



THE smile that means "It was, almost, Phil Williams, M.P." Dr. Williams is congratulated on the tremendous Plaid vote by his wife, Ann, immediately after the count.

CAERFFILI POLL SHOWS WALES TURNING PLAID

Dr. Phil Williams writes following Caerffili:

'In those questions we saw the real victory'

What a fantastic result!

The biggest swing against the Government in any election since the war. The highest share of the poll Plaid Cymru have ever won—higher than Rhondda—and this in one of the most Anglicised constituencies in the whole of Wales.

And remember this.

Never have Plaid Cymru fought an election so positively on the issue of self-government. In Caerffili there was only one issue: the right of the people of Wales to control their own affairs. For the first time we can claim with complete conviction that the vote was a vote for self-government.

And remember also.

Never have Plaid Cymru been attacked so fiercely. In Caerfyrddin we were still treated with tolerant contempt. In Rhondda we were completely ignored until the last moment. In Caerffili the whole campaign of all three London parties was an all-out attack on Plaid Cymru. Indeed the Liberal campaign was so pathetically negative that in the last three days their loud-speaker vans totally ignored poor Peter Sadler and instead of appealing to the electors to vote Liberal they went up-and-down the valley shouting "Don't vote Plaid Cymru; don't vote Plaid Cymru; whatever you do, don't vote Plaid Cymru . . ."

But what a campaign for Plaid Cymru.

It was as described by one paper as the most pro-

fessional campaign ever seen in Wales, but professional is not the right word. If anything it was the Labour campaign that was "professional" with full-time agents drafted in from all over England, and Wales, and with more M.P.'s canvassing than I have ever seen at one time in the House of Commons.

Plaid's campaign was a young campaign with most of the key workers in their twenties or early thirties. In our literature we claimed that the young people of Wales were confident and talented: our campaign proved the point.

Plaid's campaign was a gay campaign with pop music, badges, motorcades, songs in pubs and lots of colour. People enjoyed it and that was worth a vote or two.

Plaid's campaign was, above all, an intelligent campaign. We wasted no time in attacking the other parties. We put forward serious and detailed policies—and the people of Caerffili responded. The quality of discussion in the packed meetings was the most exciting feature of the whole election. In these meetings the ordinary people of South Wales were asking penetrating questions about the problems and possibilities of a self-governing Wales.

They were asking questions not to embarrass us, nor to attack us, but because they saw self-government coming and they wanted to be prepared.

In those questions we saw the real victory.

No time to celebrate—straight back to work

The tremendous result for Plaid Cymru on Caerffili did not result in the party being swept by a gale of euphoria.

On the contrary, having received the biggest swing seen in politics for 20 years, Plaid Cymru members both on the local and national level immediately got down to work again.

In the Caerffili Constituency itself, within one week of the end of the election campaign, a new branch of Plaid Cymru had been established in Beddno, the Ystrad Mynach and Caerffili branches

had met, and plans were well under way for the establishment of new branches at Pontlottyn, Gelligaer, and at Cwm Aber.

On the national level likewise, serious work was under way within a matter of days.

The National Executive of the party met to discuss organisation on the morning of Saturday, July 27th, in Aberystwyth, while on the afternoon and evening the National Council heard reports and made policy decisions.

Plaid Cymru has shown itself to be a responsible and workman-like movement with its feet planted firmly on the ground.

800 new members during campaign

WITH 800 new members having joined Plaid Cymru in the Caerffili Constituency during the brief but intense By-Election campaign, the party has now set as an immediate target the rapid escalation of membership by 10,000—from 40,000 to 50,000.

Mr. Gwynfor Evans stated after the declaration of the result that Plaid Cymru membership had increased from a mere 15,000 when he was elected as Carmarthen's M.P. to approximately 40,000 at the present time—a period of only two years.

Membership had been given an added boost by the Rhondda West near-miss, and Caerffili has already re-activated the process.

PUBLIC IMAGE

Within the two year period, Plaid Cymru has radically improved in the public image and it is now being seized upon as the only realistic and progressive alternative to the present Westminster-style mis-government.

Mr. Evans also added that fund-raising was of essential importance if the Plaid was to continue its tremendous growth.

Fund-raising drives were

necessary because Plaid Cymru does not have wealthy industrialists to back it up financially as has the Tory Party, nor at the moment does it have the benefit of huge contributions from the trade unions.

The plain fact is that Plaid Cymru depends entirely on the contributions of members, and supporters, and on the ability of branches to raise funds through dances, sales-of-work, barbecues and so on. Its financial support is made public each year at St. David's Day. It depends on ordinary people.

Plaid Cymru's objective for this year is to raise £50,000—its highest ever target. This amount of money is essential if the full time staff is to be maintained at its present level and if publications of a high quality are to be produced.

£50,000

The alteration of the present political set-up in Wales and in the U.K. is something which costs money, and which will cost more and more money the closer Plaid Cymru gets to achieving its objective.

What is noteworthy about that £50,000 is not that it is large, but that it is necessary.

Vic Davies speaks out for miners

A WELSH Government will be able to keep "uneconomic" coal mines open until alternative jobs are available, says Mr. Vic Davies, Plaid Cymru candidate for Rhondda West.

He hit back at claims by Labour M.P. Elfed Davies, Rhondda East, that an independent Wales could never survive or keep such pits open.

Mr. Davies said: "One could even doubt whether such pits are uneconomic. Over a typical 15 month period, the National Coal Board made an operating profit of £72,500,000.

EXORBITANT

"But this was whittled down through exorbitant interest charges by the Government and depreciation, etc., to a measly £100,000 declared profit.

"Just £1 is left of every £725 working profit, and this

Gelligaer Branch for one day would like to

Relax

with active P.C. branch West Mid Wales resort Only a Break!

Offers to: Glyn Davies, 112 Giffach St., Bargoed.



Swansea West pushes up in local elections

In the recent local by-election in the Townhill ward in Swansea, held before the Caerffili campaign, the Plaid Cymru share of the poll jumped from the 19% gained in May to 23%.

Plaid Cymru's candidate Gruffydd ap Gwent, came within only two votes of pushing the Conservative into third place, while the Labour vote slumped also.

The Townhill Ward has always been regarded as Labour's strongest area in Swansea, but this latest result—only the second time for Plaid to have contested—shows that considerable inroads are beginning to be made. The Plaid Cymru Election Agent was Miss Helen Thomas.

Gruffydd ap Gwent, a solicitor in Swansea, is the Plaid Cymru Prospective Candidate for Swansea West Constituency.

Obituary

The Liberal Party in Wales

Whether the Liberal Party in Wales—formed in a manner which, very aptly, can be compared to the disestablished of the Anglican Church—has been in existence for two years or over one hundred, there is no doubt that it died in Caerffili, and that it died voicing the most shameful oaths.

The Liberal Party fought the By-Election not because it thought it would win or even do well, but quite simply in the hope of stopping Plaid's growth. Their own candidate stated as much.

Having attempted to project themselves as a party with modern and imaginative ideas—supported by a daily press which seems to view the party as a "think-tank"—the Liberals in Caerffili revealed themselves as nothing more than virulently negative creatures who refused to find glory in the role of dog-in-the-manger.

People in the Constituency will not forget one of the leading Liberals in South Wales calling Dr.

Phil Williams a "compulsive liar," nor will they easily forget how a bunch of Liberals tried to break up a thoughtful Plaid meeting in Pontlottyn by non-stop barracking until local people told them to get out.

There are some people in the Liberal Party, as in the Labour Party, who care for Wales, who care for the interests of our people, who sincerely wish to see a Welsh Parliament constructively governing our country.

The sad thing is that they are demeaning themselves, apart from wasting their time, by staying within the Liberal Party organisation.

That Red Van

In last month's "Plaid in Action" we mentioned a 'little red van' in the Caerffili Constituency, and wondered how soon it would be immortalised in song.

The answer, printed below, shows that Bargoed people are as adept at versifying as they are at electioneering.

(to John Brown's Body)

There's a small red van in Bargoed
Ant it's tearing up and down
Its message is Plaid Cymru
As it goes from town to town;
Its carburettor works for us
And never lets us down,
We'll all vote for Doctor Phil!

The Wheels of Change are turning
And they point to victory,
So let us stand together,
In our fight for liberty,
Let's not be martyrs any more
And let the whole world see,
We'll all vote for Doctor Phil!

When this election's over
There'll be many more to fight,
Till Wales regains her dignity
And all that's hers by right;
So Welshmen stand together
And proclaim with all your might—
We'll all vote for Doctor Phil!

MRS. MAUREEN MALDEN

BARGOED.

Plaid in action

Neath attracts 500

Nearly 500 people turned up on a perfect afternoon for a Garden Fete organised by the Neath Women's Branch in the grounds of "Tyle Teg," the home of Dr. and Mrs. D. B. Richards.

Mrs. Val James, of Bryn-coch, presided at the opening ceremony, which was carried out by Mrs. Rhianon Gwynfor Evans.

After moving around the various side-shows and stalls on the lawns, the guests remained in the open air to be entertained by singing and dancing. A great attraction

was Miss Elvira Austin from Patagonia who sang in Welsh and Spanish to her own guitar accompaniment.

Miss Mair Davies, of Ammanford danced the "Dawns y Glocsen," Miss Eleri Owen of Pontrhydyfen played Welsh airs on the harp and Mr. Selwyn Morris of Ystradgynlais, sang stirring tenor solos.

The Garden Party was a great financial success—making nearly £300—and even more important it earned a great deal of good will and publicity in the Neath area for Plaid Cymru.

BANGOR

A Bar-B-Q organised by the Conway Constituency Committee was held in the grounds of the home of Dr. and Mrs. Hardie in Bangor at the end of last month. Dafydd Iwan was present to delight and inspire everyone with his songs.

MERTHYR TYDFIL

The branches of Plaid Cymru in the Merthyr Constituency received an excellent press following a public meeting held in Treharris. The meeting was publicised by printed leaflets.

CARMARTHEN

It was reported in last month's meeting of the Carmarthen Constituency Committee that most branches in the constituency had already chosen their delegates to attend the Plaid Cymru National Conference which is to be held in Aberystwyth in September.

Among the motions which the Constituency has received for the Conference is one which "Deplores the continuing misrepresentation of Plaid Cymru's language policy," and another which proposes the establishment of a "Council of British States" after the advent of Self-Government to Wales and Scotland.

Secretary D. Cyril Jones is to be the Committee delegate at the conference.

SWANSEA

On the night of July 12, the Swansea Youth Branch of Plaid Cymru held its Summer Spectacular Dance in Swansea's top dance hall—the Top Rank Suite.

With over 2,000 people present, it certainly turned out to be yet another spectacular success for the Swansea Branch which is rapidly earning for itself a tremendous reputation in the field of organisation.

Dancing was to the Amen Corner, Robbie and Ray and the Jaguar Show Band.

PONTARDULAI

The Rally organised by the Pontardulais Plaid Cymru branch and held in July, was a big success.

The top-line speakers were party President, Gwynfor Evans, M.P., the Director of Research Phil Williams, the Director of Organisation Glyn John, and Executive member for Glamorgan Harri Webb.

ST. DOGMAELS

As a result of a Jumble Sale organised by the St. Dogmaels, Pembrokeshire, branch, last month over £50 was earned for the branch campaign fund, while £20 was made on a White Elephant stall.

BRIDGEND

Bridgend Branch has recently chosen a new chairman. He is Mr. Gareth Jones, a newcomer to the area, who was a local Councillor in Llandybie. With the added impetus of Mr. Jones' experience in finance and local government, the Branch intends to intensify its activities.

The Vice-Chairman of the Branch is Mr. Ivor Harris, who works with the Steel Corporation, the Secretary is librarian Mr. Pedr Jones, and the Treasurer is Mr. Richard Fattorini a company executive.

PENMACHNO

Plaid Cymru's Prospective Candidate for the Conway Division, Dafydd Ellis Thomas, was the judge of a Carnival held in Penmachno at the end of July.

The Honorary Vice-President of the Carnival was the present M.P. for Conway, Mr. Ednyfed Hudson-Davies.

BEDLINO

As a result of the intensive campaign during the Caerffili By-Election, a new branch of Plaid Cymru was established within a week of the poll at the Workmen's Institute, Bedling. Bedling is the home of Mr. Fred Evans, M.P.

Pwllheli does it . . .
Merthyr does it . . .
Rhyl does it . . .
does what ?
Send Press Releases
to Welsh Nation
but do you ?
Get into print !

send to Editor, c/o 8 Queen Street, Cardiff

Gelligaer shows the way ahead

THE STORY of the Gelligaer Branch of Plaid Cymru, since its formation in November 1966, indicates the new and remarkable vigour of the party—for in this short time it has grown in membership to a total of 250 people and has itself set up three new branches.

Ever since its first meeting, the branch has gone all out to clarify Plaid Cymru policies to the people, to increase its own strength, and to achieve political power.

Listening to the members talking one cannot but be impressed by the fact that they are completely dedicated nationalists and also realistic organisers. They are not playing any games—as the local Labour Party now realises its chagrin.

Admitting that there were naturally some early rows, officials point out that they soon settled the differences and got on with the job at hand.

The Gelligaer Branch—centred on Bargoed—decided to meet every week and a diverse programme was quickly put into effect to keep and create interest among members.

Leading figures of Plaid

Cymru spoke to the branch on an average of one a month, while other meetings were devoted to business matters, the consideration of local activities, and discussions of party policy.

The Branch decided that involvement in local politics was absolutely essential and so fought one local election in 1967, and three in 1968. Fighting seats in Fochriw and Bargoed, the candidates were Granville Thomas, Glyn Davies and Wilfred Berriman, and they gained 2,705 votes for Plaid as compared to the 3,336 votes for Labour.

That was only in the branch's second year of activity.

It was, however, the result not of magic but of real hard work—the distribution of leaflets, the selling of pamphlets, and in particular the sale of almost 1,000 Welsh Nations in January.

Such door to door contact with the people of the area preceded the unforgettable adoption of Parliamentary Candidate Phil Williams in



Les Lewis (Chairman), Dr. Phil Williams and Glyn Davies (Agent)

November, 1967, when 650 people were presented. That meeting was a presage of the future.

But the Gelligaer nationalists are also prepared to enjoy themselves—after hard work of course. They have had bus trips for members to the Dan yr Ogof Caves and Porthcawl, and have held two dances—happy grins testify to high jinks on those occasions.

The Gelligaer Branch—having formed new branches at Nelson, Blackwood and Ystradgynbach, and now forming another in Bedlinog—are no political dilettantes.

Under the lead of Chairman Les Lewis, vice-chairman Glyn Davies, Secretary John Williams, and treasurer Sid Morgan, they are in politics for Wales in a big way.

The Caerffili result proves it.

Why he voted for Plaid Cymru

THE PIECE which we print below was pushed into the Editor's hands in the Hanbury Hotel, Bargoed, during the Caerffili By-Election. It was written by a pensioner whose political commentaries were quite prolific during the campaign, and is just one indication of the political awareness which it was by no means unusual to meet throughout the constituency.

REASONS WHY

On July 18th, I shall place a cross on the ballot paper opposite the name of Dr. Phil Williams.

My reasons for doing so are enumerated below, with a forecast tail-piece.

1. **Conservative:** The people of industrial Wales have a deep-rooted contempt and antagonism for Conservatism because of the infamous activities of the Iron Founders and Coal Owners in the last half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries this makes their candidate's chance equal to that of a camel passing through the eye of a needle.

Eliminated.

2. **Liberal:** Once a praise-worthy political organisation not only in the British Isles, but on the continent of Europe. Ousted from power in Italy by Fascism, in Germany by Nazism, in Russia by Communism, and in the British Isles by Socialism—Labour, NOW absolute codswallop.

Eliminated.

3. **Labour:** The present ship of state, with its timbers shivering from stem to stern, and its officers and crew disintegrating; and yet, because

old habits die hard, the only contender to Plaid Cymru with a chance.

A fair chance.

4. **Plaid Cymru:** After more than 500 years, like the phoenix, rises from the ashes of Owen Glyndwr, champion of Welsh independence, who summoned a Welsh parliament and devoted his life to resistance against English domination.

Dr. Phil Williams is out to emulate that illustrious gentleman, with better armour for the fight, and more hope of lasting success. A worthy candidate, intellectually superior—if the earning of degrees, academic awards and distinctions have anything to do with it—to any of his opponents.

Not contesting for his own self aggrandisement—he does not consider a parliamentary seat as a sinecure—but because he is sick and tired of the Welsh nation playing the role of Cinderella in the affairs of these islands.

At the general election when the Tories were voted out of office, the popular cry was "Change, Change! We must have change!" That cry is echoing in the valleys today.

It may reach such a crescendo that it will shatter the foundations of the Labour stronghold at Caerffili and topple it down like the Walls of Jericho.

An Outstanding Chance.

Prophetic words by Plaid organiser

Whilst addressing the inaugural meetings of the Nelson and Ystradgynbach Branches—before the Caerffili campaign—Dafydd Williams, assistant organiser for Plaid Cymru in South Wales, made the following statement:

"Half-a-dozen men in the Rhymney Valley have changed the whole political climate in favour of Plaid Cymru."

On July 18, 1968, 14,274 people showed that his claim was nothing but the truth.

Calling on the vastly deep

ONE OF the fortunately funny stories of the Caerffili campaign was that of a small car of young Plaid workers charging into 5 foot of flood water under a bridge in Cardiff.

On several occasions following the lucky escape, the well known driver described most vividly how, after the initial mistake of believing that the water ahead was a mere puddle, they had, with a great splash, found themselves floating.

Only temporarily, however! With water rising up to their chests, the four occupants had to scramble to safety.

Seeing a policeman looking somewhat askance, profuse apologies were made for the fact that the car was now stationary in a yellow line zone.

With a wit which in the circumstances was remarkably dry, the policeman looked in the direction of the car (only the roof of which was now showing) and replied, "That, is the least of your worries."

Caerffili Comment

New Statesman (Mervyn Jones)

I WATCHED Caerffili with respect. One doesn't often see so many people thinking.

South Wales Echo

THE message from the valleys of both Wales and Scotland is now ominously clear for all three major parties. No longer can the nationalists be dismissed as a political aberration.

The Times

THE Government has been saved, if only just saved, from the bitter humiliation of losing one of their safest strongholds in Wales. That is practical comfort for it at a time when it is badly needed. Nevertheless, it was undoubtedly a moral victory for the Nationalists . . . the result must shock the whole Labour movement.

Western Mail

BY coming within 2,000 votes of wiping out a Labour majority of 21,000 at Caerffili, Plaid Cymru must now be clearly regarded as an alternative to Labour in many constituencies in a way the Conservatives have never been. The support Plaid Cymru have won among the working class, especially the young, poses for the Labour Party the very real threat that its traditional power base might now be crumbling.

Daily Telegraph

THE consistent strength of the Scottish Nationalists and Plaid Cymru will surely force both the major political parties to consider now what they can legitimately concede of the nationalists' aspirations.

This should be done in any case—but it will doubtless not escape their notice that if they do nothing they run the risk of a tied election, with the nationalists holding the balance in the next Parliament.

The Guardian

BEHIND the advance of Plaid and the Scottish National Party there is a less tangible dynamite—their idealism and claim to the radical traditions which once were Labour's. This is evident in the thousands of young people who have made an active commitment to the Nationalist cause . . . The Plaid is gaining ground because it is Welsh and because it is racial.

By-Election officials

The Plaid Cymru Election Directorate in the Caerffili Campaign consisted of Dr. Phil Williams (Candidate), Glyn Davies (Agent), Peter Williams (Meetings Organiser), Elwyn Jones (Canvassing Organiser), Cllr. Bryn John (treasurer), and Sid Morgan (Publicity Director).

Each Director was to have his own Committee and be responsible to the main Elections Committee, but owing to the Government's haste in holding the Election, various ad-hoc arrangements were made necessary.

Quite clearly, however, they did not unduly affect the Plaid's showing!

Another Canute as Labour M.P.

"These things will happen," said Mr. Emrys Jones, "I cannot understand it."

He added that he thought the victory would be seen "as the beginning of the downfall of Welsh Nationalism . . . because people will see how useless it is to support these kind of policies and how ineffective they will be in Parliament."

Mr. Jones, the Secretary of the Welsh Council of Labour, was of course speaking after the Carmarthen By-Election of July 1966 when Gwynfor Evans gained the first seat for Plaid Cymru.

Since that time there have

been two by-elections in Wales and on each occasion Plaid Cymru has rocked the Labour Party in what were once its valley fortresses: Plaid Cymru has increased its percentage of the poll on three successive occasions.

It has been a remarkable "downfall" for Plaid Cymru, one which the Labour Party must be very jealous of!

Apparently, however, Plaid Cymru is set for an even "worse" future, for after the Caerffili By-Election the Labour candidate—having seen his party's majority cut from 21,148 to 1,874—stated that the "growing tide of Welsh nationalism . . . has been stemmed."

Quite clearly, yet another Canute has entered the ranks of Labour M.P.'s.

WHY NOT?

(a conversation in Bargoed)

Why can't we be like other people? Said Ianto Thomas, born at Abergavenny, Didn't know Welsh but liked to hear it spoken, Lived all his life at Pantywaun Till the place was evacuated and left to the rats, Sharing a lavatory with seven families.

Why can't we be like other countries That do things tidy, Switzerland and them, Instead of spending millions killing people? Said Ianto Thomas, old soldier and old miner. He had been on the Somme, seen Jack Collins Win his V.C., had listened to Cook and Ablett, Had marched to London under hunger's banner.

He raised his pensioner's pint, and drank the health Of the new Wales singing around him, These are the boys who'll do it, said Ianto Thomas, To hell with the old lot, Why shouldn't we be free?

—HARRI WEBB.

A new and high tone introduced by Plaid

The Caerfili By-Election result demonstrated in no uncertain manner that Plaid Cymru has made a very real political breakthrough.

This was the third time in succession that the Plaid has rocked the monolithic Labour Party—and no one was foolish enough to speak of a flash-in-the-pan on this occasion.

As far as the future of Plaid Cymru is concerned, two things emerged from the campaign which are of particular significance: firstly, that the detailed organisation of the campaign and the brunot of canvassing was borne by local people and, secondly, that the party fought the By-Election entirely on the policies of Plaid Cymru. These two features are very good auguries for a General Election.

It was noteworthy that on what was perhaps the first occasion when Plaid Cymru ideas got through to the people—and the size and nature of the public meetings demonstrated the extent to which it did get through—the opposition could do nothing but plaintively bleat that the programme had been "watered down" or "tailored to suit" the constituency.

Great praise should in fact be accorded to Phil Williams and the excellent local Plaid Cymru members for deciding to pursue a political "teach-in" campaign rather than to resort to perhaps more attractive but far less positive and constructive methods.

Above all they should be commended for sticking to the "Victory through Education" formulae even when the barrage of slander flew thick and fast from the Westminster Parties. Because Plaid kept cool and rational, often under grave provocation, throughout the campaign, political commentators were prepared to concede that the party had as a result brought a new and high tone to politics.

It is thus absolutely clear that Plaid Cymru has established itself as a major political force in the industrial South-East and agricultural West of Wales. One wonders now how politically advanced it is in the northern countries.

* * *

Measuring up to people's trust

Members of Plaid Cymru are now realising the full implications of the challenge before them, and their response bodes well for the future of Wales.

The fact is that it is now totally irresponsible merely to appear at election time to gather votes and then do nothing but shout "Parliament for Wales" until the next round.

Nationalists have realised with the advent of mass public support that a vote is a trust, a sign of confidence, and indication of the hope that each person puts in Plaid Cymru, and that it follows that it is a part of the task of nationalists to measure up to this trust.

In the Caerfili Constituency, for example, the political structure has been utterly altered: 14,247 people have said that "Plaid Cymru is our Party," and the local Plaid organisation has responded by declaring that the confidence will be proved justified, that nationalists in turn will back up the supporters of Plaid Cymru. The energy of the party is to be carried fully into the everyday life of the community, for that is the only responsible thing to do.

Future based on a hundred flags

"L'Europe aux cent drapeaux" by
Yann Fouere (Presses d'Europe)
reviewed by Dr. Noel Davies

ALTHOUGH it is at present available only in French, this is a book of such importance that it should be brought to the notice of readers of the "Welsh Nation" at once, without waiting for the translations into English and other languages which (let us hope) may follow soon.

The phrase "a united Europe" is in common use today; but many people who use it have only the vaguest idea of what the purpose and basis of this united Europe should be. This is the subject to which the author addresses himself with admirable clarity, with strong conviction, and with a background of wide-ranging study and extensive international experience.

After a brief historical introduction, Yann Fouere poses the problem of the three choices which confront the would-be builders of a united Europe.

Should it be constructed on the basis of the existing so-called "nation-states" (a misnomer, for most of them have been created by forcibly annexing smaller nationalities)?

Should it be a European super-State, an inflating all existing boundaries and distinctions?

Or should it be a "Europe of regions," in which the boundaries or each unit are determined by nationality and other natural and historically-conditioned factors? Yann Fouere answers these questions on the following lines.

The existing "nation-states," mostly products of

the 19th century and none more than 300 years old, are based on a conception of the absolute sovereignty of the State, which leads to totalitarianism and over-centralisation, and their history has been marked by disastrous wars.

France, by her rigid adherence to this conception of State sovereignty, has come near to wrecking such organisations for European co-operation as were created after the second World War. The larger European States would continue to dominate a "united Europe" constructed on the basis of existing States, and their rivalries would make its effective survival impossible.

Instead of providing a remedy, the creation of a European super-State would merely make matters worse by taking participation in the shaping of their own destinies still more completely out of the hands of the people of its component units. The author quotes Leopold Kohr's analysis which finds the chief cause of wars and violence in the inflation of human institutions to an excessive size. Crimes, for instance, are proportionately more numerous in large than in small cities, and police brutality is found where the State gives too much power to the police. It is not by increasing the number of the police that crime can be eliminated in Chicago, says Kohr, but by eliminating urban communities of the size of Chicago.

The industrial revolution and the fantastic increases in production, exchanges, and population during the past century have made the existing "nation-states" obsolete. They have shown themselves incapable of solving the problems of production, equitable distribution, unemployment, monetary stability and peace.

It is essential to create a united Europe in order to solve these problems, the solution of which is the object of true patriotism. To do this we must "divide to unite," "decentralise inwardly, and federate outwardly."

The federal structure of the new Europe must be simple, not a rigid system. The principle of every federation is that the constituent units should control all matters of policy except those which are specifically delegated to the central body; democracy is learnt at local level, and small societies have always been major factors in civilisation and progress. It is also a matter of historical fact that the successful federations have been those composed of small political units, with none exceeding the others too much in power and size.

A "hierarchy of powers" and a multitude of "intermediate organisations" are essential for democratic government, and the new Europe can flourish only by respecting and safeguarding the diversities of which it is composed. Uniting Europe in a monolithic capitalist or communist structure would not solve its problems. Neither capitalism nor communism is to be found in its pure form in Europe today, and elements of both might exist in the Europe of the future.

This leads the author on to a consideration (in Chapters IX and X) of the manner in which the "regions" of a united Europe should be constructed. This is, of course, a very important part of the book; but it would take too much space to follow its argument in detail here.

Briefly stated, it envisages a division of Europe into regions with a population of from one to eight millions

apiece. Their limits should be determined by human as well as economic factors, and as far as possible each should contain a single nationality. Where a national unit was too small to constitute a region, it should have its administrative and cultural autonomy guaranteed by law.

The regions are not something that has to be manufactured artificially; their natural basis exists already; "they have not to be created, only to be liberated." In some cases an existing State, e.g., Norway, could become a region without any modification of its frontiers; others would have to be divided.

Wales and Scotland would each become a region; and the rest of Britain could be divided into eight other regions. Each region would have its own Parliament and legal system, and would control its own finances and educational, economic and social policy, while the federal authority would be responsible for foreign policy and defence, the co-ordination of economic planning and social security systems, and the safeguarding of individual and ethnic human rights.

The book is full of significant facts (e.g., that it was three small nations that set an example for a united Europe by forming Benelux) and quotations from such diverse sources as Aristotle, Burke (who foresaw that the French would never succeed in turning Bretons into Frenchmen), H. G. Wells, Walter Hallstein, Jean Guittou, Proudhon and Pope John.

There is plenty in this book to remind us of the teachings of the Welsh Nationalist movement, and plenty of new ideas and insights to set us thinking about them more deeply.

Assessing the Donovan Report — Phil Richards

The central recommendation of the Donovan Royal Commission on Trade Unions, that legal sanctions should not be made an important feature of the British system of industrial relations, is a sensible one.

Much pressure had been put on the Commission, especially by the Conservative Party, to threaten trade unionists with legal consequences for breaking collective agreements.

Wisely however, Lord Donovan and the majority of the other eleven members came to the conclusion that legal sanctions would do nothing to harmonise relations between management and workers but would only be likely to cause bitterness amongst those affected.

The principal concern in the event of an industrial dispute, stated the report, should be to tackle the grievances of the employees and not to enforce by legal means an agreement which has been found to produce unrest. Official strikes

are, in fact, not a serious problem in the U.K. and instances of trade union officials breaking collective agreements are extremely rare.

The Tory proposals are clearly directed to aid the profit motives of management and not to meet the social needs of workers, while the policy of introducing legal sanctions against trade unionists has something of the mentality of vengeance which reactionary circles are inclined to attribute to trade unionists themselves. It is heartening that the Donovan Commission has rejected these.

COMMISSION

Instead, the Commission proposes an Industrial Relations Commission whose job it will be to aid harmony between management and workers by investigating both disputes and general difficulties. This proposal, together with the recommendation that there should be more agreement on a factory-wide basis, may help to ease the frustrations caused by the lengthy delays involved at present in the settlement of disputes.

The report realistically encourages trade unionism

and to this end a majority on the Commission proposed that unofficial strikers should lose their protection from the rigours of the law of tort. Five of the more liberal members oppose this and it is difficult to see how the intervention of the law will solve the problems which give rise to unofficial strikes. Nevertheless that the Commission should recognise trade unions as the principal bargaining representatives of workers is clearly desirable.

WELSH T.U.C.

The Commission recognises the importance of his job to a worker and proposes safeguards against unfair dismissal which in some way makes up for the economic gap between the positions of employers and employees. This continues a tendency found in recent statutes to regard the worker as having a kind of property in his job. This is far more reasonable than the traditional legal attitude of treating employer and employees as equal partners to the contract of employment.

Rather vaguely, the Commission recommends a re-organisation of the T.U.C., not only at national but also at local level, suggesting the appointment of full-time regional officers and the establishment of regional committees.

This raises the matter of the establishment of a Welsh T.U.C. Pressure for the establishment of such an institution

is mounting and the idea will become immediately practical if other unions follow the lead of the Transport and General Workers' Union (Britain's largest) and reorganise their internal structure so as to regard Wales as a single entity.

Certainly a Welsh T.U.C. would be a useful weapon for the protection of Welsh workers against the peculiar problems which face them. The reform would do no more than bring Wales in line with Scotland and Ireland who have for many years had national T.U.C.s.

PARTICIPATION

One of the most disappointing aspects of the Donovan Report is the failure of the Commission members to agree on proposals for greater worker participation in management. All members are stated to regard the subject as important but only two, Messrs. Eric Wigham and Andrew Shonfield, made proposals for compulsory representation of workers on the boards of companies. Even this is very far from workers' control of industry which one sees as a desirable aim.

It is only fair to admit however that the Commission saw as its main purpose the reform of the present system of collective bargaining and in this field it has produced valuable work. The new Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations (HMSO) £1. 0s. 0d.).



FLOOD PETITION BY COUNCILLORS

Storm Damage?

... PLAID CYMRU
can help you !!

The plea that went to
George Thomas

The letter which went from Rhondda Councillors Richard Jarman and Ken Thomas:

WE, members of Rhondda branch of Plaid Cymru, wish to petition Her Majesty's Government for aid for those people who suffered as a consequence of the heavy floods and accompanying thunderstorms during July 1st to 6th and subsequently.

As a result of our visits to people so affected and of the utter inadequacy of sympathy, which alone we could offer to them, we decided to approach the matter systematically.

Consequently we had a hastily printed pamphlet distributed (and we are

still endeavouring to complete this vast task of 40,000 (or so) houses) so that we could approach you with a reasonably accurate assessment of the damage.

In view, however, of the tragic losses sustained by people in south west England and elsewhere, with whom we deeply sympathise, and the laudible decision of the government to help in cases of this nature, we would respectfully submit the Rhondda case for your consideration, and with this in mind, request that our application be forwarded to the appropriate department.

When our survey is complete, we will send you full and detailed estimate.

Homes hit for third time in same year

PLAID CYMRU councillors are petitioning the Government for assistance for victims of July thunderstorms and floods in Rhondda.

Over 40,000 homes are being visited and Plaid investigations are revealing damage of up to £250 in some homes. Some homes had been hit for the third time in a year.

Each occupier is being left with a leaflet to be filled in and sent to his local Plaid Cymru councillor with an estimated cost of the storm damage. When returns are complete, they will be sent to the Welsh Office.

Behind the scheme are Councillors Richard Jarman and Ken Thomas. Coun. Thomas of Treorchy, said: "There was quite a bit of damage caused during these storms. Some houses affected had never before been hit by floods, but others were suffering for the second and third time in a year."

CAN'T HELP

"In some areas, the damage was quite bad, although nothing like that caused in the west of England. We have received, though, estimates of damage ranging from £35 to £250."

As the borough council was

unable to help and the valley's flood fund, set up after a previous disaster, had just run out, Rhondda district executive committee stepped in.

"We are determined to try and get some help for these people, from the Welsh Office or the Government. We have already sent a letter to George Thomas, Secretary of State for Wales, asking for his help when flood damage claims for south west England are being considered," said Coun. Thomas.

He emphasised: "There is no nationalism in this act. It is purely a humanitarian move."

The replies received by the Rhondda executive showed no evidence of householders trying "to get on a bandwagon," said Coun. Thomas. "Only those really affected are sending in claims."

He refused to guess at the chance of any success. "We tell people there is no guarantee of any action, but at least we are trying to do something. And this is no political gimmick," added Coun. Thomas.

Westminster and Wales

UNFILLED VACANCIES

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity what is the current number of vacancies per hundred unemployed persons in the West Midlands, East Midlands and South-East regions and in Wales, respectively.

Mr. Harold Walker: Following is the information: Numbers of notified vacancies remaining unfilled to every hundred persons registered as wholly unemployed at May, 1968:

West Midlands	61
East Midlands	76
South East	92
Wales	24

MONMOUTHSHIRE

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Minister of Public Building and Works why the maps of England, Scotland and Wales in the Benquetting House Exhibition of Historic Monuments in Britain exclude Monmouthshire from Wales.

Mr. Mellish: It is generally established by Statutes going back to 1535 that Monmouthshire is to be regarded as one of the counties of England. In practice, the county is treated as part of Wales for most administrative purposes, including the supervision of ancient monuments.

ROADS

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Wales what plans he has to improve road communications between southern and northern Wales.

Mr. George Thomas: These substantial plans are set out in paragraphs 54, 55, 371 and 393 of "Wales: The Way Ahead" (Cmd. 3334).

Mr. Evans: Is the Secretary of State aware that for only one-third of the cost of the new town announced in 1964 for mid-Wales, the Government could construct a splendid spine road from Cardiff to Caernarvon via Merthyr Tydfil and Ruabon, and Wrexham, with reconstructed trunk roads running off it to the west and east?

Mr. Thomas: I am glad to note that the hon. Gentleman is now aware that I have responsibility for roads in Wales. May I advise him that if he talks to his own county council in Carmarthenshire, he will find that what it is interested in is an east-west road and not a north-south road. What it is interested in, in the north, is a road from Bangor to Chester. These communications must have priority, but of course I want to see the maximum improvement in all directions in the roads of Wales.

WELSH OFFICE

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Wales whether he will make a further statement on the explosion at the Welsh Office on 25th May.

Mr. George Thomas: I have nothing to add to my statement to the House on 27th May (Vol. 765, 1229-1234). Questions relating to police investigations are a matter for my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary.

Mr. Evans: Will the right hon. Gentleman join me in condemning all violence against persons as well as property, including that violence for which massive and expensive preparations are made by the Government to kill and maim people and to poison and asphyxiate them?

Mr. Speaker: Order. This Question is about an explosion in Wales.

Mr. Thomas: I welcome the hon. Gentleman today. (Oral answers).

UNIVERSITY OF WALES

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what proportion of the students of the University of Wales come from Welsh schools.

Mr. Edward Short: I regret that this information is not available.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what proportion of students of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge respectively, come from English schools.

Mr. Edward Short: I regret that this information is not available.

PROBATION OFFICERS

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what plans he has to appoint a Welsh training officer responsible for the training of probation officers in Wales.

Mr. Ennals: The professional training of applicants for the probation service is arranged centrally before they are appointed to their future probation and after-care areas, and includes practical training under experienced probation officers throughout England and Wales. Central courses for subsequent in-service training are also arranged by the Home Office. A separate training officer for Wales is not contemplated nor would the work load appear to justify it.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Mr. J. E. B. Hill asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will list the local education authorities which have secondary reorganisation schemes covering the whole or part of their areas either implemented or approved.

Mr. Edward Short: The information is as follows:

Local Education Authorities with schemes for the reorganisation of secondary education either implemented or approved:

1. For Whole or Greater Part of Area:

Anglesey, Cardiff, Cardiganshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Merioneth, Merthyr Tydfil, Montgomeryshire, Newport.

2. For Part of Area Only: Breckonshire, Caernarvonshire, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, Swansea, Radnorshire.

EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

Mr. Gwynfor Evans asked the Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity where are the worst pockets of unemployment in Wales; how many people are involved; how long the problem has lasted already; what steps she is taking to cure it; and when she expects to find a permanent cure.

Mr. Walker: The Welsh Development Area where 26,062 people were registered as wholly unemployed on 10th June, 1968, covers most of Wales and includes the South Wales valleys and remote rural areas where unemployment has been a persistent problem since the First World War. Incentives to industrial expansion are being reinforced in places where collieries are closing. I expect Government Assistance to produce a marked reduction in the level of unemployment in the Welsh Development Area and the national level in the next three years.

Letters to the Editor

CAERFFILI THANK YOU!

Dear Sir,
May I use your columns to express the thanks of Dr. Phil Williams and myself to everyone who contributed to the By-Election campaign.

This was without doubt the most successful Plaid Cymru election campaign ever achieved and it could not have been so without the wholehearted support which was received during the latter stages from Plaid Cymru members living outside the constituency.

We sincerely hope that the result of the By-Election will have a profound effect on hastening the day when democracy returns to Wales.

GLYN DAVIES (Agent)
Bargoed.

WELSH YOUTH

Dear Sir,
Running dances? Concert parties? Motor rallies? Sports contents? Cross country hikes? Carnivals? Torch processions, Regattas? You name it, they can do it! After all, their contribution to the Caerffili campaign was really tremendous.

I refer to our Welsh Youth, who I am sure could not only raise the money themselves, but also prepare detailed organisation so as to set up their own Plaid Cymru Youth Centres throughout the country, centres which would immediately become the foci for all social activities of the neighbourhood.

Selling papers is a slow and hard way of making money for a branch, but it is important

as far as disseminating party propaganda is concerned. Could not a better discount be offered to branches, and a competition arranged with a substantial prize in money for best branch sales?

I hesitate to mention the building of our own North-South Motorway, but even that is not beyond the bounds of feasibility!

JOHN G. BREESE
London, N.18.

MICHAEL X

Dear Sir,
I was most interested by your inclusion of one of the sayings of Michael Abdul as the Quotation of the Month in the June issue. It prompts one to realise that the bases of the Black Power movement and Plaid Cymru are not entirely dissimilar.

Yet many Plaid supporters, who are quite sympathetic to the idea of Civil Rights completely fail to understand the aims of Michael X and his followers.

Black Society

What they want is the establishment of a Black society, with Black institutions controlled by their own people. In this light, the Civil Rights movement is an irrelevancy, involving the attempted assimilation of negroes into a White society. It is likely to meet with as much opposition as did the imposing of an alien English Society on the Welsh.

Own Affairs

That a people should be allowed to control its own affairs and develop its own form of society is surely a healthy thing and it is on

these lines that so-called 'white liberals' should be thinking.

PHIL R'CHARDS
Plasnewydd, Cardiff.

PEOPLE AWAIT

Dear Sir,
Congratulations on a first class Welsh Nation. Having been purified by fire, I hope that "The Nation" is now firmly established and will keep up this high standard.

I feel a little reluctant to offer my halting prose and thoughts after reading such fine articles, but may I make a few observations.

May I commend the article by Brian Morgan Edwards on Local Elections in the May issue and ask Branches to discuss it. The success of Plaid in number of votes obtained at that time is certainly very encouraging, but we must stop thinking in such terms.

Winning Seats

Winning the seats is the only measure of success. We must throw off the pre-Carmarthen mentality of finding comfort in the 'growth' of support. John Bull only respects the victor.

I don't believe that the candidates nor members of Plaid need to be proving that we didn't do so badly. Generally we are confident and will not be depressed by a few set-backs.

If we don't win we have virtually failed, and must fight again with redoubled efforts, and preparation as B. M. Edwards has pointed out.

I find it agonizing that according to a survey in April, half the people of Aberystwyth don't know what Plaid stand for—and the same is

true for this area and many others.

Our people are waiting for us; we must go out to them, and generally speaking they will welcome us with open arms.

The time has never been so propitious for our Nation.

Doorstep Battle

Committees have their place and value but the battle will be won on the doorstep—meeting and informing and being 'involved' with our people.

Let us cherish Carmarthen and Rhondda as past victories but we must not dwell too long on them. We are not home and dry yet.

MEREDITH EDWARDS
Cilcain, Flint

DROWNING VALLEYS OF MID-WALES

Dear Sir,
I am glad "Welsh Nation" has spoken strongly about Dulas and I hope it will speak equally strongly about Llangynog and Pennant-Melagell be threatened in the same way. I am a cooped member of the defence committee there.

Crazy
The whole policy of drowning food-producing valleys anywhere in Britain, is crazy, because we are already a small over-populated island vulnerable to a shortage of food supplies.

Apart from sentiment, there is just plain logic in that. With a great mighty ocean around us, and plenty of money in our industrial cities, we should make salt water usable for industry.

PEGGY GOODMAN
Corwen.

James Connolly

Socialist who fought for his country

CEREMONIES in Edinburgh, Dublin and Belfast have been held to mark the centenary of the birth of James Connolly, the Irish patriot and socialist who was executed along with other Easter Rising leaders in 1916.

Connolly was born into the poverty-stricken Irish community of Edinburgh on June 5, 1868, and he is described as having educated himself by "reading by the light of embers, whose charred sticks served him as pencils."

It was not until 1882 that he saw Ireland for the first time, as a member of the King's Liverpool Regiment, and in fact it was in Scotland—after deserting the army—that he became politically conscious and active in socialist politics. Becoming secretary of the Scottish Socialist Federation and a leading campaigner, he is regarded as one of the rank and file pioneers of socialism in Scotland.

Following difficulties with the Edinburgh Corporation, who were his rather less progressive employers, Connolly became a, sporadically, paid official of the Dublin Socialist Club and in 1896 he formed the Irish Socialist Republican Party.

SUBJECTION

The I.S.R.P. as a part of its visionary programme, claimed that "the subjection of one nation to another, as of Ireland to the authority of the British Crown, is a barrier to the free political and economic development of the subjected nation, and can only serve the interests of the exploiting classes of both nations."

It was Connolly's opinion that the twin currents of thought in Ireland at the time, those of nationalism and of socialism, were not antagonistic but in fact complementary. Claiming that the Irish socialist was the best patriot, he insisted that the socialist should look inward for his justification, rest his arguments upon the facts of Irish history, and oppose the subjection of Ireland.

ECONOMIC

Connolly believed that the Irish question was at bottom an economic question and that the economic struggle should be at first function nationally before it could function internationally.

Following a period of seven

years in the U.S.A., Connolly returned with his family to Belfast in 1910 where he became a militant labour organiser. He once wrote of the Irish Transport Union that "It found the workers of Ireland on their knees and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood: it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices and replace them with some of the virtues of free men."

CONVERT

Following his years of patient and arduous toil, often apparently with no success, Connolly found in Dublin in 1913 that the whole scene had changed.

Following the great strike and lock-out of that year, Connolly realised that 1913 had become one of those moments in history when it is easier to convert a multitude than it usually is to convert an individual; when ideas seem to seize the masses as distinct from ordinary times when individuals slowly seize upon ideas. It was a result of the harrowing experiences of 1913 that the workers formed the Irish Citizens' Army.

INFLUENCE

Already, Connolly's socialist interpretation of nationalism had begun to influence the other Irish leaders for he perhaps above all had worked out a coherent social philosophy.

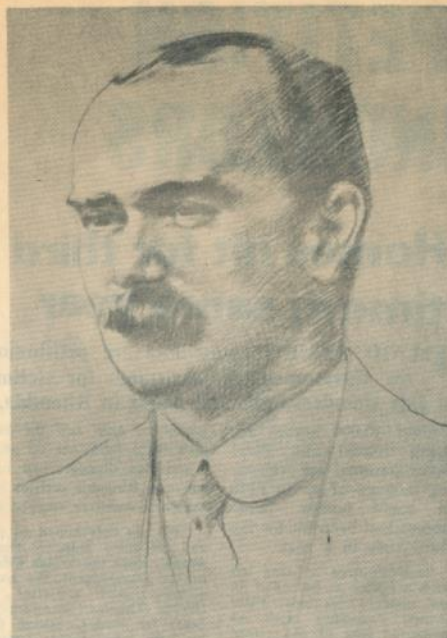
Padraig Pearse wrote that "Separation from England would be valueless unless it put the people—the actual people, and not merely certain rich people—of Ireland in effectual ownership and possession of the soil of Ireland," and the signatories of the Proclamation of the Republic in 1916 stated their agreement with Connolly's philosophy.

LIBERTY HALL

Being one of the most experienced soldiers, James Connolly was Commandant General of the Easter Rising and his union headquarters at Liberty Hall was a veritable fortress for the Republic. During the fighting Connolly was wounded and on May 12, 1916, sitting on a stretcher, he was executed by the British Army.



OLD LIBERTY HALL



Welsh Athletics Star leaves for Zambia

by Jeff Palmer

Liz Gill realised at a very early age that she could run faster than the other girls (and boys) in her class in a Barry primary school.

But it was not until she was fourteen years old and a pupil at Barry Grammar School that she entered any serious competition. Her first competitive race was in the Glamorgan Schools Sports when she was second in the hundred yards.

Liz Gill joined Barry Athletic Club but was not serious about her sprinting and did not train with any dedication until her second year in Barry Training College in 1964. She ran in the Welsh Games at Cardiff and had a very poor race. She decided that her attitude to athletics must become more professional.

RECOGNITION

Throughout the winter of 1964-65 she trained every single night, and by the spring and early summer of 1964-65, Liz was turning in faster times than any other British sprinter.

She wasn't recognised by the officials of A.A.A., however, because meetings run in Wales have little or no significance in British Athletics. (At this present time her friend, Liz Parsons-Johns, is having the same trouble.)

Thus, by her times she was the best but just didn't have a chance to prove it against the other female sprinters, until an indoor meeting at Cosford in Wolverhampton.

She was chosen as a reserve for this meeting: someone dropped out, Liz stepped in and not only won the race but equalled the European and U.K. national record for the sixty yards indoor sprint in a time of 6.9 seconds.

TOOK CHANCE

She had been given one chance and taken it. Within seven days she was in the G.B. v. U.S.A. match. The whole of the summer of 1965

Liz represented Great Britain in all internationals and travelled all over Europe. In the process she won two bronze medals in the World University Games in Budapest.

The highlight of the summer was being runner up U.K. Female Athlete 1965. The winner was Anne Smith and third was Mary Rand, both these athletes are of course Olympic Gold medallists. So Liz Gill had reached the top in the short space of a few months. She had done more than she could have ever dreamed.

EMPIRE

After this fantastic summer of 1965, Liz entered her last year in her training to become a school teacher at Barry Training College. The final year in a school teacher's training requires much hard work and Liz decided to concentrate on her studies.

All the time she had been in College she had received much encouragement and help from the Principal, Dr. E. D. Lewis, and her Games Lecturer, Mrs. M. Hughes. A way of repaying this help, she thought, was to put as much effort into her work as she could.

1966 was not as successful a year, although she did win an international sprint in East Berlin in February and represented Wales in the Empire Games in Jamaica.

She then finished in College, became Mrs. Lewis, and took up a post as an assistant Lecturer at Caerleon College of Education. She now found she had ceased to enjoy her training and decided to retire from competitive athletics.

ZAMBIA

When I talked to Liz Lewis it was just five weeks before she leaves for Zambia. She and her husband are to take up teaching appointments.

It was quite obvious that they were going to Africa because there are great opportunities for young enthusiastic teachers. They both feel with hard work they will be able to reach the top in their chosen careers. Liz also feels that in this new African

WHAT on earth has happened to John Morgan on his Harlech television interviews? What is worse, what has happened to Sian Phillips?

Someone pulled the cork out of this interview with Sian Phillips. The sparkle that should have been generated by these two talented people talking got lost on its way to my television set. What I saw was an oxidised John Morgan talking like the Pope with a cultured Welsh accent to Maudie Littlehampton throwing in contrived gestures all over the place.

Sian considered the society in which she was raised the most civilised in the world—it allowed for eccentricities, play-writing postmistresses and cynnangedd composing postmen and she added, "I'm not a nationalist or anything like that."

It would be interesting to learn from someone claiming to come from such a civilised people just what she is. The interview managed to concoct it well enough.

I was going to say nothing came out of this interview but as the captions rolled over the most tedious pieces of tired talk, John and Sian moved to light a cigarette and inhale deeply.

Sian cariad—please come back to the most civilised societies in the world.

Two drama presentations by B.B.C. were Shaw's "Man and Superman" on B.B.C. 1 and Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" on B.B.C. Wales. What date-



less plays Shaw wrote. The dialogue glistened and his biting comment on the hypocrisy in Edwardian England flashed its way across the years.

B.B.C. Wales' series of Welsh language plays by contemporary dramatists is worthwhile viewing.

"Yr Estron" (the stranger of foreigner) was not a champagne night for Harri Pritchards Jones. It was his first play to be televised. It is a very unhappy tale about the funeral of a young Irish man's grandfather. To make things worse an attempt at a different camera work went wrong. To show the viewers how the young man saw his old home in the west of Ireland a portable camera resting on an operator's shoulder swayed about resting at random. When it stopped shivering the object it had settled upon was out of focus. It was all very annoying and my sympathy goes out to Harri Pritchard Jones.

One thing bothered me about this play. It was of course performed in Welsh. The odd thing about it was, I could not believe the actors to be Irish. I could not "hear" the Irish accent coming through the Welsh essential in a play like this.

I found it interesting because I was not troubled by this aspect in "Hedda Gabler."

I want to see more of Harri Pritchard Jones work.

country, where there is a real keenness for athletics she might start competitive running once again.

I hope they will enjoy their new life and they will be happy in their new country but it seems a great shame to me that young and talented Welsh teachers are leaving to

give their many skills to other countries.

Let us all hope the day will come when sportsmen and non-sportsmen will have many opportunities that other countries of the world seem to enjoy and will not have to leave Wales for these advantages.

LIZ GILL



Unemployment up —mines threat

THE NEWS revealed by the Government's Department of Employment and Productivity is that there was an increase in unemployment in Wales during July as compared to June.

In June the seasonally adjusted unemployment figure for Wales was 39,700 or 4.0%, whereas in July the corresponding figure was 40,000 or 4.1%.

The unemployment percentage for the whole of the United Kingdom—by including the Welsh and Scottish figures the gap is of course made to look smaller—is 2.5% which is only .5% above Harold Wilson's famous 2% limit of tolerability.

MIRACLE

As will be noticed, unemployment in Wales and Scotland is almost twice even the U.K. percentage—and that is the best comparison the Government could choose to use.

The seasonally adjusted monthly figures of unemployment in Wales have in fact been rising steadily since February.

February 3.6%
March 3.7%
April 3.9%
May 3.9%
June 4.0%
July 4.1%

This is hardly the kind of progress towards an "economic miracle," to quote the words of the Prime Minister, that one would expect.

The most modest thing

which an unbiased observer could possibly say would be that in Wales at least the situation has made no improvement which is apparent to the normal human eye. If he were brash and "extravagant in his claims," to quote another member of the Government, he might even say that the situation is apparently getting worse.

CLOSURE

Yet in face of all this, the Government is preparing to allow the N.C.B. to close another colliery, this time in the Ammanford area where unemployment is already particularly high.

It is also known that collieries in the Bargoed area are also possibly due for the axe (the Labour Candidate's Election Address in the Caerffili By-Election ominously mentioned Groesfaen and Penallta) and this again is an area of already high unemployment.

If the Labour Government had a malicious delight in killing off Welsh communities it could surely do no better than it is doing now.

But one prefers to ascribe its actions to a bureaucratic heedlessness, based on inhuman economic theories, which is every bit as devastating. Whitehall is behaving almost incredibly stupidly from the Welsh standpoint; but from their standpoint, no doubt, Wales is very small.



New hope for Welsh T.U.C.

THE PLAN for a T.U.C. for Wales has been thrown out three times as being impractical, expensive and because of lack of support from North Wales.

But once again officials of the Confederation of Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and West Wales Trade Councils have persuaded the South Wales T.U.C. Regional Advisory Committee to negotiate with their opposite numbers in North Wales so as to form a united front in order to establish a Welsh T.U.C.

REVOLUTION

The revolutionary plan is to be put before the Union's Conference at the Isle of Man this month, and if the resolution is carried then, two of the Union's regions will disappear.

appear. North and South Wales would be merged and the Border parts of the North Wales area would join the Merseyside region.

This will really mean a Welsh T.G.W.U. and should the other Trade Unions with split regions in Wales follow their example, then there can be no stopping a Welsh T.U.C. coming into being.

CHANGE OF MIND

With the forming of a T.G.W.U. of Wales, Mr. Tom Jones, the Secretary of the North Wales T.U.C., Regional Advisory Committee has had a change of mind with regard to a T.U.C. for Wales, and he is now very favourable to the idea.

This means a great deal to the trade unionists in South and West Wales as it was Mr. Jones who was primarily responsible for the dropping of the last three attempts for such a body in Wales.

Another vital factor is the growth of nationalism elements in Wales.

PROGRESSIVE

There cannot be any doubt that Plaid Cymru is the only progressive political party in Wales today. No one can deny this; their election voting results have all been on the increase!

The Labour die-hards can make all the excuses in the world, but record and public records cannot be disrupted.

Plaid Cymru is in full favour of a T.U.C. for Wales, and is campaigning strongly for such an institution.

It is fully intended to organize a nation-wide movement in favour of such an endeavour, because nationalists appreciate the potentiality which the Trade Unionist have.

Already the Carmarthenshire Executive Committee of the Plaid have formed a Trade Unionist Committee, which is supported by many prominent Welsh Trade Unionists.

So thanks to the Carmarthenshire Plaid Cymru Trade Unionist, the campaign for a T.U.C. for Wales will have a political backing on a national level.

Labour's debt being called in - says Chris Rees, Merthyr

T.V. midgets baffled

"THE massive Labour vote of the Welsh constituencies had been in the nature of a long term loan by the electorate to a party machine. That debt is now being called in," said Mr. Chris Rees, prospective Plaid candidate for Merthyr, in a public meeting.

The Labour Party, he continued, no more than a business concern could expect to live on perpetual trust and endless credit.

ROCKLIKE

It had done pretty well out of the Welsh electorate in the past, who had given it an almost 'carte blanche.' Now they were demanding a return on their capital.

The so-called "donkey vote" of the Valleys, however was no slight on the Welsh character. It merely showed that loyalty even beyond the demands of self-interest was in the very blood of the people.

The Welsh as a Celtic people were supposed to be volatile and unstable. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In their political allegiances they exhibited rocklike stability. They were neither easily lead or easily convinced.

CHANGES

Both Labour and Liberal parties had won their confidence in the past and retained it, through good times and bad even when they were despised and rejected in other parts of these islands.

On rare and important occasions however, changes did occur. Labour for instance had supplanted the Liberals in the nineteen twenties.

ANOTHER

Now another shift of opinion had taken place. In the recent Caerphilly by-election, Plaid Cymru reduced the mountainous Labour 21,000 majority to a mini-molehill of under 2,000 votes. The English Parties are on the retreat in Wales.

QUAINT

In future, especially in the Welsh industrial valleys, those who vote Tory or Liberal will be regarded as politically quaint. Changes of this kind in the past had turned out to be irreversible. The English political 'strategists' would do well to take stock of this new situation and draw the right conclusions.

REACTION

The Welsh people had shown quite clearly that they were not going to lie down and die to suit anyone's convenience or further anyone's career any longer.

The reaction of the 'strategists' up to now, however, was not very hopeful. Like the Bourbons in France, they had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

The political midgets who came on our television screens to analyse by-election results gave the impression of innocents abroad in a world too baffling and complicated for their understanding.

Caernarfon confident of victory

"It may not be generally realised that the electoral swing required to win Caernarfon for Plaid Cymru need only be a fraction of that achieved in Caerphilly. In fact, in order to win, we need a smaller swing than almost any other seat in Wales."

Speaking in Pwllheli, Mr. Robyn Lewis, Plaid Cymru Prospective Candidate for Caernarfon, went on to say that "This is why we are confident that after the next election here, be it a by-election or general election, the Caernarfon constituency will be represented by a Plaid Cymru M.P."

"During the last quarter of a century, Caernarfon has been represented by a Liberal (Mr. Lloyd George), a Tory (Col. Price White) and Labour (Mr. Goronwy Roberts).

"There is a Welsh proverb which urges us 'Try all things, and cleve to that which is good.' By electing a Plaid Cymru M.P. at the next election, Caernarfon will have done precisely that."

Caerffili thanks to Winnie

Winnie Ewing, M.P., was one of Plaid Cymru's best assets in Caerffili.

This Scots "Woman of the Year" was able to charm the most hard headed of the valley politicians with her devastating analysis of the ways of Westminster in Wales and Scotland.

The people of Caerffili wish to reserve a special word of thanks to Winnie Ewing for her very important contribution to their campaign. It will long be remembered, and they'll "keep a welcome for her in the valleys."

Boot for Foot

What is Wales coming to these days?

There must be something really big happening in politics when Michael Foot, M.P., is booed by local people when he tries to make an open air speech in Brithdir.

That's right! Michael Foot booted in Brithdir! One would have thought it as unlikely as the choir in Canterbury heckling the rich-Bishop.

Central Government takes its toll

GOVERNMENT policy is taking its toll on Welsh local Government.

The rate of interest charged by the Public Works Loan Board has soared to a new high level of 8½ per cent.

With such a high rate of interest local authorities are afraid to embark on schemes involving capital expenditure, as the present high rate of interest would have to be paid until the entire loan charges had been met, normally for a period of 60 years.

In addition, Government policy is slashing local government and public welfare schemes are being cut or deferred. This policy is affecting, not only Wales, but also English local authorities.

An indication of the severity of the cuts is given in recent figures published jointly by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and Secretary of State for Wales.

For the three months ending 31 March, 1968, the total loan sanction to local authorities amounted to £509m. For the next quarter ending 30 June 1968, the amount had decreased to £288m.—a reduction of £121m.

In this three month period, loan sanctions for housing dropped from £205m. to £123m., and loan consent for education declined from £80m. to £46m.

There was a time when Wales thought that a Labour Government would encourage the development of social welfare. Now we know that this is not true.

For how long will the people of Wales, and particularly the members of the Labour Party in Wales, allow themselves to be fooled by the Government at Westminster?



Coslett Price, writer of T.U.C. report, is N.U.R. South Wales Docks Area Councillor

SECRET REPORT OUTLINES PLIGHT OF VALLEYS

A DAMNING condemnation of planning and employment policies for the southern mining valleys is provided in a secret report presented to Glamorgan County council.

But the remedies suggested, or hinted at, by the interim report for the Rhondda Valleys' Development Plan, specially commissioned from experts, Building Design Partnership, of Preston, north England, are inadequate to deal with the massive problem outlined.

Since 1951, well over 72,000 people have left the central and eastern valleys of South Wales, mainly young men and women aged between 15 and 24. Many had to leave for England.

The report, dealing with Rhondda, pinpoints bad communications and lack of suitable sites as major deterrents to industrial development.

In a telling paragraph, the report says: "The comparatively poor roads in the mining valleys are a positive deterrent to potential developers, particularly as substantial improvements are not programmed."

It adds: "The employment situation in Rhondda is so critical that urgent measures are needed to attract industry."

Only the bare details of this report have been issued to the press. The copy used by Welsh Nation is held by Plaid Cymru head office and was obtained from academic sources.

The loss of youngsters from the valleys, states the report, means not only a loss of immediate man power, but also of future population and potential labour supply due to the reduced number of births.

SERIOUS LACK

The rundown in the old basic industries has left a serious lack of employment opportunities. "The relatively high unemployment and low activity rates show a substantial under-use of manpower resources and are of both immediate and long term concern," goes on the report.

"There is a clear need for substantially increased diversified employment opportunities to utilise efficiently these manpower resources."

The government's development area policy is helping create new jobs, says the report. "Invariably, however, industrialists require sites in areas having good communications and space for large scale single storey development."

"Poor communications and shortage of suitable industrial sites make the Rhondda valleys less attractive to many industrialists than either the Vale of Glamorgan or the coastal plain."

Expansion of industrial retraining facilities is also necessary to enable workers to acquire new skills.

A slashing attack on road building policies, pinpointed by Plaid Cymru as an essential for development, is made by the consultants.



Vic Davies, Rhondda West's next M.P., stands outside the now derelict and abandoned Cambrian Colliery. This pit site in Clydach Vale may not be used for industry, if the consultants' report is accepted.

"In spite of improvements in recent years, communications in south Wales are still relatively poor and have hindered the development of industry."

POOR ROADS

"The extension of the M4 motorway to Bridgend is under consideration. This would provide . . . a national link with the midlands and south of England for new industrial development in the Vale of Glamorgan."

"Whilst this will also serve the valleys, together with the planned improvement of the A470 Cardiff to Merthyr road, it will not redress the locational advantages of the coastal plain and the Vale of Glamorgan compared with most valley sites."

"The comparatively poor roads within the mining valleys are a positive deterrent to potential developers, particularly as substantial improvements are not programmed."

Turning to the valleys' appearance, the report talks of industrial dereliction and old houses, inadequate schools, and recreational and community services in a generally drab environment.

It states: "Early and extensive improvement of the physical environment is a vital factor in improving the image of Rhondda to potential industrialists."

In a section on population and employment trends, the report warns the continuation of emigration would mean:

- a further big population drop in the borough.
- a decline in marriages and thus in births.
- an unsatisfactory population balance with a preponderance of old people.
- a marked reduction in income and spending power affecting shops, schools, public services and other facilities.

The ten years to 1966, saw mining jobs contract from 13,750 to 6,050, a drop from

Only a Welsh Government will save Rhondda

ONLY A Welsh Government in Cardiff will solve the problems of Rhondda and the valleys, says Plaid Cymru County Coun. Glyn James, closely connected with the Rhondda Valleys Development Plan.

"Rhondda has always been ignored by London Governments, and I cannot visualise them taking any interest now," County Coun. James, of Ferndale, told Welsh Nation.

He listed more of the Plaid's essentials for development:

- good road communications;
- far more jobs than apparently envisaged at present.
- greatly improved transport facilities for those having to work outside the valleys;

41 per cent, to 23 per cent, of the insured population. Yet, the same years saw the number of manufacturing jobs fairly constant at around 8,000.

MANY JOBLESS

Other employment increased by only 148.

The rate of joblessness in the Rhondda valleys has been consistently double that of Wales. At present, 7.9 per cent. are unemployed, and one in five of these are disabled workers.

The report adds, in a final condemnation, "There is a marked shortage of suitable jobs for school leavers causing them to work outside or leave the area. A much faster rate of provision of new jobs is necessary."

• concentration on growth industries, those which will be still important in 1988;

• beautify the valleys and clear derelict pits to help keep as many people as possible in Rhondda.

"This community is a part of Wales, and I am convinced that a Welsh Government would not let it, or any other community, die," said County Coun. James, Plaid Cymru parliamentary candidate for Rhondda East and a colliery engineer.

2,000 JOBLESS

"Far more jobs will have to be provided than envisaged. There are now over 2,000 out of work. If Maerdy and Wattstown collieries close, they will add another 1,500," he said.

"And we also have the problem of school-leavers. If people have to leave these valleys for work, let us at least have first class roads for them to use, so they only have a 15 minute trip each way."

"It is the lack of good roads in the valleys which is the main reason for industrialists not coming here."

He said he would oppose any proposals to reduce Rhondda's population: the trend of the report, he felt, was towards a halving of the borough's present 95,000 population.



HARRI WEBB

This month One Man's Caerffili, and no apologies offered.

★ ★ ★

Columbus had to sail the ocean to discover a new country inhabited by new people. Some of us were luckier, we only had to cross into the next valley. From Cwmwbbw to Gypsies' Castle, we made landfall in New Wales. It's a lovely place. Soon we shall be ashore to take possession. Meanwhile, a few glimpses of the battle.

★ ★ ★

Phil Williams set the tone of the campaign, which was thus conducted on a high level. Nobody who spoke at any of the village meetings will forget the sessions of searching questions and serious answers. Nobody very much bothered with the old red herrings. Here was a people finding their way to the control of their own future. The outlook is bad for the jailers of our nation.

★ ★ ★

The only trouble came from the loudmouthed idiots of the "Welsh" Liberal Party, once the party of Tom Ellis and Lloyd George.

The Liberal candidate in the last hours of the campaign was reduced to shouting "Don't vote for Plaid Cymru!"

They can't even die with dignity.

★ ★ ★

A Labourite canvasser called on the wife of one of the Scots miners at Trelewis, good patriots all. "Och, no," she said, "we're all voting for Plaid Cymru." Said the apostle of international brotherhood, "It's a pity you lot ever came here. Why don't you all go back to Scotland?"

★ ★ ★

Two Ministers of the Crown on the sunlit Twyn at Caerffili howling hysterical abuse at Plaid Cymru, while half their audience laughed them to scorn. Michael Foot tried to hold an open-air meeting in Tirphil, but was booed off the streets. Tirphil mean's Phil's Land!

★ ★ ★

The clergyman of one of the valley's churches told me that he had introduced Welsh services for the benefit of the older members of his congregation. But it is the youngsters who attend them. Spiritual and cultural values have deeper roots in our valleys than many people think. And they are in good hands with the rising generation.

★ ★ ★

That motorcade! Will anybody who was there ever forget it? As the endless lines of cars swept up from Fochriw and over Gelligaer Common, to Beddlinog, with the Red Dragon flags fluttering in the mountain breeze, I was reminded of nothing so much as the day I saw the desert armies driving into Tripoli.

★ ★ ★

When the count was all over, the papers tell us, rival groups sang WALES IS MARCHING ON TO FREEDOM and WE ALL LIVE IN A YELLOW SUBMARINE. This latter is a very good theme song for the enemies of our country. We all know the connotations of the colour yellow, and the submarine is a lurking engine of death.

★ ★ ★

The day after the Caerffili result, exasperated villagers of Aberfan burst into the Welsh Office and emptied stinking tip waste over the polished corridors. The two events were not unrelated. That sackful of slurry was more dangerous to George Thomas and his gang than any firecracker bomb planted by fanatics.

★ ★ ★

THIS MONTH'S QUOTATION

"I'm afraid I don't know very much about Welsh history."—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.