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Wales Matters to Voul



HISTORY TO 1536

Cover by NEFYL WILLIAMS

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To beginning of 5th century : Roman Occupation.

400—1284: Period of Independent Welsh Kings and Princes, of culture, poetry, law and religion.

1100-1485: Attacked by English barons and kings; after prolonged struggles lost independence, but not individuality "Literature flourished; language grew in power and richness Vigorous and splendid social life."

1400-15: Owain Glyndwr's uprising against English oppression.

1485: Close of English Wars of Roses. Welsh noble, Henry Tudor became king of England, and Welsh deluded themselves that they had conquered England.

DECAY-FROM 1536

1536 Act of "Union": Walet "incorporated, annexed, united and subject" to England. Welsh language to be "utterly extirped"

*1536-1900: Aristocracy anglicised ("Bribed and transformed into Englishmen"); all formal education, professions, etc. anglicised. Yet "a remarkable democratic community reared itself upon the ruins of the old aristocracy."

*19th Century: Economic exploitation not for benefit of Wales.

*20th Century: Revival of Welsh national spirit; but increased government control from London and lack of balanced economic development.

AREA - CLIMATE

Area, 8,006 sq. m. (pop. 2.6 million), Cf. Switzerland, 16,000 sq.m. (pop. 5m.); Holland, 12,582 sq.m. (pop. 11 m.) Belgium, 11,752 (pop. 9m.).

*Capital: Cardiff (Recognised by London Government 1956 after 58 years' campaign.)

*''Agriculturally, our climate is the best in Europe.''—Prof. Stapledon.

*Beautiful: "Welshmen have the advantage of possessing a beautful home."—A. E. Zimmern.

RICH RESOURCES

'The natural and industrial resources of Wales . . . properly planned and boldly executed . . . (could provide) a brilliant pattern of satisfying employment and prosperity." Post-War Reconstruction Advisory Council in Wales.

Welsh Share of British output, 1961:

Tinplate			99%
Steel Sheet	****	****	89%
Aluminium	Sheet		40%
Crude Steel			29%
Coal			12%

(Cf. Population, under 5% of that of Britain.)

MORE RESOURCES

Tourism: Return in 1961, over £50 million. With reasonable Government support (as giver to British Board) could be doubled.

Water Resources: Immense Water production 1961, 1,037,000 million gallons. Of this, 47% taken without payment by three English towns, Liverpool, Birkenhead and Birmingham. If sold, like other surplus resources, worth millions of £'s.

Electricity: 1961, 9,352 million k.w. produced. 759 million k.w. taken to England.

"Few countries of the same size possess so rich a variety of natural resources as Wales, with good Government Wales could support three times its present population" Times Trade Supplement.

POPULATION STANDSTILL

1921-2,593,332

1961-2,640,632

Increase only 47,300 in 40 years -1.8%. 9 of the 13 Welsh counties have declining populations (true of only 2 of the 48 English administrative counties.)

How differently England's Government developed England:

1921—34,230,225 1961—43,430,972

An increase of over 9 million or 26.9%

Self-governing countries provide for increasing populations: Norway—23.7% | Switzerland, 39.9% Denmark, 47.6% | Netherlands, 69.1%

Our population static because of 1. Emigration; 2. Unemployment; 3. Lack of proper development; 4. 'Fringe Province' treatment.

MIGRATION

Over 500,000 people had to leave Wales between the wars; a further 100,000 in 1945-49; thousands are still leaving.

*In 1951 there were 680,000 people, born in Wales, living in England (not counting their families born in England)—i.e. 24% of of our entire population.

*1961: 7 Welsh counties, of 13 had smaller population than in 1861. True of only 2 in England (of 39).

WELSH LANGUAGE

Welsh has been a living and a literary language for some 1500 years.

"From the very first beginnings of its history, Welsh has been one of the great literary languages of the world"—Welsh in Education and Life, a Government Publication.

Percentage of population speaking the Welsh language: until 1850 almost 100%, even in Monme uthshire, then rapid decline: 1911—43.5%; 1931-34.8%; 1951-28.9% 1961-26%...

The policy of the 1536 Act of 'Union' was that the Welsh language should be 'utterly extirped'-i.e. destroyed.

Only the languages of free, self-respecting nations can flourish in the 20th century.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Comparative figures for Wales and England: (percentages):

	Wales	England
1927		England
	19.5%	9%
Apr.35	32%	12%
Feb. 39	25.4%	11%
Nov. 49	4.1%	1%
Apr. 59	4.4%	2.2%
Aug. 63	3.0%	1.8%

*Throughout most of the period the Welsh percentage has been at least twice as high as that for England.

*Position would have been much worse (and the English position much better) but for the mass emigration from Wales throughout the period.

NO SECONDARY INDUSTRIES

Wales is forced by the London Government to depend too much on basic industries: coal, steel, tinplate.

*Only a small portion of our production is used in Wales (e.g. 95% of our steel left Wales in 1958).

*This means an unbalanced economy, heaviest unemployment. In any recession, lack of work (especially skilled jobs) for all people. Heavy redundancies in times of re-organisation.

*Small free countries see to it that they develop secondary industries in large numbers. Another reason for self-government. The London Government used to demand extra charges on all goods passing through Welsh ports. Extra charges are still levied on goods produced in Wa.es

This hinders the development of Welsh industry and is killing our ports, e.g. Cardiff:

> 1913—13,676,941 tons 1956—2,860,514 tons 1958—2,105,907 tons 1961—2,360,000 tons

(In 1860 it was 2,225,980 tons)

The future of Newport and Barry Docks is now threatened, and the railways provide inadequate services.

CWMLLYNFELL

N.C.B. closed many Welsh mines including Cwmllynfell. 2 million tons of world's best anthracite in this modern, easily-run pit. The village depended on the mine.

*The 300 miners called in Plaid Cymru. Miners unanimously agreed to lease mine and run it on co-operative lines, as suggested by Plaid Cymru.

*But scheme blocked at every turn by Labour Party, Conservative Government, N.C.B. and N.U.M

*Yet mine could pay handsomely customers ready in Holland; not a ton ever stayed at pit-head.

Tryweryn has become the Welsh word for exploitation—of what can happen to the land, resources social life and people of a nation without a government.

*Cwm Tryweryn near Bala, culturally vigorous. Vast water resources needed to help establish light industries in the area.

*Liverpool without consulting any body in Wales, announced it intended taking it, turn its people out, appropriate the water without paying a penny for it.

*For two years this was fought by Plaid Cymru with the people of Wales behind it. It was passed by English majority in Parliament.

POLITICIAL PARTIES

1. CONSERVATIVE

But caucus in London—"We can not accept ... a Welsh parliament to run Welsh affairs"—R. A Butler.

*The Party's "satellite group" in Wales follows London orders.

2. LIBERAL PARTY

'From 1880 to 1906, it promised 'to entrust Wales, Scotland and Ireland with the free and full administration of their internal affairs.'

*When in power 1906-1918, it dropped self-government for Wales.

*In its decline, it is sometimes for and sometimes against selfgovernment.

*Its Welsh Policy is as always, merely vote-catching, and at present amounts to nothing more than one big bureaucratic County Council for the whole of Wales!

POLITICAL PARTIES

3. LABOUR PARTY

Promised self-government for Wales 1900 to 1945—"The L.P. is pledged to the widest and most generous measure of Home Rule for Scotland and Wales." A. Henderson, Secretary of party, 1918.

- *1945, in power, betrayal by caucus in London: "I will never allow the economy of Wales to be planned on national lines."—
 Herbert Morrison.
- "Satellite group" in Wales followed "party" line, took London orders.
- *Yet, it claims—"Labour believes that human dignity can only find full expression through self-government."—1959 policy statement.

CRUMBS-TO DELAY

To delay self-government London has been "granting" comic "concessions":

 One "Welsh day" a year in Parliament ('44).

 Annual White Paper on Wales ('46).

3. Advisory Council ('48).

. Minister for Wales—with no powers ('51).

 Under-Secretary ('51; sacked '52).

 Cardiff as Capital—with no Parliament ('56).

 Minister of State for Wales-Government's commercial

traveller ('57).

8. Welsh Grand Committee—
"It exists because Wales is a nation, but has no power in case Wales behaves like a nation."—
New Statesman ('60).

PLAID PRESSURE

Other concessions:

National Sound Broadcasting and T.V. services for Wales.

Some recognition of official status of Welsh language—but by no means complete.

Welsh Office with Economic Intelligence Section, 1963.

Labour Party promises a Welsh Industrial Board and a Secretary of State, 1963.

English political experts, P.E.P (Political and Economic Planning) have admitted that these have been granted solely due to the pressure exerted by Plaid Cymru as an independent political party (see 'Local Self-Government in Britain, published by P.E.P.)

Further concessions, and any real advance for Wales, depend on the size of the Plaid Cymru vote in elections. Six men met to establish it in 1925. First election Caernarfon, 1929—609 votes; fought two in 1931, one in 1935. Membership by 1939—2,000.

*After 1945, quicker growth; membership by 1963—15,000.

1955 Election, 11 Candidates, 45,000 votes—12% of votes, (Lib,—11%; Cons—20%; Lab— 57%.)

1959 Election, 20 candidates, 77,000 votes.

"Plaid Cymru represents the most virile elements in Welsh national life." (S. Wales Echo).

RADIO BAN

Plaid Cymru is refused party broadcasts which three English parties have had since 1945.

*How? B.B.C. ('55) planned broadcasts by four parties in Wales. Labour and Conservatives got P.M.G. to stop this. P.M.G. then banned—"vetoed"—this; only time any programme vetoed.

*Why?—To prevent Plaid Cymru's progress; prevent Wales hearing its case on radio and T.V.

*"Disturbing"—New Statesman "Oppressive, tyrranical."—Ald. Cyril Jones; "Plainly unjust"—Dingle Foot.

PLAID CYMRU AIMS

- 1. Self-Government for Wales: This alone will give us the power to develop our moral and material resources. Without such responsibility, the nation will continue to decay and disintegrate.
- 2. To safeguard the culture, language, traditions and economic life of Wales. This depends on a progressive, balanced economy in all parts of Wales.
- 3. Welsh membership of U.N.O. This alone will give us the chance to play a part in international affairs.

Plaid Cymru has one of the most civilised programmes I have ever read" — Prof. Leopold Kohr, Austrian author of 'Breakdown of Nations'

INTERNATIONALISM

No one who doesn't bother to look after his own nation properly can be a good inter-nationalist.

Internationalism means co-operation between the nations of the world. But nations must be free to co-operate, and have the right to put their own affairs in order.

Welsh traditions embody the highest values of European civilisation. We have an unquestionable right to govern ourselves and play our part in world affairs, which we are unable to do at present.

Economic co-operation is as essential as political. Wales must have its own government to look after her interests in any international economic agreements.

28 countries with smaller populations than Wales are self-governing and full members of U.N.O.—e.g.

Iceland 0.2 m; Albania 1.4m; Jordan 1.8m; Israel 2.2m; New Zealand 2.4m.; c.f. Wales 2.6m.

These are a little larger than Wales:

Norway 3.6m.; Finland 4.5m.; Denmark 4.6m..

None of these would think of giving up its right to govern its own affairs. With self-government they have a voice in world affairs.

Wales must join the world, through self-government and a seat in U.N.O.

ATTITUDE TO NUCLEAR ARMS

Plaid Cymru is opposed to the manufacture, testing, use or retention of nuclear weapons by Britain;

*It calls for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, a step which could well be a moral lead towards international sanity.

*It urges the Government to support all attempts to prevent further manufacture and testing by existing nuclear powers, and to stop other countries from joining in the nuclear arms-race. We seek a Confraternity of free peoples in these islands—a great degree of voluntary co-operation between free Wales, Scotland, England and Ireland; transport co-ordinated, taxation and tarriffs in step.

*We want a Common Market between the countries of Britain, with completely free movement of people and goods and joint development of economic potential, whilst each country would have its own government to look after its special needs.

*Similarly, a free Wales could co-operate in wider European organisations.

MAJOR INDUSTRIES

Wales has more, relative to population, than other European nations.

*Those nationalised now should be taken over by Welsh Government, but with decentralisation of control.

*Self-government would make for research, development, easier financial conditions.

"Finance is not frightened by salfgovernment except where it implies threat of more nationalisation or Communism." "Self-Government attracts finance"— Dr. Nevin, Former Financial Adviser to Jamaican Government. Plaid Cymru always emphasised need to develop extensive Welsh resources—"Wales could give employment to three times her present population"—The Times."

*But because Wales does not govern itself, no balanced development. Many Industries exploited—e.g. coal, tinplate, steel, water, electricity, milk, wool, timber.

*These could be basis of thousands of secondary industries IN WALES. Only recently has any attempt been made so to develop them.

*Our Plight: few second ry industries; many branch factories—vulnerable in recession.

*THE NEED—to stimulate and guide balanced development. This is the road to economic expansion.

IMMEDIATE NEED-T.V.A.

For thirty years, Plaid Cymru has campaigned for a Development Authority for Wales. Such an Authority was set up in America (The Tenessee Valley Authority) and proved immensely successful. Its leaders praised Plaid Cymru proposals.

With co-operation of local authorities, Universities etc. and with Government support, the T.V.A. increased the industrial potential of the poor Tennessee basin, developed agriculture, huge power resources, public amenities, etc. etc. . .

Had the London Government given Wales even this limited measure of economic autonomy, there would have been no Welsh economic problem in recent years. For a balanced economic development in Wales, a good modern transport system is essential: but our transport is a generation behind times.

Look at Welsh airways, small ports, antiquated railways, and dangerous winding roads.

The condition of effective development of Welsh transport is public investment in railways and roads.

A central trunk road must be created: and others, like the wonderful highways of Europe and America.

AGRICULTURE

Welsh acreage per head is twice England's. Conditions differ greatly from England's: one blanket policy for both is foolish, e.g., much hill country, no plains; greater rainfall; smaller farms (average 40 acre)—largely family farms, less than one farm-servant each (cf. 6 in East England.)

*Policy must therefore suit small farms, livestock products, grass as main crop, and forestry as auxiliary to agriculture.

*Need —capital for development, roads, sewerage, piped water, houses, electricity and development of co-operative marketing giving price security. Supplement with light industry, especially that making use of Welsh Agricultural and Forestry produce.

Tourism was worth over £50m. to us in Wales in 1961.

*The British Tourist and Holidays Association grant to the Welsh Tourist Board was only £4,000. The Northern Ireland Tourist Board got £70,000 from its Government and the Irish Tourist Board £398,000. This latter represents 2s. 10d. per head of the population. In Wales its little over a farthing.

*A Welsh Government would in itself give tourism a great boost. It would also help with grants.

*It would help to make the tourist industry in Wales truly Welsh, instead of copying Blackpool or Brighton.

HOMES

Home Ownership for all: Tenants of private and Council houses to have right to purchase homes at fair market price; 100% mortgages from Councils.

Home Security: Council and private tenants to be protected against unreasonable rents and eviction. Security of tenure for a tenant's family,—for agricultural holdings as well as houses.

Abolish the Leasehold system: Never a part of Welsh law, always opposed by Walsh people, yet nothing is done. Councils must divest themselves of their own freehold rights to owner occupiers.

Home Defence: Fight wild town planning (e.g. Rhondda and Aberdare), drastically curtail compulsory purchase rights and ensure full market value compensation where compulsory purchase is essential.

The Welfare of the people of Wales would be the supreme charge of a Welsh Government. Our Government would reflect our social genius.

*Small Nations, New Zealand, Denmark, and Sweden, have led the world in welfare services.

*Family allowances in New Zealand are 15/- per child, under the London Government they are 10/- for each child after the first. Unemployment Benefit in N.Z. is £4/15/- for a single person and £8/10/- a married man. They are £4/-/- and £6/10/- respectively here.

*We stand for Welfare Politics not Power Politics.

PENSIONS

Pensions should be increased considerably as a matter of urgency.

Under London Government, pensions are £4/-/- for an unmarried person and £6/10/- for a married couple. In New Zealand (smaller population than Wales), they are £4/17/6 and £8/15/- respectively.

Pensions should be linked to the cost of living and rise automatically with it.

More funds available for erection of social centres for old people and improved care and welfare services.

Other pensions and benefits should be improved as well.

Their powers to improve local conditions should be increased and not whittled away, as is the trend under Tory and Labour administration.

Boundaries should be reviewed and coincide with real communities. Wholesale mergers, which would make 'local' government remote and centralised, must be resisted.

Instead, wider co-operation between local authorities for specific purposes should be encouraged.

There should be an effective association of all Welsh local authorities with a permanent staff to deal with national problems affecting all localities in Wales.

....AND INDUSTRY

Plaid Cymru has always placed great emphasis on the role of local authorities—as they represent a limited form of self-government.

*It has urged them to buy Welsh goods and to form Joint Supplies Committees for this purpose, thus helping Welsh industry.

*It has urged them to co-operate to establish Public Utility Boards, to open factories to produce their own requirements, and to form a nation council to safeguard the country's national economy.

Councils should also invest their capital in Wales itself.

Democracy: Authority must be as widely distributed as possible (in politics, industry and all aspects of social life).

London Government is overcentralised. At last it is beginning to think in terms of regionalisation, but even so its plans are to decentralise bureaucratic administration rather than democratic control. Bureaucratic control, like capitalist control, are contrary to the highest interests of responsible men in a responsible society.

Decentralisation is a further argument for Self-Government for Wales and is the basis of Plaid Cymru's policy of co-operation in national and international affairs and of co-operative democracy in industry.

CO-OPERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Plaid Cymru believes in spreading responsibility in industry.

Neither capitalist control nor bureaucratic state control gives the worker any real share in the direction of his industry.

We aim at a 'co-operative democracy', in which all workers will join in electing works councils to control their own industries, thus abolishing industrial 'classes' and doing away with many of the causes of industrial strife.

Plaid Cymru has encouraged co-operative ventures and awarded scholarships for the study of the co-operative principle abroad Plaid Cymru has always advised Welsh workers not to allow their unions to be swallowed by English organisations—there are so many examples of the way in which Welsh workers have been let down by English Unions.

*Conditions in Wales differ from those in England. Welsh Trades Unions will serve our workers best.

*There should be a Welsh T.U.C. co-operating with workers' organisations outside Wales.

EDUCATION for WELSH LIFE

The child's mother-language should be the language of education, whether it is Welsh or English. All children should be given a thorough knowledge also of the country's other national language

- *All grades of school should give the children a secure grounding in our country's history, culture and traditions. Children cannot be expected to develop a responsible attitude towards society unless they have their roots in it.
- *Welsh as well as English medium training colleges and University Colleges should be established.
- *Welsh and English will be recognised as official languages of equal status. There are two languages in Belgium, Canada, etc., and 4 in Switzerland.

Arts Council Grants for Wales in 1961-62 totalled £78,345. Covent Garden got £298,000 for opera alone.

Government Grants to the Arts are far higher in other countries,—ten years ago the grant in Norway was £329,350 and £213,000 in Iceland. This repressented 1/11 and 27/- per head of population respectively, when the grant to Wales was only 4d. per head.

A Welsh Government would set up a National Theatre, Opera House, Orchestra and Art Gallery and offer more help for existing institutions. The film industry and publishing would also be fostered, and the needs of both Welsh and English speakers adequately catered for.

WELSH FINANCE

Politicians opposed to Welsh freedom say Wales is poor—cannot support a government—the standard of living would fall. But, they cannot give facts.

*The facts are available, even on finance (see 2 vols for 1948-52 and 1952-56 the brilliant Nevin Reports, Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy.)

*They gave the Welsh Gross National Product:

> 1952 £653,000,000 1956 £785,000,000 Cp. Eire, 1952 £405 m. 1956 £447m.

*This one massive fact should end for ever the lying allegations that Wales is too poor to support herself. Questions often asked: How could Wales pay for schools, roads pensions, health services, grants, defence, etc. etc.?

Inference: Wales lives off the back of England.

Answer: The Government refuses to publish the facts, but University Research (latest figures available, 1956) shows that Wales more than pays its own way. e.g.

Total Govt. expenditure on health services, 1956 £25,000,000 Tobacco Tax from Wales alone — £34,000,000

Government refuses to build central trunk road in Wales.

Petrol tax from Wales in 1956 alone— £16,000,000

....THROUGH THE NOSE

"Wales could not pay the cost of her University"—Ness Edwards M.P.

Total Government grant to University 1961, £2,655,000
Tax on Beer in Wales alone, as far back as 1956, £17,000,000

Income Tax from Wales, 1956: £71,000,000. Total of all taxes and National Insurance £220 million (more than any country of the same size. Countries such as Norway, Sweden, Switzerland all with higher populations than Wales, paid well under £200,000,000 in taxes)

Total spent by Government in and for Wales £215000000(including £52m. for so-called 'defence').

1948-56 Government made an overall profit of £40,000,000 out of Wales.

Plaid Cymru is a constitutional political party, seeking the election of its candidates to Local Councils and to Westminster, as a step towards forming a Welsh Parliament in Cardiff. All Parties would have the right to contest seats in the Welsh Parliament and the majority Party would form the Welsh Government.

When the just rights of Wales are flouted by laws imposed by the English majority in Parliament (e.g. the stealing of land and water resources, the imposition of the Radio Ban on Plaid Cymru etc.) we are not averse to breaking the letter of these unjust laws in order to further our fundamentally constitutional ends

We have declared that we shall not resort to warlike methods to achieve our aims.

QUOTES-1.

"Trade, which has been built up by Welshmen . . . (is) manipulated by gentlemen sitting in London, regardless of its effect upon the Welsh nation"—Ernest Bevin, Labour Foreign Minister.

"Nationalism means the vigorous development of the material and moral resources of the whole people" "Given Self-Government Wales might establish itself a modern Utopia . . an example and inspiration to the rest of the world"—Arthur Henderson, when Secretary of the Labour Party.

"If a Nation cannot stand up for its rights and freedom it deserves to be stamped out.— Winston Churchill.

QUOTES-2.

"Welsh national consciousness is very strong. There is plenty of evidence of an upsurge of national consciousness."—Aneurin Bevan.

*"Internal nationalism— a people's desire for self-government— is ultimately an unbeatable force, as the Irish, the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Hungarians have all demonstrated." Observer, 6.1.57.

*John L. Lewis, renowned President of United Miners' Union of U.S.A.: Referring to Gwynfor Evans, Plaid Cymru's leader, he said: "If I were his age and in Wâles, I would be right with him on the job."

IN UNITY LIES STRENGTH

This booklet has shown that Wales cannot continue to live for long, either culturally or economically, until it controls its own affairs through its own Government.

P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning) says that it would benefit the whole of Britain if the various nations here had their own Parliaments.

It also admits that the steps taken in this direction have been due to the pressure exerted by Plaid Cymru because we are an independent political party.

Let's stop being divided by London-controlled parties, that are more interested in our votes than anything else, and unite behind our own political party, Plaid Cymru, to secure our rights.