

DEVELOP ALL WALES

**STOP CARVE-UP
& OVERSPILL-HAM**

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MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR WALES TODAY

Depopulation of nine-tenths of Wales: "All parties are agreed that the most urgent problem is de-population. Nine-tenths of the country (Wales not England) suffer from it . . . young people drained away." These areas extend from Anglesey to the Monmouthshire valleys. (See Facts and Figures, pp. 2-4).

English efforts to carve up Wales go hand in hand with above (See pp. 5-6).

WHAT WE ALL CAN DO

Join in the fight to "Develop ALL Wales (See how *other* nations do it for themselves: Facts and Figures pp. 7-12 on how we can do it.)

MIS-GOVERNMENT AND DE-POPULATION

NO COUNTRY IN ALL EUROPE

"No country in all Europe has suffered such de-population during this century as Wales; in fact, since 1850. It was due to mis-government, and disregard of the true interests of Wales by the London rulers." (See figures—next page).

TOTAL LOSS TO WALES, 1,500,000 PEOPLE

That is the estimated total loss over the century

Our population today is just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ million (no higher than in 1921). But for that constant depopulation, that drain of our people, our population today would be a substantial 4 million.

Other countries prospered and made such an increase. (Figures page 3).

TRAGIC MIS-GOVERNMENT

The London policy was NOT to develop ALL Wales; "the pattern was to drain work and vitality from most of Wales (and Scotland), and to concentrate work and vitality in England, in the Midlands and South East in particular".

AS A "FRINGE PROVINCE"

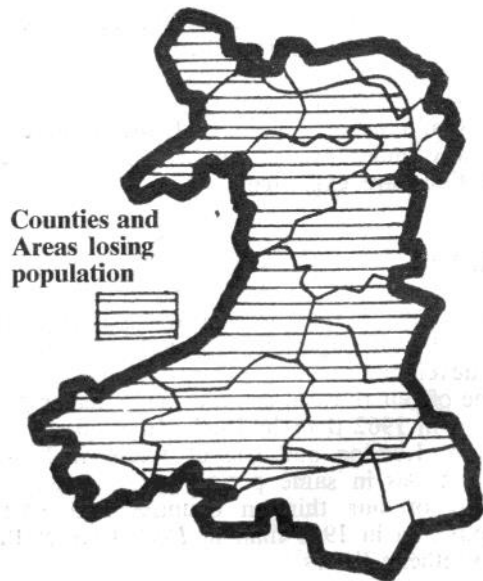
Wales, (and Scotland) did not get their just share of development because the London (English) Government would not recognise us as NATIONS.

Until now, they have treated us as "fringe provinces" of England; the de-population of nine-tenths of Wales (and of the Highlands of Scotland) did not worry them. (Ireland, while under English rule in 19th century bled and depopulated in same way,—population decreased from 8 million to 4 million; Brittany suffers in same way under French rule; all non-selfgoverning nations are exploited.)

FACTS

- * Nine-tenths of total area of Wales losing population because they are not getting right share of development.
- * Nine of our thirteen counties had smaller population in 1962 than in 1957. (In England, only central London and Isle of Wight had lower populations in same period!)
- * Seven of our thirteen counties had smaller population in 1961 than in 1861, four of them in southern Wales.

- * 1,500,000 estimated total compelled to leave Wales, due to London mis-government.
- * Without self-government, the development of industry and agriculture in a country is likely to be retarded, while the people are exported to the master-state." (In the case of Wales and Scotland, into England).



FREE COUNTRIES INCREASED

ENGLAND 27% INCREASE

(Wales a drop of 15,000)

From 1921 to 1961, England's population increased by 27%, to 43 millions; that is, the English Government developed industries, transport, etc. etc. *in England* so as to provide employment and livelihood to this huge increase population.

But Wales, 1921-61, a decrease in population. Wales did not get one-twelfth of her *rightful share* of economic development. (Increase in Wales confined to N.E. and S.E. corners mainly.)

ALL FREE COUNTRIES INCREASED

Compare their increases in population 1921-61: Wales, nil; England 26.9%; Switzerland 39.9%; Denmark 47.6%; Netherlands 69.1% — just examples.

All free self-governing countries provide economic and social development which give a high standard of living to the naturally increasing populations.

INDUSTRIAL TOWNS & VALLEYS BEING BLED

Not only rural counties, but valleys of Glamorgan and Monmouth etc. also; e.g.

Llanelli: 1931—38,400; 1963—29,500.

(Cf. Cardiganshire: 1861—72,245; 1961—53,648).

HOW AND WHY THIS DESTRUCTION?

1.—London government refuses to develop modern road system in Wales, so essential to economic development; and closes railways. (Mr. Harold Wilson in Cardiff, *before* 1964 election, promised: “The main programme of rail closures will be halted by a Labour government”,—*Western Mail* September 2nd, 1964. He broke the promise).

2.—Whitehall refuses real support to development of small industries in the numerous small towns and countryside of Wales (and Scotland); only some twenty new small factories in mid-Wales when the number should be over 1,000; small free countries do this, (see pp. 6-8).

3.—Until now, refusing to plan Wales as a unity, a nation. And it spells destruction to the social economic and cultural life of our nation.

“BIG NEW TOWN” SCHEME NOT TO BENEFIT WALES

ITS PURPOSE — FOR B’HAM OVERSPILL

It was a plan hatched by “gentlemen sitting in London” (planners, faceless men, etc.); Mr. James Griffiths, new Secretary of State for Wales, announced it after 1964 election.

Later, Mr. Griffiths under pressure was honest enough to admit that its main purpose was to relieve Birmingham:—

“The great conurbations would have to move out. In the Midlands, they would move west, and this was where the Hope (!) for the future lay as far as Wales was concerned.” (*Western Mail*, 25th March, 1965).

NOT TO BENEFIT WALES

Such a “huge big town” (they talk of 60,000 to 100,000 population) would still leave eight-tenths of Wales un-developed.

It would destroy Welsh national and social life (“distinguishing characteristics to be proud of”, as an American writer called them) in Central Wales.

Remember that *English* counties—Hereford, Warwick, Shropshire—have fought long and hard *against* having “Overflow-hams” within their borders; they are wise.

SEE MAP: A PLAN TO CARVE UP WALES?

There are still “faceless men” in London who care not a whit about Wales, who would like to see Wales *carved up*:-

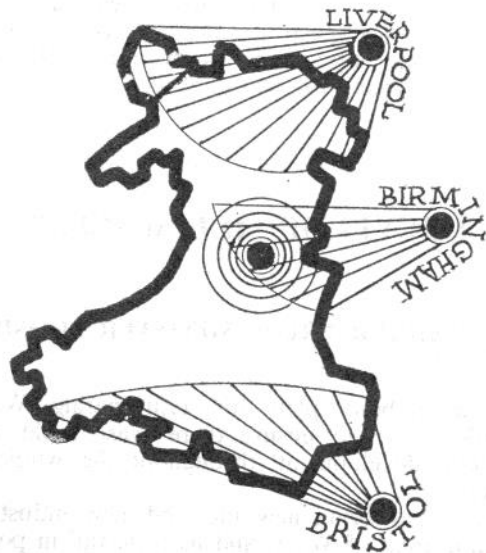
With Bristol controlling southern Wales: Professor Trees of Bristol, April 14th, 1965, on his appointment as Chairman of South-West England Development Council, said: “South Wales and Bristol are going to be one area”—under Bristol of course!

With Liverpool ruling N.E. Wales: exploiting Vyrnwy and Tryweryn water resources without one penny payment for them; controlling electricity, etc., etc., etc.

With Birmingham to exploit the middle-east: Taking Clywedog water; already controlling electricity generation; and now would like our land for its overspill.

(AND the remaining eight tenths of Wales losing development and population; much of it as a playground for the “conurbations” on holiday.)

THE “FACELESS” CARVE-UP PLAN



“When Wales has demanded that she be recognised and treated as a *nation*, when Govern-

ment spokesman are all proclaiming that Wales must and will be dealt with and developed as a nation and unit, there are faceless men in London planning to carve up Wales to benefit three big English cities; are the Government and the English political parties going to betray all their promises and support the "carve-up"? NO: the people of Wales will not allow it."

"DEVELOP ALL WALES"

THE LABOUR PRIME MINISTER PROMISE

"The Labour plan for rejuvenating Wales includes . . . to ensure there was 'rapid and balanced development' throughout the whole of Wales.

"It would bring new life and new industries to rural areas of Wales and halt the fall in population."—Mr. Harold Wilson in Cardiff, Western Mail, September 2nd, 1964.

Yes, "*rapid*" and "*balanced*" development "*throughout*" Wales.

WALES: IDEAL SIZE AND RICH IN RESOURCES

"Wales, for planning purposes and for purposes of self-government, is neither too large nor too small; it is ideal in size."

But for bad government from London, Wales would have been among the most developing and prosperous of nations in Europe—instead of being among the last.

DENMARK AND SWITZERLAND

They are examples of countries (self-governing) which have developed the economy *throughout* their countries.

Switzerland: *Not one* of its 25 cantons had lower population in 1961 than in 1951 (cf. majority of Welsh counties lost population—p. 2).

Denmark: "known as a country fairly advanced in rural life and organisation . . . not due to natural wealth in the soil, but to spirit of patriotism, of nationalism."

AND NORWAY

Not one of its 17 counties suffered a decrease in population in same period, not even the large area in the far north within the Arctic circle.

How—and why—they can do it in other countries: see next pages.

"DEVELOP ALL WALES"



DEVELOP ALL WALES WITHIN 10 years

In the depopulation area, (nine-tenths of area of Wales): -

Balanced: All the small towns and large villages, some 60, should have development which would provide for average increase of some 1,000 in population of each: total about 60,000.

Rapid: This should start immediately—with transport development, credit for all *de-population* areas (not just unemployment areas as now), and the 60,000 increase reached within 10 years.

"Throughout Wales": Other small nations can develop their entire countries. Norway does so in the far north within the Arctic Circle. Such development in Wales is easy—given the *will*. If London government will not do it—let it give Wales, rapidly, her own Parliament to do the job like Norway or Switzerland.

"DEVELOP ALL WALES" THE ONLY SENSIBLE POLICY

THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF WELSH PLANNING

"*The first is that Wales must be planned as a whole, an entity; this is now accepted policy.*"—Gwynfor Evans, President Plaid Cymru. (Yes,

accepted by Labour and Conservative parties, at least in words).

"*The second*: it must ensure *balanced* growth *throughout* Wales; the 9 counties which have been losing population must all share in the development."—Gwynfor Evans.

Mr. Harold Wilson *promised* just what Mr. Gwynfor Evans and Wales demand.

URGENT—AFTER 50 YEARS OF NEGLECT

The English Government has done next to nothing to "develop all Wales": it helped to set up some 20 to 30 small industries in depopulation areas: the number should have been 1,000.

Similarly in Scotland; Mr. Harold Wilson (*before* the election) condemned "the emptying of the Highlands . . . death to whole communities."

"The example of Scotland is there to prove that without a sufficient decentralisation of political and financial authority, energy must continue to drain off to London and the South-East."—Spectator 13.10.63.

HOW OTHER NATIONS DO IT

They have governments which *care* for their national life.

Norway's Government schedules as Development Areas all parts which have any depopulation or do not have sufficient development. (Under London control, only places with unemployment are given special grants; if people move out quickly, those areas do not get support).

In Switzerland, there is all possible decentralisation of industry: "I set up four factories in four villages, rather than one large factory in a town", declared a Swiss industrialist: just an instance.

New roads provided extensively even in north Norway; "tapered scale of charges" for transport, to benefit far-off areas; all manner of credits and financial advantages to distant places; etc. Thus, in Norway, "rural centres are in a flourishing state . . ." with medium-sized industries."

DEVELOP COUNTRYSIDE AND FARMING

ESSENTIAL FOR WALES

Agriculture in Wales is in a dangerous condition. London's policy is to *close on* small farms, compelling more people to migrate: "a great deal more of joining farms to make bigger farms" (Mr. Peart, Minister of Agriculture, April 1965).

There can be prosperity on small farms—given the necessary education, the Advisory Centres, the amenities, etc.

Average size of Danish farms (among the most successful in Europe)—25 acres. Ours are three times larger, yet London wants to depopulate farming areas still more.

LONDON FOR BIGNESS AND CENTRALISATION

“Britain is the most highly centralised country outside the Communist bloc; it has the biggest population in the world under one unitary government.” (In USA, Canada, etc., there are Governments for each State or Province).

While a Swiss industrialist sets up four small factories in four villages in place of one large one in a town, (and Switzerland is the most prosperous country in Europe,—the highest standard of living), England likes to centralise, like the Communists.

Therefore their tendency to concentrate development in the midlands and S.E. England; and their desire to “join farm to farm”, etc.

SMALL INDUSTRIES IN COUNTRYSIDE

They have them in these other countries, making a thousand and one different products;

no need for them to harm the amenities of the country, for they can be well-built and trees grown around them; each employing from say six to fifty people.

Of conditions in Switzerland, Patrick O'Donovan wrote: “It makes the English relationship to Scotland and Wales look destructive.”

Another wrote: “They enjoyed both good government and self-government, whereas Wales and Scotland had neither.”

LET US UNITE TO WIN DEVELOPMENT OF ALL WALES “THEY” DO NOT WANT IT

Even the Mid-Wales Development Association declared: “Action will be taken on the problem of Mid Wales *only if it is in the national interest*”; that is, in the interest of Britain; or more specifically, that of England, as always.

Mr. James Griffiths, Secretary of State, when pressed, said: “One practical step that could be taken was to strengthen existing towns.”

Yes, “could”; but London Government and her servants prefer that which will benefit Birmingham and England (“in the national interest” as they call it).

WALES HAS WON A LOT RECENTLY

The national awakening, with Plaid Cymru leading, has won very many reforms:-

1944-6: "Welsh Day" in Parliament and annual White Paper on Wales.

1948: (Advisory) Council for Wales.

1951: Minister for Welsh Affairs.

1956: Cardiff recognised as Capital City of Wales.

1957: Minister of State for Wales.

1960: Grand Committee for Wales.

1963: Economic Planning Department in Welsh Office (i.e. Wales a national unit).

1964: Secretary of State for Wales.

1965: Planning Board and Advisory Economic Council—again Wales a national unit in economic matters.

PATRIOTISM WINS JUSTICE

It is Welsh patriotism or nationalism, not a cringing attitude to London government and its political parties, which wins economic and other justice for Wales.

As in Scotland: "With a sense of purpose on a national scale, it is no surprise the Scottish performance has been superior" to that of the English

regions in winning a fair share of the "economic cake".

"*Nationalism* is the national equivalent of the individual's determination *not to be a slave.*"—Rebecca West, the sociologist.

HOW TO GAIN

A FAIR DEAL FOR WALES

A GROWING NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Before the national movement became strong, the English parties and government were dead against recognising Wales as an economic and political entity (e.g. Labour, Herbert Morrison: "I will never allow the economy of Wales to be planned on national lines": 1947); now they set up Economic Development Council and Board for Wales!

"*The determined agitation* of the Welsh Nationalists has compelled the older parties to recognise Wales as a nation."—Bulmer Thomas in his book, "Political Parties in G.B."

"*Wales will get fair play* to the extent the people of Wales show self-respect, to the extent

they stand up for Wales and vote for the national movement, not for alien parties."

PLAID CYMRU: BOLD AND PRACTICAL

This is the front line in the national movement.

Its policy in brief: (a) To win justice for, to safeguard the life of Wales, economy and political, language and culture. (b) To secure Self-government for Wales, which is "the inalienable right of every nation" (Eisenhower).

"*The Plaid* is a bold and practical party"—P. Ferris, *Observer*. "The movement for self-government now has roots that are strong and growing. Most coherent Welshmen want a degree of political autonomy. The most highly organised expression of this feeling is Plaid Cymru."—(Manchester) *Guardian*.

FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Even Northern Ireland, Isle of Man and the Channel Islands have their own (subsidiary) Parliaments with extensive powers.

States of USA, each province of Canada, Australia, etc., cantons of Switzerland, all have their Governments (as well as the central Governments (as well as the central Government in each country).

Wales (and Scotland) should be granted self-government immediately; now we've won a Secretary of State, a Parliament is the next step, leading to full self-government within the Commonwealth, like New Zealand etc., etc.

UP WALES : : CYMRU AM BYTH

PRIDE IN OUR COUNTRY AND NATION

Not the slavish spirit: "Nationalism", we repeat," is the national equivalent of the individual's determination not to be a slave."—Rebecca West.

Not inferiority complex: "You have got to fight for what you want. The English have a healthy contempt for the cringing."—Lloyd George before he sold himself to the English Liberal Party.

But national self-respect: "Pride in, and affection for one's country, are essential elements, just as self-respect is indispensable in individual character."—James Morris in "*Guardian*."

IT IS RIGHT, AND A DUTY, FOR EVERY NATION

United Nations Charter: "... respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination

(i.e. self-government) of peoples.”—2nd of “Purposes” of U.N.

Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh: “National independence and individual liberty are *vital conditions* of peace and happiness.”—July 1964, greeting self-government of Malawi (old name, Nyasaland).

Fifteen in the Commonwealth, and some forty other nations have won their freedom, self-government, since 1945; many of them smaller than Wales, none of them with richer resources.

THE CHOICE FOR US IN WALES

A.—*Anti-Welsh*: the slavish spirit, de-population from Anglesey to Monmouth valley, carve-up of Wales, not a just share of prosperity and development, Cardiff a subsidiary to Bristol, the English parties and government increasingly anti-Welsh, and maybe the great Welsh nation damaged beyond repair.

B.—*Pro-Welsh*: support the patriotic, national awakening; compelling the London government and parties to give Wales equal justice with England (in economic, linguistic, cultural and political matters), leading to a Parliament for Wales, and later to full self-government like other nations.

An American Journalist, Ralph Maud, in New

York Nation, wrote: “Great natural beauty and resources, an amiable people and talented, a host of distinguishing characteristics to be proud of, it has all a small country might want except self-determination.

Note: Owing to lack of space it was not possible to give the sources from which all the quotations were taken.

ALMOST EVERYONE FOR WALES

Mr. GWYNFOR EVANS

President of Plaid Cymru

("A pleasant host, rather on the Kennedy model, he is very much at ease with life; his political convictions come out of very natural affections," —R. Maud, the American).

Invites you to write or phone him at—

Plaid Cymru, 8 Queen St., Caerdydd (Cardiff)
(Telephone 31944)

or Plaid Cymru, 89 Stryd Fawr, Bangor
(Telephone 2073)

WRITE

Either: With your comments on this brief little pamphlet *or* to ask for further information (e.g. for pamphlets, "Welsh Case to Uno" (1/-), "Satellite Parties in Wales" (6d);

OR take the necessary step and join Plaid Cymru (Write: I wish to join Plaid Cymru; and enclose s: d: for year (minimum 2/6 a year); I am not a member of any other party.)

OR to send substantial donation (if necessary, names kept strictly private).

OR any other message.

"In the course of history, the great sweeps upward and onwards have come when men believe in their country and in one another."—Henry Brooke, 1962.

AND THAT BATTLE IS JUST THE STORY OF OUR NATION IN BRIEF

"The individuality of a nation is its birthright. War or conquest may obliterate it; and alien culture may overlay it; immigration may dilute it; and yet *it makes a fight for life, and that battle is just.*

"For more than eighteen hundred years of history, the Welsh people has maintained its individuality. It withstood the encircling power of the Romans; it was hardly affected by the inroads of the Teutonic invaders; it was maintained in spite of the armed occupation of Edward I, and the administrative assimilation of Henry VIII.

"Against the more insidious pressure of English industry, English commerce, English books, English newspapers, it has maintained a steady resistance. That resistance from instinctive has become conscious." London Government Report on "Welsh in Education and Life."