Would there be other parties in Free Wales ?*

Yes. The first thing would be to hold a general election for the country to choose the party it wants to form a government. Although it is likely that the present parties would continue, in name at least, every party would of course be a Welsh party thinking of Wales first and framing its policy for its sake. This would alter the character of the present parties considerably. Without a large Conservative Party to keep it together, it is likely that the Labour Party in Wales would split into two or three parties.

30. *Would Plaid Cymru remain in existence if home rule was achieved ?*

Yes, because it has a social, economic and cultural policy which it considers essential for the full development of Wales.

4—MEANS OF WINNING HOME RULE

31. *If members of Plaid Cymru were elected, would they go to Westminster ?*

Yes. They would use every opportunity to further Welsh interests and they would use Parliament as a platform to gain support for their policies. But they would be bound to refuse any office offered to them by the English government, because a Welsh member who accepts a post forfeits his freedom to work effectively for Wales.

32. *What would be the use of electing one Nationalist to Parliament ?*

A similar question was asked when the first Labour candidates stood and when Keir Hardie was elected for Merthyr Tydfil in 1900—the only Labour M.P. at Westminster. His election had an impact on the government and on the Labour movement. A similar double impact can be expected when the first Welsh Nationalist is elected. It would give a new heart to Welshmen who advocate a full national life for Wales and it would prove to the government that Wales is determined in its efforts to be a free country again. The English government well understands these signs of national awakening in the countries under its authority, and they have an obvious influence on its policy.

33. *Would Plaid Cymru resort to force to reach its objective ?*

It has pledged itself to eschew methods of armed violence. It works constitutionally, aiming to win the support of Wales for its policy. It uses the powers already in the hands of Welshmen, such as local councils, and candidates are put forward in Parliamentary elections.

The party aims at awakening in Wales the will to live as a nation, believing that Wales will discover a way of compelling the English government to acknowledge it as a nation when we ourselves are convinced of the justice of this belief. A determined nation can reach its aim without causing violence to the personality of its opposers, but its own members should be prepared to suffer for its sake.

34. *Do the Welsh people want self-government ?*

The right and duty of a nation to rule itself does not depend on the wishes of its people in any one era of its history. If the will to be free is not alive in a nation, then it must be awakened ; if the people's determination to accept responsibility for its life is dead, then it must be revived.

There is a widespread desire for self-government in Wales but it is only in the ranks of Plaid Cymru that there is resolute determination. When a petition was arranged in 1954-56 to ask the House of Commons to recognise Wales' claim to its own Parliament, the petition was set before about 310,000 people; of these 240,000 signed, about 80%. No neighbourhood was chosen because of its support; the petition was taken wherever the workers could go. An example is the Rhondda Valley where 34,000 signatures were secured. It is fair to estimate that about 80% of the people of Wales desire a Parliament for Wales. The need is to translate the desire into determination that will be effective politically.

35. *Has Plaid Cymru had any impact on the policy of the English Government?*

A quotation from the work of one of the opponents of Plaid Cymru is an adequate answer. Mr. Ivor Bulmer Thomas, a Tory who was Labour M.P. until 1950, says in his book "The Party System in Great Britain":

"The determined agitation of the Welsh Nationalists has not been without its effects. It has not won them seats at Westminster, but it has been a factor in compelling the other parties to recognise Wales as a nation and to propose political machinery appropriate to that recognition."

It is no exaggeration to say that there would be no mention of Wales today in politics were it not for the work of Plaid Cymru. There is a Council, a Minister for Welsh Affairs, a day a year at Westminster, but the main reason for granting these petty concessions is to stem the growth of the nationalist movement.

5—THE LANGUAGE

36. *Will Welsh be the language of the Welsh Parliament and of the courts?*

The present situation in Wales must be acknowledged; as the majority cannot speak Welsh, English would remain an official language and the right for it to be spoken in the official institutions would be maintained. But Welsh would also be recognised as an official language, and would be the national language, and every Welshman would have the right to speak Welsh in Parliament and in courts of law.

37. *Is it practicable to have more than one official language?*

In many countries of the Commonwealth there is more than one official language. Canada and South Africa are examples. In Switzerland there are four.

38. *Is there a hope of making Wales more Welsh under the present system?*

Where there's a will there's a way. Here are three essentials in the education system:—teaching Welsh effectively as a second language to non-Welsh-speaking children, together with Welsh history, geography, folk songs and dances; accelerating the growth of Welsh-medium schools, grammar and secondary-modern as well as elementary schools; and establishing Welsh Colleges, one in the University and Teachers' Training Colleges.

39. *Is English used by Plaid Cymru?*

Much of its work in the non-Welsh-speaking parts of Wales is carried on through the medium of English and much of its literature is published in English. Every effort is made to keep its main institutions—the Conference and Summer School—and national meetings, bilingual. Many English people as well as non-Welsh-speaking Welshmen are members of the party, and care is taken never to refer to non-Welsh-speaking Welshmen as Englishmen.

6—NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

40. *What is the main feature of Welsh Nationalism?*

The desire to develop all the resources of the Welsh society to the full—morally, materially and culturally. This would give the best opportunity to every Welshman to live a full life.

41. *Is not Welsh Nationalism narrow?*

Its aim is to free Wales so that it can take its place as a nation in the ranks of the free nations of the world. That would be broadening one's outlook. Today the life of Wales is characterised by narrowness, as Wales is an insignificant fringe province of another country.

42. *Is not internationalism needed today, and not nationalism?*

One does not exclude the other. On the contrary, it is a condition of virile internationalism that the nations of the world are free to co-operate. Without its freedom, Wales cannot co-operate with other nations; neither can it contribute as a nation to international affairs. It is the wish of the genuine internationalist to see every country, and Wales in their midst, free to live its own life. The great enemy of nationalism is imperialism, and the person who wants to keep Wales captive is an imperialist.

43. *Does nationalism cause wars ?*

It has done in the past, just as Christianity did. But for generations we have seen the Great Powers clashing against each other whilst pursuing their imperialistic policies and dragging the small nations into the ensuing wars. It is the power politics of the Great Powers that leads to wars today. The small nations could not indulge in such policies even if they wanted to, and they keenly support every attempt to establish a just and permanent peace. In the last war the only nations that succeeded in remaining neutral, and so reducing the destruction, were small countries like Ireland, Switzerland, Portugal and Sweden. Wales had no choice.

44. *Is not Nationalism a dangerous force which belongs to the past ?*

Nationalism is, of course, a great force, but it does not belong to the past. It is the greatest *political* force in the world today, and it lies at the root of the gigantic revolution which is affecting the lives of hundreds of millions of people. To these people, nationalism has been the means of achieving freedom, dignity and new opportunities. The people of Europe, Asia and Africa, and indeed of all the world, would laugh at the suggestion that nationalism is a force which belongs to the past.

Nationalism can be a dangerous force in just the same way as every other force. Men are dangerous beings with a deep-seated tendency towards evil. The most beneficial powers and institutions are misused by them.

But nationalism is coloured by the life of the nation. Its character is determined by the history, traditions and values of each nation. The nature of Welsh nationalism is shaped by the values embodied in the traditions of Wales. These values are bulwarks which can channel the force of nationalism into constructive and beneficial acts.

45. *Do you want to Balkanise Wales ?*

Balkanising is one of the *slogans* that is thrown at those who wish to see every country free. The suggestion is that it is wrong to divide states which contain many nations, like the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Turkey of the past (which between them contained most of the Balkans) and Russia and Britain today. These have always been powerful states—the Big Powers—and the world will be nearer to a peaceful and just stability when the historical units which they contain are free to live their own lives.

It would be easier to get the small units to work together peaceably than the big heavily armed states.

We notice that many nations have a *number* of governments. Almost every Commonwealth country has a federal constitution. In the U.S.A., each of the 49 states has its own senate and government. Even in a small country like Switzerland there are 22 parliaments apart from the central government. No mention is ever made of the "Balkanising" of these countries.

46. *Is not Wales too small to be a free country ?*

Perhaps the greatest advantage Wales has as regards good government is that it is a small nation. In a small nation the problems are small enough to be considered in detail and then solved. The most successful countries in Europe today are the small ones, and the secret of their success is that they are small.

47. *Is your nationalism Christian ?*

It is God's will for the world, as we understand it, that every nation should live its own free life fully. The nation is rooted so deeply in history that we can say that it is part of divine ordinance. Political subjection, by preventing national progress, impoverishes the contribution that a nation should make to its people and to mankind.

48. *What position does Plaid Cymru want to attain for the Welsh nation ?*

It has been stated from the outset that our aim is freedom and not independence. We have rejected the idea of national sovereignty as immoral.

Plaid Cymru seeks that degree of freedom for Wales which is essential to safeguard the conditions of life of its people. This can be done without breaking every connection with England and the Crown. When the full freedom of a nation within the Commonwealth is recognised, it is called a Dominion. We seek Dominion status, or Commonwealth status as it is often called, for Wales.

49. *Does Commonwealth status fetter a nation ?*

There are no obligations in this status that are not accepted voluntarily by the nation. There is an essential difference between the Commonwealth and the Empire. The Empire consists of subjected nations under England's yoke. The Commonwealth is a society of free and equal nations, all of which voluntarily

recognise their relationship to each other. Of course, the equality is of rights and not of skill and wealth. Every nation has the right to play its part in international affairs, to co-operate in international institutions, and to remain neutral in wartime if it so desires.

50. *Would the Crown be recognised ?*

The Crown is the symbol which unites the countries of the Commonwealth. When Wales enjoys Commonwealth status, the Queen will come to Wales not as the Queen of England but as the Queen of Wales, and she would be received by the Welsh Government. Wales would be free to change the system as it desired.

51. *Would not an arrangement similar to that of Northern Ireland be more suitable for Wales ?*

Plaid Cymru has co-operated with others in a movement to secure for Wales a Parliament which would have only a little more power than that of Northern Ireland. But we could not be content with this, except as a step towards full freedom. Despite the fact that Northern Ireland has important legislative powers granted to it by London, it is still constitutionally a part of England. The Stormont (Northern Ireland Parliament) has but little freedom to follow its own social policies, it has very little financial freedom and it has no control over its relationship with other countries.

Although a Parliament like the Stormont would be a great benefit to Wales a Welsh Nationalist cannot be satisfied with it. The nationalist insists on full freedom for Wales to rule itself and to play its part in international affairs, with a seat in any society of nations which is formed by the free nations.

52. *Will Monmouthshire be included in the free Wales ?*

Yes, of course. Monmouthshire has always been a part of Wales. and it is today, despite the meaningless phrase 'Wales and Monmouthshire'. Some confusion arose because in the Act of Union the county was placed in the Oxford circuit for the purpose of administering the law in the courts. This was merely a matter of convenience. The same act placed Cheshire in the North Wales circuit, and for the same reason. No one, however, has held that this makes Cheshire a part of Wales. The county of Islwyn—and Aneurin Bevan—is an important part of the nation which stretches from Anglesey to Monmouth.

8—THE WELSH PARLIAMENT

53. *Where would the Welsh Parliament be located ?*

No town in Wales has the right to be a capital city because it at once is the administrative centre, is Welsh, is convenient, is the home of national institutions and caters for literateurs, painters and architects, giving the nation a lead in cultural matters. Wales has never possessed such a town.

What is required at the moment is an administrative centre. For generations Government offices have been located in only one Welsh town, and there is room for extension. It is in only one town that the Civil Service has any tradition ; and that town is Cardiff. By recognising Cardiff as the administrative centre we are only acknowledging what is a fact. By now it has been recognised by the government as the capital city of Wales. The Welsh Parliament will meet here, at least to begin with.

After obtaining self government, the position could be reviewed if the need arises. As Wales will have the resources of government, it will be possible to consider whether a new capital city should be built in central Wales.

54. *How many Houses would there be in the Parliament ?*

Two. The members of one House—say a hundred—would be elected to represent the counties, with at least four members for every county. The members of the second House could be chosen by the County Councils, the University Colleges, the professions, etc. Fair representation for every region would be guaranteed and the services of those who could make a special contribution to the legislature would be ensured.

55. *Would a Parliament be a burden to Wales ?*

A Parliament is an essential instrument for the development of a democratic nation, and to enable it to govern itself as it wishes. It is no more a burden than are wings to the skylark.

No country that has won this freedom is willing to relinquish it. *No country has ever complained that it is a burden and each one would strive to the utmost to defend it.*

In Switzerland, a comparatively poor country in resources with a population of barely four million, there is a central Parliament and 22 regional Parliaments—23 Parliaments in a country which is poorer in its natural resources than Wales and with a population which is not much bigger. Switzerland is proud of its 'burdens' and the country is praised by every observer for its healthy democracy and high standard of living.

56. *Because Wales is so inexperienced, should it not move slowly towards the goal ?*

Wales is not inexperienced. It is an old nation which has enjoyed centuries of freedom in the past ; and in the last few generations it has had wide experience of Parliamentary democracy. Its people are regarded as being capable enough to taking a leading part in the work of the English and other governments. How different was the position of a country like Ceylon when it attained its freedom !

In Wales now it is not a matter of moving slowly towards self-government ; we are not moving at all. The matter has been discussed since the 1880's but in the last 70 years not a scrap of legislative authority has been transferred from London to Wales, although many less cultured nations have obtained their freedom in this period.

By now it is an urgent matter. Every year is important, *and if the matter is delayed much longer, there will be no Welsh nation.* Perhaps that is the hope of those who advise us to move slowly.

57. *Is not Wales too disunited to get home rule ?*

There is lack of unity in every country without a government. A government, more than any other *factor*, gives a country unity, by centralising and channelling its efforts. If England was deprived of its government, then we would soon see it falling into disunity. If Wales was given a government it would soon develop into a strong unit.

58. *Would not the people of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire be intolerantly anti-Welsh ?*

The inhabitants of these counties are Welsh and most of them are fervent Welshmen in many respects, although many do not speak Welsh. The movement for securing special Welsh-medium schools has made most headway in Glamorgan with the support of the Education Committee. When they get a government these people would think in terms of Wales. They would follow the work of their Parliament, they would feel anew their responsibility to it, and they would be as zealous for its success and good repute as the Welsh-speaking people in any county in the land.

The best way to deepen the Welshness of every part of the country, including Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, is to give responsibility for Wales to the people of Wales.

59. *Are there any benefits that can be achieved without a Parliament ?*

There is an urgent need to reform Welsh life in many spheres. Apart from those which have been mentioned already, here are some of the things that Plaid Cymru have tried to secure : an education system more Welsh in spirit, with Welsh-medium schools and Colleges, a Welsh radio and television Corporation, Welsh Boards for transport, electricity and coal, Welsh Trade Unions and a Welsh T.U.C., a central road for Wales and better travel facilities, and a Development Council with the right to develop Wales as an economic unit. It has attempted to keep Welsh territory for Wales, and to prevent the compulsory migration of Welsh workers. It has campaigned for a greater variety of industries in Wales, for making the tourist industry more Welsh, and for the utilisation of Wales's rich resources in Wales itself—for example the water of Tryweryn.

But without a government only a few of the institutions which strengthen a nation can be obtained. Because the conditions of life in Wales are determined by another nation, it is necessary to protest constantly against detrimental acts, when we should be active in strengthening our national life.

9—ECONOMIC

60. *Why do you insist on political freedom when economic prosperity is more important ?*

Political freedom is the road to economic prosperity in Wales. If it had its freedom, it could look after its economic life more adequately. Wales saw great economic suffering in this generation because it had no political freedom. It lost 500,000 of its people in the 20 years before the 1939-45 war.

This would not have happened, and neither would we have seen such terrible unemployment, if Wales had its own government. Even in the days of 'full employment' after the war, unemployment in Wales was twice as high as in England.

61. *Would Wales be able to maintain its standard of living under home rule ?*

After a study of the facts, it is fair to conclude that a Welsh government *could* raise the standard of living. Welsh resources per head of the population, are higher than those of the majority of Western countries, and as a small country it would be able to save much by not incurring the expenses of imperialism. In comparison with Ireland, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland, it can

be seen how exceptionally fortunate Wales is as regards its resources, and how unfortunate it is in its very inferior political status.

62. *Is not Wales too dependent on England economically for it to succeed as a free country ?*

England and Wales are inter-dependent, as are all countries. No country in the world can be entirely self-sufficient. Although it is right to aim for the highest convenient degree of self-sufficiency, thus avoiding over-dependence on the export market, complete self-sufficiency is a myth.

The right aim for Wales is—that degree of self-dependence which would make it a live stable unit. It will continue to be a market for many of England's products ; but it will pay for them all ; and it will be right for Wales to make more of those products within its own boundaries.

As it happens, England is more dependent on Wales than is Wales on England. Many parts of the English Midlands depend on Welsh raw materials to maintain their industries. Much of our coal, iron, steel, tinplate, water, electricity, slate, milk—and even our people—go to England. There will always be a demand for these products. The Welsh government would develop the market between both countries, securing fair conditions for Wales. Most probably both countries would agree on a trade agreement, in the same way as the Benelux countries did, and as other European countries have done by now in the Common Market. But it is essential for Wales to have a government to defend and promote its interests.

Because Wales is less dependent than England on imported raw materials, its economic position, when it is free, will be stronger than England's.

63. *Are there any financial statistics available ?*

Dr. Edward Nevin's report on Welsh accounts shows that the value of Welsh production ("Gross National Product") in 1956 was £785,000,000. The national product in Ireland, which is bigger than Wales as regards size and population, was £405,000,000 in 1952.

64. *How much does Wales contribute annually to the Treasury ?*

The government has made no attempt to publish the statistics so that we used to rely on an estimate of the amount. By now the Nevin Report has given us detailed statistics for the nine years

1948—56. They were published by the University of Wales Press at the end of 1957. These are the amounts that the central government received in taxes from Wales in **millions** of £'s :

1948	1950	1952	1954	1956
£157m	£167m	£186m	£194m	£220m

And these are the figures for government expenditure in Wales (apart from armament costs and the interest on the National Debt) in **millions** of pounds :

1948	1950	1952	1954	1956
£115m	£119m	£132m	£146m	£163m

After paying all the cost of government, it can be seen that a large sum remains.

65. *Would local authorities in Wales be bankrupt under self-government ?*

Every local authority pays for a considerable amount of its work through local rates that are raised by it. But it is said by some that a Welsh government would not be able to pay the local authorities the amounts they now receive in grants from London. This is the position :

In 1956 the total amount of the grants received from London towards the work of the local authorities—which includes education, roads, housing, sewerage, water, care of children and old people, health (in part), fire services, lighting and the Treasury Equalisation Grant, etc.—was £39,000,000.

From where does the money come ? In 1956 here are some of the amounts that were collected as taxes in Wales :

On tobacco	£34,000,000
On beer and wines	£17,000,000
On oils	£16,000,000
Purchase Tax	£18,000,000
Income tax and surtax	£71,000,000
Taxes on profits and capital	£13,000,000

Welsh people pay for every service given by the English Government in Wales and for a great deal more.

66. *Are there any definite facts which show the wealth of Wales ?*

Here are a few : Wales produces 26-28 million tons of coal annually ; a quarter of the pig iron output in Britain ; two-thirds of the steel plate, that is so important to industry ; 98% of the plate ; 170,000,000 gallons of milk—over half of which went to

England. This happens also to two-thirds of the water dammed in Wales. The other industries, and agriculture (especially meat), produced great wealth. The convenience of Welsh ports has been an important factor in its commerce, and the Welsh tourist industry brings in £35 million every year.

67. *Has not the economic life of Wales been well developed ?*

No. There has been too much dependence on the heavy industries. These should be a basis for a great variety of secondary industries in Wales, but in fact most of the secondary industries are to be found in England. A Welsh government would aim at developing a more balanced and stable system.

68. *Is not everything possible being done today to foster Welsh agriculture ?*

The condition of much of rural Wales as regards amenities is atrocious, and not much is being done to improve things. The vast majority of houses are in poor condition, without water, electricity, drainage, telephones or good roads. Rural Wales is being kept well behind the times. With an enterprising policy agricultural production could be increased considerably. In order to restore the rural community and to increase agricultural production, precedence must be given to agriculture, and rural amenities must be improved. A bold policy which would awaken the imagination of the nation would do a great deal to strengthen Wales culturally and socially.

69. *Is it possible to restore rural and industrial life without changing the political order ?*

Nothing effective can be done without recognising that Wales is a nation, and governing it as one community. Wales has been partitioned by the English Government in connection with its electricity, coal and transport boards, and the Welsh land and community has been threatened and attacked by the War Office, Electricity Board and Forestry Commission. Their actions take no account of the needs of the Welsh nation.

Conditions in Wales are different from those in England, not only because a different nation lives there. In agriculture for instance there is a great difference between England and Wales, in the nature of the soil, the weather, the size of the farms and the number of labourers. It is necessary to be able to frame a suitable policy for Wales, in addition to administering it in Wales. Wales has no authority to act in any matter, and the Welsh Day,

the Advisory Council and the Minister for Welsh Affairs only show that there is no solution without transferring legislative powers to a Welsh Government.

70. *Could a Welsh Electricity Board bring electricity to every farm ?*

The present Boards say that it is not possible to bring electricity to every part of Wales because it is such a big and mountainous country. They mention the cost of distributing electricity in rural areas as being unreasonably high so that complete development is impossible.

This is merely an excuse for keeping Wales lagging behind. Here are the figures of three countries for 1956 which show the percentages of farms connected with electricity :

Wales	England	Denmark
25%	54%	98%

As regards its size Denmark is four times as big as Wales. Norway is also much larger than Wales—1,000 miles long—and much more mountainous ; but despite this, 72% of Norway's farms have electricity. And the electricity in Norway is the cheapest in the world.

71. *Could a free Wales provide good public services ?*

The grants that the local authorities receive from the government are in no way 'gifts'. Wales pays dearly in direct taxes for every penny that it receives back in grants. The state of Welsh roads is much worse than those of England. A heavier burden of maintaining the roads falls on Welsh local authorities because local rates pay for a high percentage of them. Is this fair ?

Schools : Normal education grants are made according to the number of children. The population of England is 668 per square mile. In Wales it is about 300. Therefore on an average English grants are increased at the expense of Wales. But Wales pays exactly the same taxes as England.

Local Government : The Government has restricted the responsibilities and powers of local authorities to raise money, except by local rates. Good public services cannot be maintained merely on a local rate. Too much money goes from Wales to the English Treasury and too little goes to the local authorities. It is the policy of Plaid Cymru to widen and develop the responsibility of local authorities.

72. *Under home rule could Wales pay satisfactory pensions, etc. ?*

As has been shown already, Wales is a rich country, and it could not only maintain the present standard of living, but could improve on it, if it were granted home rule.

Take one example, New Zealand, a country with a smaller population than Wales.

Population		Old Age Pensions	
Wales2,500,000	
New Zealand1,750,000	
Standard per person		Husband and Wife	
Wales	..	40/-	£3. 5s. 0d.
New Zealand	..	74/-	£7. 8s. 0d.

For every standard pension of £2 per week that is paid in Wales, there is a comparable pension of £3. 14s. 0d. in New Zealand.

Free Wales could easily double the present old age pension.

10—CO-OPERATIVE DEMOCRACY

73. *Is Plaid Cymru Socialist, Liberal or Conservative ?*

It aims at social justice, but it rejects state socialism ; it aims for freedom for the individual and the nation, but it does not support the *laissez-faire* of the Liberals ; it believes in the value of tradition, but it opposes capitalism.

It can be seen that Plaid Cymru has some aims in common with the English parties, but there are also important differences. Our basic belief is in the worth of the individual, and the governing aim of our policy is to secure a fuller life for him. The individual would have the best opportunity in Wales in a co-operative democracy, and it is the aim of Plaid Cymru to establish such a democracy.

74. *Is Plaid Cymru Tory, Communist, Fascist or Syndicalist ?*

Plaid Cymru has been called these things, and much else as well. It is the practice of its opponents to choose the description they hate most and to hurl this at the Plaid. But the Party is one of democratic Welshmen, and it stands for the welfare of the whole nation and not for one section of it.

75. *What would be done with the nationalised industries ?*

These would naturally be transferred to the Welsh Government, but there would be no need for it to keep to the present system of managing them. A Welsh Government would have more freedom to experiment than the English Government. Plaid Cymru has never opposed public control of these industries, but it has opposed their centralised control. It would venture co-operative forms of control which would add to the dignity of the worker by giving him more responsibility.

76. *Is it possible to organise Welsh Trades Unions ?*

It is possible and it should be done. It is the belief of Plaid Cymru that it is a loss to the Welsh workers and to their country that the headquarters of the majority of the Trades Unions are outside Wales. The Trades Unions should be a strength to the national life as well as being a defence to their members, and in many small countries they make an important contribution to the life of the nation. There would be nothing to prevent the Welsh Unions from co-operating closely with unions in other countries of the British Isles. When it was decided to unite the South Wales Miners' Federation with the English Union, the action was opposed by Plaid Cymru. On the other hand, when teachers and farmers formed Welsh Unions they received its support.

Even more than Welsh Unions is needed ; they should come together in a Welsh Trades Unions Congress, which would recognise the unity and special circumstances of the nation. A Welsh T.U.C. would give more direct control to Welsh workers over their conditions of work ; it would be a strength to the Welsh society and it would help Wales to take its proper place in international labour affairs.

77. *Would you nationalise the land ?*

This would be a great wrong to Welsh life and to the success of agriculture. Plaid Cymru believes in the value of private property and it aims at seeing everyone owning enough to give him independence.

People who own property are more likely to stand up to the State than those who depend on the State for everything. Plaid Cymru desires to see the men who work on the land owning their own holdings, and it rejects land-lordship both by the state and the rich. It aims at incorporating the co-operative policy more and more in agriculture and industry.