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**Ai dýma
Blaid Cymru
heddiw?**

**Is this
Plaid Cymru
today?**

ROBYN LEWIS

*Cyhoeddwyd gan Blaid Cymru, 8 Heol y Frenhines, Caerdydd.
Argraffwyd gan Cambrian News, Aberystwyth.*

Cyflwynedig i goffadwriaeth J. R. Jones—
ysgolhaig : athronydd : proffwyd.

Dedicated to the memory of J. R. Jones—
scholar : philosopher : prophet.



ROBYN LEWIS

Ai dyma Blaid Cymru heddiw?

ROBYN LEWIS

(Is-Lwydd Plaid Cymru)

Anerchiad a draddodwyd yn Fali Genedlaethol Plaid Cymru, a gynhalwyd yn Y Drenewydd, Sir Drefaldwyn, Ddydd Sadwrn, 12fed Mehefin, 1971.

Meistr Cadeirydd, Gyfeillion o'r Alban, a Chyd-Bleidwyr :

Flwyddyn yn ôl—ar adeg berw a rhuthr Etholiad Cyffredinol 1970—cefais y faint drist o glynrychioli Plaid Cymru yn angladd y diweddar Athro J. R. Jones, Abertawe, sydd bellach yn gorwedd ym Mynwent Denio (ger Pwllheli) yn Llŷn. I mi, yr oedd J.R. yn athronydd, yn broffwyd, ac yn sant ; a heddiw, carwn gyfeirio yn arbennig at destun darlith o'i eiddo a glywais un tro, ac a draddodwyd ganddo ar y syniad “ . . . am nad oes iddo wreiddyn ”. Darlith oedd hi a ddelialai â Dyn yn erbyn cefndir ei gyd-ddyn a'i gymdeithas.

Ym mis Hydref 1970, cynhaliodd Plaid Cymru ei Chynhadledd flynyddol. Cynhadledd orlawn, fywiog, a gweithgar oedd hi—cynhadledd a enillodd ganmoliaeth hyd yn oed yn y rhan honno o'r Wasg nad yw fel arfer yn nodedig am ganmol Plaid Cymru. Carwn fwrw cip ar y Gynhadledd hon a'i chanlyniadau, a Phlaid Cymru a'i gweithgareddau diweddar, yng ngoleuni testun J.R., sef : “ . . . am nad oes iddo wreiddyn ”.

Canys yn ddiweddar fe ddaeth awgrym, o ragor nag un cyfeiriad, fod y Blaid bellach yn tueddu i newid ei gogwydd, a'i bod hi yn crwydro i feisydd newydd o weithgaredd. Fod y polisiau cynnar yn cael eu hymustumio, a bod y pwyslais yn tueddu i newid yn sylweddol. Yn fyr, bod ei delfrydau sylfaenol wedi cymalu.

Cafodd y Blaid ei sefydlu ym 1925, pan ddaeth criw bychan ac ymrodod digid at ei gilydd mewn goruwch-ystafell yn nhref Pwllheli—dbynaid o ddynion a chanddynt weledigaeth. Byth oddi ar hynny, wrth gwrs, nid yw'r Blaid wedi bod yn fyr o feirniaid : beirniaid a fu yn gwyllo ei holl weithgareddau, ei holl ddatganiadau, a'i holl symudiadau, â llygad barcud.

Un o'r prif gwynion yn erbyn y Blaid o'r cychwyn oedd mai deallus ion anymarferol oedd y Cenedlaetholwyr Cymreig. Athrawon a phregethwyd (fel pe bai'r galwedigaethau hynny yn rhai i'w dirmygu) holol anymarferol, â'u pennau yn y cymylau, meddidi—pobl a ddymunai atal pob cynnydd, a throi'r cloc yn ôl rai canrifioedd. A rhaid addef mai dyna fu delwedd gyffredinol Plaid Cymru am rai blynyddoedd yng ngolwg rhai.

Is this Plaid Cymru today?

ROBYN LEWIS

(Vice-President of Plaid Cymru)

An address delivered at the National Rally of Plaid Cymru, held at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, on Saturday, 12th June, 1971.

Mr. Chairman, our colleagues from Scotland, and fellow-Nationalists :

Twelve months ago—during the hectic period of the 1970 General Election—I had the sad privilege of representing Plaid Cymru at the funeral of the late Professor J. R. Jones of Swansea, who lies buried at Denio Cemetery (near Pwllheli) in Llŷn. For me, J.R. was a philosopher, a prophet, and a saint ; and today, I should like to refer in particular to the text of a lecture I once heard him deliver, entitled “ . . . am nad oes iddo wreiddyn ” (. . . for it hath no root). In this lecture, J.R. dealt with Man in his relationship with his fellow-man and with his society.

In October, 1970, Plaid Cymru held its Annual Conference—a crowded, lively, and active conference—which earned praise even in that section of the Press not normally renowned for its praise of Plaid Cymru. I should like to glance at this Conference and its consequences, and at Plaid Cymru and its recent activities, in the light of J.R.'s subject, i.e. “ . . . for it hath no root ”.

For—of late—suggestions have been heard, from more than one quarter, that Plaid Cymru is tending to change its direction, and that it is straying into new spheres of activity. That the earlier policies are becoming distorted and that the emphasis is undergoing substantial change. In short, that Plaid Cymru's original ideals have become rather clouded.

Plaid Cymru was founded in 1925, when a small but dedicated band got together in a first-floor room at Pwllheli ; a mere handful of men—but men of vision. Since those early days, Plaid Cymru has never been short of critics, who have watched every action, every declaration, and every move with the eye of a hawk.

One of the main complaints against Plaid Cymru from the outset was that its ranks were made up of impractical intelligentsia. The Nationalists, it was said, consisted of teachers and preachers (as though those occupations were worthy of contempt) who had their heads in the clouds—people who wished to resist all progress, and to turn back the clock. And it must be confessed that this was the general image of Plaid Cymru for several years in the eyes of some.

Yna, pan ddaeth Rhyfel 1939-45, a nifer sylweddol o'r Cenedlaetholwyr yn heddychwyr (pobl anymarferol eto, yn ôl y diffiniad) dyma daflu atynt y gair "conchies", gyda holl oblygiadau annymunol y gair hyll hwnnw.

Wrth gwrs, gellid bod wedi rhagweld dirmyg, a gwatwar, a chasineb, a gelynfaeth. Wedi'r cyfan, yr oedd gan y Sefydliad ormod i'w golli. A d'oedd neb o sylfaenwyr y Blaid erioed wedi credu y gellid mynd â'r maen i'r wal dros nos megis. Yr oedd ynt wedi sylweddoli eu bod yn cychwyn rhywbeth na welai lwyddiant llawn yn ystod einioes llawer o'r rhai a roes fod iddo. Gosod sylfeini ar gyfer y dyfodol oedd eu gorchwyl hwy. Ac erbyn hyn—chwe mlynedd a deugain yn ddiweddarach—y mae llawer o'r arloeswyr cynnar, ysywaeth, wedi'n gadael ni : ac ambell un ohonynt yn ddiweddar iawn.

" . . . newid ddaeth o rod i rod,
Mae cenhedlaeth wedi mynd
A chenhedlaeth wedi dod . . . "

. . . a bellach, bugeliaid newydd sydd yn gwarchod ac yn arwain y mudiad cenedlaethol yng Nghymru ; y mudiad a welodd olau dydd gyntaf oll cyn geni llawer ohonom ni sydd yma heddiw.

Fe welodd Cymru lawer iawn o newid yn ystod y 46 mlynedd hyn. Cawsom flas chwerw Dirwasiad, a chollwyd i ni genhedlaeth ar ôl cenhedlaeth o'n pobl ifanc. Hefyd, fe brofwyd Rhyfel, pan laddwyd llawer o'n cydwladwyr ninnau yn ogystal ag aelodau o bob cenedl arall ar wyneb Daear.

Pan dawodd y gynnau, cafwyd bod angen ail-adeiladu Cymdeithas nid yn unig yn ein gwlad ni, ond hefyd ym mhob gwlad arall—ac ar ben hynny, o fewn y gymdeithas ryngwladol. Ond—ysywaeth—byth oddi ar 1945 fe brofodd Dynoliaeth gyfan ryfeloedd a son am ryfeloedd, a hynny yn ddi-baid.

Ar ben hyn oll, yr oedd y byd wedi newid. Ein cymdeithas ninnau yng Nghymru wedi gwanychu, a'r genedl Gymreig wedi dal i fynd ar i lawr. Nid oedd y dylanwadau a barodd greu Plaid Cymru wedi cilios rhywbeth yr oedd ynt wedi cryfhau. Nes bod y dylanwadau hynny, erbyn heddiw, yn bwrw yn erbyn ein bodolaeth ni fel cenedl yn amlach nag erioed, ac o lawer rhagor o gyfeiriadau.

Gan hynny yr oedd rheidrwydd ar Blaid Cymru, yn wyneb hyn oll, i ddatblygu ac ehangu i gyfarfod y sialens newydd yma. Gorfodwyd hi i ddechrau brwydro ar ffrynt llawer eangach. Yr oedd raid iddi, gan fod y pwerau a safai yn ei herbyn wedi amlhau eu hymosodiadau. Gorfodwyd hi i ddatblygu arfau newydd, ac i ddysgu eu defnyddio yn effeithiol ac i bwrpas.

O fynegi'r peth mewn ffordd arall, y mae'n wir dweud fod Plaid Cymru wedi gorfod gwneud astudiaeth *fanwl* o bob agwedd o fywyd y

Then, with the coming of the 1939-45 War, when a substantial number of nationalists were also pacifists (and thus doubly impractical, according to the definition) the word "conchies" was thrown at them, with all the undesirable overtones of that ugly word.

It was, of course, foreseen that there would be mockery and ridicule ; hatred and enmity. After all, the Establishment in Wales had too much at stake. Not one of the founders of Plaid Cymru had believed that they would achieve their aims overnight. They well knew that they had started something which would not be fully achieved during the lives of many of them. *Their* role was to lay foundations for the future. And today—forty-six years later—many of these pioneering spirits, unfortunately, are no longer with us : we have lost some of them very recently indeed.

" . . . newid ddaeth o rod i rod,
Mae cenhedlaeth wedi mynd
A chenhedlaeth wedi dod . . . "

(. . . with each turn of the wheel came change
A generation has gone
And a generation has come . . .)

. . . so that, by today, the national movement in Wales has new guardians and new leaders ; yet this is the same movement that first saw the light of day before the birth of most of us who are at this Rally today.

During these 46 years, Wales has seen many changes. Our country has had the bitter experience of Depression, and generation after generation of our young people have been lost to us. We have also experienced War, during which many of *our* compatriots, too, died ; along with members of every other nation on Earth.

When the War finally ended, it was found that Society had to be re-built, not only in this country, but also in every other—as well as on an international level. (Unfortunately, ever since 1945, Mankind has been cursed with wars and rumours of wars.) Moreover, the world had changed. Society in Wales had weakened, and the Welsh nation had continued to disintegrate. The influences which had given rise to the creation of Plaid Cymru had not receded—if anything, they had increased. And today, those influences are striking at the very roots of our existence as a nation—more frequently than ever, and from many more directions.

Faced with this situation, Plaid Cymru was compelled to develop and to extend in order to meet these new challenges. It was forced to take up the struggle on a very much wider front. There was no other choice, since the powers ranged against it had multiplied their attacks. The party was compelled therefore to develop new weapons, and to learn to use them efficiently and with effect.

genedl Gymreig. Os mynnwch, yn y blynnyddoedd diwethaf hyn, y mae hi wedi llwyddo i fagu arbenigwyr ym *mhab* maes o weithgarwch. Ac wrth wneud hynny fe lwyddodd i ddryllio pob esgus dros y cyhuddiad bod ei haelodau yn amaturiaid dilettante, yn rhai sy'n hoffi chwarae â phroblemau heb fod â'r syniad lleiaf sut i'w datrys.

Meysydd Astudiaeth

Amser yn ôl, bellach, aethpwyd ati i astudio economi Cymru. Bu tîm o arbenigwyr cymwys wrthi yn casglu ffeithiau a'u dadansoddi, gyda'r bwriad o lunio cynllun economaidd manwl ar gyfer Cymru gyfan. Dyma faes oedd wedi ei anwybyddu'n llwyr gan lywodraethau Toriaidd a Llafur fel ei gilydd.

Ar yr un pryd, yr oedd panel o arbenigwyr yn y gyfraith yn ymroi i astudio'r berthynas gyfansoddiadol rhwng Cymru a gwledydd eraill y Prydain, ac yn ymbalfalu a chloddio ymhli'h y deddfau—nid yn unig y deddfau yn ymwneud â Chymru, ond hefyd y rhai a oedd wedi eu llunio i reoli'r berthynas rhwng Llundain ac Iwerddon ; Llundain ac Ottawa ; Llundain a Canberra ; Llundain a Delhi ; yn wir, rhwng Llundain â phob gwlad sydd—neu a oedd unwaith—yn rhan o'r hyn yr arferid ei alw gynt yr Ymerodraeth Brydeinig, ond sydd erbyn hyn yn disgrifio'i hun fel Cymanwlad—y sefydliad byd-eang, amwys, ac annelwig hwnnw y cred Mr. Enoch Powell nad oes mwyach unrhyw bwrrpas i'w fodolaeth, ac y dylai beidio a bod ; tra—mae'n amlwg—dymuna Mr. Edward Heath droi ei gefn arno yn llwyr, a chofleidio Ewrop yn ei le.

Buwyd wrthi hefyd yn edrych ar gyfansoddiad mewnol ambell wlad megis y Swistir, Canada, Unol Daleithiau America, a'r Undeb Sofiet, er mwyn ceisio gweld patrwm cyd-berthynas gwahanol daleithiau, cantonau, a rhanbarthau y gwledydd hynny ; e.e. mewn perthynas â masnach—megis gwerthu dŵr—gan y naill i'r llall.

Bwriwyd golwg fanwl ar Ewrop—ac ar Ewrop Orllewinol yn arbennig—er mwyn canfod y cysylltiad rhwng gwahanol wledydd y Farchnad Gyffredin. Hynny o safbwyt diwydiant, diwylliant, iaith, ac ildio sofraniaeth. Canfuwyd er enghraift nad yw Lwcsembwrg, o ran ei maint a'i hadnoddau, ond megis Sir Fynwy ; nad yw Gwlad Belg fawr mwy na Chymru—yn wir, yr ydym ni yn y wlad hon yn 2/3 o faintioli gwlad y Belgiaid.

Edrychwyd hyd yn oed ar yr arena fwyaf oll—y Cenhedlaeth Unedig, lle ceir bellach hanner cant o genhedoedd yn aelodau sydd yn llai eu poblogaeth na Chymru : yn dlotach eu hadnoddau na'n gwlad ni. Yn wir, un o brif weithgareddau Cynhadledd Plaid Cymru—ar ddathlu 25

If I may put the matter in a different way, it is true to say that, in order to fulfil its function, Plaid Cymru has been compelled to make a detailed study of every aspect of the life of the Welsh nation. Plaid Cymru has found it necessary in recent years to foster specialists in every field of activity. And in so doing it has succeeded in sweeping away every excuse for the former accusation that its members were dilettante amateurs who tinkered with problems without having the least idea how to set about solving them.

Fields of Study

Some years ago, Plaid Cymru put in hand a study of the economy of Wales. A team of well-qualified specialists collected facts, recorded and analysed them, and came up with a detailed economic plan for the whole of Wales, which was something that neither Tory nor Labour governments had bothered to deem necessary.

At the same time a panel of legal specialists was studying the constitutional relationship between this country and the other countries of Britain. An intensive study of the relevant legislation was undertaken—not only of the laws appertaining to Wales, but also of those which had been enacted to regulate the relationship between London and Ireland ; London and Ottawa ; London and Canberra ; London and Delhi ; indeed, between London and every other country which is—or once was—part of that which used to be called the British Empire, but which now styles itself the Commonwealth—the vague but world-wide association which even Mr. Enoch Powell believes has outlived its function and which ought therefore to be disbanded ; and on which Mr. Edward Heath clearly wishes to turn his back in order to embrace Europe instead.

A study was also made of the internal constitutions of certain countries, such as Switzerland, Canada, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., in order to perceive the pattern of inter-relationship of their various states, cantons, or provinces with one another ; e.g. in relation to matters of trade, such as the sale of water resources by one to another.

A detailed look was cast at Europe—at Western Europe in particular—in order to ascertain the precise relationship between the various countries of the Common Market. This from the point of view of trade, culture, language, and the yielding of sovereignty. It was noted, for example, that Luxembourg, in size and resources, is similar to Monmouthshire ; that Belgium is not much larger than Wales—indeed, we in this country are approximately 2/3 the size of Belgium.

Plaid Cymru even paid attention to the largest arena of them all, the United Nations, who have by now some fifty member-nations which are smaller in population and poorer in resources than Wales. Indeed, one of the main pronouncements of the Plaid Cymru Conference—at a time when the United Nations were celebrating their twenty-fifth

mlynedd y Cenhedloedd Unedig a 25 mlynedd Mr. Gwynfor Evans fel Llywydd y Blaid yr un pryd—oedd i ni fynegi, yn glir, yn groew, ac yn ddi-amwys, ein bod ninnau, y tu hwnt i bob amheuaeth, yn wlad ac yn genedl. Yn ôl ein datganiad : “ Nid rhodd yw rhyddid cenedl—hawl a dyletswydd yw ”. Datganwyd gan hynny ein bod ninnau am fynnu hawlio cydnabyddiaeth y Cenhedloedd Unedig—cydnabyddiaeth gan bobloedd rhyddion y ddaear.

A dyma ni, heddiw ddiwethaf, wedi mynegi ein diddordeb fel plaid mewn Undebaeth Llafur, trwy osod sylfaen i Gyngres Undebau Llafur Cymreig.

Dyma yw Plaid Cymru heddiw. Plaid wleidyddol holol broffesiynol. Plaid sydd wedi llwyddo i ddod i'r afael â saith-degau'r Ugeinfed Ganrif. Plaid sydd yn gwybod yn union *i ble* mae hi'n mynd, ac, ar ben hynny, *sut i fynd* yno. Plaid sydd wedi diffinio, i'r eithaf, sut Gymru y saif hi dros ei ennill.

Newid Pwyslais ?

Ond plaid, meddai rhai, sydd wedi newid ei phwyslais, Plaid sy'n gogwyddo “ tua'r chwith ”, plaid “ radical ”—beth bynnag yw ystyr y gair hwnnw. Cofiwch chi, yr ydym wedi ein disgrifio—gan ein gelynion—fel popeth o Gomiwnyddion i Natsiaid. Fe'n galwyd ni'n “ biwritaniaid ” (gan y rhai gwirth-biwritaniaidd) ; ac yn “ babyddion ” (gan y rhai gwirth-babyddol). Am flynyddoedd yr oeddem ni yn “ rhy Gymreigaid ” ; yng ngolwg ambell un ; bellach yr ydym yn “ cefnu ar Gymreictod ”, ym meddwl eraill. Pwy, tybed, oedd yn iawn, feddylwch chi ?

Ond, er gwaethaf y “ newid gogwydd ”—neu, efallai, oherwydd y “ pwyslais newydd ”—y mae'n dal yn bwysicach nag erioed i ni i sylweddoli, nid yn unig *beth* yr ydym yn ei wneud, a *sut* yr ydym yn mynd ati, ond—a dyma sydd efallai yn bwysicaf oll—*pam* yr ydym yn ei wneud. *Beth?*, a *sut?*—ie. Ond *pam* ?

Fe geir llawer o son am “ gadwraeth ” y dyddiau hyn—“ cadwraeth cefn gwlad ”—“ gwarchodaeth natur ”—“ treftadaeth yr arfordir ”. Ym 1970 yr oedd hi'n “ Flwyddyn Cadwraeth Ewrop ” (beth bynnag yw ystyr hynny). Ond serch mor bwysig yw mynyddoedd Cymru, ei golygfeydd di-ail, a glendid a phurdeb ei hamgylchfyd—a phwy a wâd eu bod nhw'n bwysig ?—yr hyn sydd bwysicaf oll yn ein golwg *ni* yw ein pobl—pobl Cymru. Eu traddodiad ; eu treftadaeth ; eu ffordd o fyw. A'r mynegiad cliriaf o hyn oll yw ein hiaith—yr iaith Gymraeg.

Dyna i chi yw'r ateb i'r cwestiwn “ *pam?* ” A dyma oedd yn symbylu'r dyrnaid a ddaeth ynghyd ym Mhwllheli, chwe blynedd a deugain yn ôl.

anniversary and we in Plaid Cymru were celebrating the twenty-fifth year as President of Mr. Gwynfor Evans—was a declaration, made clearly and without reservation, that we believe that we too in Wales, are a country and a nation. Our declaration stated “ The freedom of a nation is not a gift—it is a right and a duty ”. In this way we declared our objective to be nothing less than recognition by the free peoples of this Earth at the United Nations.

And now, today, we have declared our interest as a party in Trade Unionism, by laying the foundations for a Trade Union Congress for Wales.

This is Plaid Cymru today, a political party imbued with professionalism. A party which has succeeded in coming to grips with the Seventies of the Twentieth Century. A party which knows exactly *where* it is going, and, in addition to that, *how* it intends to get there. A party which has defined, in the greatest possible detail, what sort of Wales it stands for.

Change of Emphasis ?

But, some would say, a party that has changed its emphasis. A party which is leaning “ to the left ” ; a radical party (whatever the word “ radical ” may mean !). It will be remembered that we have from time to time been described—by our opponents—as everything from Communists to Nazis. We have been termed “ puritans ” (by those opposed to puritanism) ; and “ papists ” (by the anti-catholics). For years we were described by some as “ too Welsh ” : today, in the eyes of others, we are “ not Welsh enough ”. It seems that one just cannot win !

Notwithstanding the “ change of emphasis ”—or, perhaps, because of this “ new emphasis ”—it remains more important than ever for us to realise, not only *what* we are doing, and *how* we go about it, but—and this is perhaps the most important of all—*why* we do it. *What?* and *how?*—yes. But *why* ?

We hear a great deal about “ preservation ” these days—“ the preservation of the countryside ”—“ the conservation of nature ”—“ the heritage of our coastline ”. 1970 was styled “ European Conservation Year ” (whatever that may mean). But despite the importance of, say, the mountains of Wales, her incomparable scenery, and the purity and splendour of her environment—and who can deny their importance ?—that which is most important of all in *our* view is our people—the people of Wales. Their traditions ; their heritage ; their way of life. And the clearest manifestation of all this is our language—the Welsh language.

This is the answer to the question “ *why?* ” And this it was that inspired the dedicated handful who came together at Pwllheli, forty-six years ago.

Pwysigrwydd yr Iaith

Fe welwch gan hynny, mai thema fy anerchiad heddiw yw : Beth yw perthnasedd a phwysigrwydd yr iaith Gymraeg, fel prif elsen yng nghenedligrwydd a chymeriad y Cymry ? Carwn ddyfynnu paragraff, heb—ar y foment—ddatgelu o ba le y daw :

“ Mynegwn yr hyn sy’n ymddangos i ni yn FFAITH SYLFAENOL DDIYMWAD : i blant o Gymry nid oes unrhyw wybodaeth yn bwysicach na gwybodaeth o’r *Gymraeg* ac nid oes unrhyw lenyddiaeth yn bwysicach na llenyddiaeth *Gymraeg*. Y maent yn hanfodol gysylltiedig â’i gilydd, a dyma’r unig bethau a eill fod yn sylfaen addysg genedlaethol . . . oblegid nid cyfrwng ein meddwl yn unig yw’r *Gymraeg*, ond ei deunydd hanfodol a’i ffordd o weithio hefyd . . . Hi ei hun yw’r meddwl *Cymreig*, yr elsen yr ydym yn byw a gweithio ynddi.”

Pe bawn i’n anfon y paragraff uchod—wedi ei gyfieithu, wrth gwrs—i’r Gwir Anrhydeddus George Thomas, A.S., mae’n debyg y cawn i fy nghyhuiddo o fod yn eithafwr o’r eithafwyr, ac yn granc o’r crancod. Ond—a rhaid cyfaddef—yr ydw i wedi’ch twyllo chi braidd ; nid fel yna y mae’n paragraff yn darllen mewn gwirionedd. Canys o adroddiad Comisiwn y mae’n dod, a thestun yr adroddiad hwnnw oedd : “ *The Teaching of English in England* ”. (Nid, sylwer, “ . . . in the Commonwealth.” Nid “ . . . in Great Britain.” Nid “ . . . in the United Kingdom.” Nid hyd yn oed “ . . . in England and Wales.” Ond “ . . . in ENGLAND.” Ac ystyr “ *England* ” yn Gymraeg yw “ *Lloegr* ”. Gwlad sy’n cychwyn gerllaw Caer ; ar gyrrau Amwythig ; y tu hwnt i Sir Fynwy—dyna, meddaf, yw Lloegr. Ac mae’n rhaid pwysleisio nad yw Caernarfon, nag Aberystwyth, na Chaerfyddin, na Chaerdydd, yn rhan o Loegr—mae’n resyn gorvod pwysleisio’r amlwg fel hyn—ond mae’n hen bryd i ambell un yng Nghymru sylweddoli hynny !)

Canys fel hyn (o’i gyfieithu) yr ymddangosodd y paragraff gwreiddiol:

“ Mynegwn yr hyn sy’n ymddangos i ni yn FFAITH SYLFAENOL DDIYMWAD : i blant o *Saesnon* nid oes unrhyw wybodaeth yn bwysicach na gwybodaeth o’r *Saesneg* ac nid oes unrhyw lenyddiaeth yn bwysicach na llenyddiaeth *Saesneg*. Y maent yn hanfodol gysylltiedig â’i gilydd, a dyma’r unig bethau a eill fod yn sylfaen addysg genedlaethol . . . oblegid nid cyfrwng ein meddwl yn unig yw’r *Saesneg*, ond ei deunydd hanfodol a’i ffordd o weithio hefyd . . . Hi ei hun yw’r meddwl *Saesneg*, yr elsen yr ydym yn byw a gweithio ynddi.”

The Importance of the Language

It will therefore be appreciated that the theme of my address today is: What is the relevance and importance of the Welsh language as the most important manifestation of the Welsh character and nationality ? I should like to quote a paragraph, without—for the moment—disclosing its source :

“ We state what appears to us to be an INCONTROVERTIBLE PRIMARY FACT, that for *Welsh* children no form of knowledge can take precedence over *Welsh*, no form of literature can take precedence over *Welsh* literature, and that the two are so inextricably connected as to form the only basis possible for a national education . . . for *Welsh* is not only the medium of our thought, it is the very stuff and process of it . . . the element in which we live and work is itself the *Welsh* mind.”

If I were to send a copy of the above paragraph to the Right Honourable George Thomas, M.P., it is not unlikely that I would be accused of being an extremist of extremists, and a crank of cranks. But, I must confess, I have rather deceived you ; this, in reality, is not a correct reading of the paragraph which I have quoted. For it has been taken from the Report of a Commission, whose subject was : “ *The Teaching of English in England* ”. (Not, please note, “ . . . in the Commonwealth.” Not “ . . . in Great Britain.” Not “ . . . in the United Kingdom.” Not even “ . . . in England and Wales.” But “ . . . in ENGLAND.” And “ *England* ”, you will recall, starts near Chester—at Shrewsbury—just beyond Monmouthshire—that is what we call “ *England* ”. And it must be emphasised that “ *England* ” does not include Caernarfon, Aberystwyth, Carmarthen, or Cardiff—it seems a pity that it has to be emphasised—but it is high time that some people in Wales realised this fact !)

For the paragraph which I quoted should have read thus :

“ We state what appears to us to be an INCONTROVERTIBLE PRIMARY FACT that for *English* children no form of knowledge can take precedence over *English*, no form of literature can take precedence over *English* literature, and that the two are so inextricably connected as to form the only basis possible for a national education . . . for *English* is not only the medium of our thought, it is the very stuff and process of it . . . the element in which we live and work is itself the *English* mind.”

Did you, I wonder, note the words “ an incontrovertible primary fact ” ? It is clear that there is to be no argument about this fact. It is the *alpha* and the *omega* of the whole reasoning, and it *must* be accepted. Here, in one paragraph, is the stuff and substance of the English nation in their basic ideas concerning their language. This was the language of

Tybed a ddarfu i chi sylwi ar y geiriau "ffaith hanfodol ddiymwad"—sef yn Saesneg "*an incontrovertible primary fact*". Mae'n amlwg nad oes dim dadlau i fod ynghylch y geiriau hyn. Hwy yw *alpha* ac *omega* yr holl resymeg, ac mae'n *rhaid* eu derbyn. Dyma, gan hynny, ac mewn un paragraff, graidd a hanfod y genedl Seisnig yn eu syniadau sylfaenol ynghylch eu hiaith. Hon oedd iaith Chaucer, a Shakespeare, a Milton—ac y mae hi'n iaith fawr; yn iaith gyfoethog. Fel y canodd Elfed :

" Shakespeare, cer i'w ddilyn ;
Dante, dos i'w fyd —
Ond cofia Bantycelyn yr un pryd."

Yr un teimlad yn union ag oedd gan y Saeson ynghylch eu hiaith a oedd yn symblyu'r ddyrnaid a gyfarfu ym Mhwilheli 46 mlynedd yn ôl. Dynion delfrydol?—oeddynt: hon oedd eu delfryd. Gwyr o weledig-aeth?—oeddynt: dyma oeddynt yn ei weld. Yr un ffunud, yr oeddynt hwythau, fel yr oedd J.R.; ac fel yr ydw innau heddiw yn enw Plaid Cymru, yn dadlau mai yr Iaith Gymraeg yw amlygiad pwysicaf cenedligrwydd y Cymry. Dyma, rwy'n awgrymu, yw y *ffaith sylfaenol ddiymwad* i ni. Mae'r iaith yn ymestyn yn ôl i wawr ein hanes, a bu'n gyfrwng trosglwyddo ein traddodiadau o'r cyfnodau cynharaf. Y Gymraeg yw'r llestr y cymhwyswyd ynddo ein holl brofiadau fel cenedl. Cytunwn â J.R., mai bodolaeth yr iaith Gymraeg, a'r gwytwnwch bywiol a'i cadwedd yn fyw mewn modd sydd yn nesaf peth i wyrth—mai hynny'n unig sy'n peri y geill y bobl sy'n byw yng Nghymru heddiw (gan gynnwys y rhai a gollodd yr iaith, y rhai nad oedd eu cyndadau yn llafar ynddi, a hyd yn oed y rhai sydd yn filwriaethus wrth-Gymreig) eu galw eu hunain yn Gymry.

Dyma bennaf priodoedd ein gwahanfod. Heb hon, d'oes dim cenedl. Pe bai Arfon a Maldwyn, Penfro a Cheredigion, Morgannwg a Chaerfyddin *i gyd yn holol Saesneg eu hiaith*, yna ni fyddai gwahaniaeth fod y bobl ifanc yn symud i Leeds a Leicester a Luton i chwilio am waith. *Canys ymfudiad gan Saeson, o un rhan o Loegr i ran arall o Loegr fuasai*—dim mwy na hynny. Pe na bai Cymru'n genedl, problem daleithiol, problem leol, fuasai, a dyna'r cyfan.

Dyma, gan hynny, y rheswm sylfaenol pam yr oeddym yn erbyn boddi Tryweryn, a Chlywedog a Chwm Dulas, a Dyffryn Senni. Dyma pam yr oeddym yn gwrthwynebu'r anghenfil o dref newydd a fgyythid ar un adeg yn y Canolbarth. Dyma pam na fynnwn ni weld y Wirral yn gorlifo i Sir y Fflint, a pham y buom ni'n brwydro rhag symud mae tanio Shoeburyness i Benbre. Dyma hefyd, oedd sylfaen ein gwrthwynebiad i gynllun Glan Hafren. Yr iaith Gymraeg a'i bodolaeth sy'n gyfrifol am hyn i gyd.

I mi, dyna yw "sut a phaham" y peth—dyna'r rheswm dros fodolaeth Plaid Cymru. (*Dyma* paham y daeth deunaw cant o Gymry o bob cwr o'r wlad i'r Drenwydd heddiw).

Chaucer, of Shakespeare, and of Milton—a great language; a rich language. As the late poet Elfed once wrote :

" Shakespeare, cer i'w ddilyn ;
Dante, dos i'w fyd—
Ond cofia Bantycelyn yr un pryd."

(Shakespeare, go and follow him ;
Dante, go into his world—
But at the same time remember Pantycelyn.)

It was this same basic feeling expressed (above) by the English concerning their own language which also motivated the handful of men who met in Pwlheli 46 years ago. Were they idealists?—of course: and this was their ideal. Men of vision?—yes: this was their vision. They believed, as Professor J. R. Jones believed, and as I—on behalf of Plaid Cymru—state today, that the Welsh language is the most important manifestation of Welsh nationality. I declare that, to us, this is the "incontrovertible primary fact". Our language reaches back to the dawn of our history, and it has been the vehicle of our traditions from the earliest times—it is the vessel in which all our experiences as a people have been contained. We accept the view expressed by J. R. Jones, that it is only because of the existence of the Welsh language, and its almost miraculous resilience and survival, that all the people living in Wales today (including those who have lost the language—those whose ancestors never spoke it—and even those who are militantly anti-Welsh) can call themselves Welshmen.

Our language is the main attribute of our individuality. Without it, we cannot call ourselves a nation. If Caernarfon and Montgomery, Pembroke and Cardigan, Glamorgan and Carmarthen, were *all monoglot English speaking*, then it would make no appreciable difference that our young people are compelled to move to Leeds, to Leicester, and to Luton in order to look for work. *Because it would only be a migration of English people, from one part of England to another*—it could be no more than that. If Wales were not a nation, this would be a provincial problem, a local problem—that is all.

This therefore, is the basic reason why we were opposed to the drowning of the valleys of Tryweryn, Clywedog, Dulas, and Senni. This is why we objected to the proposed monolith new town with which Central Wales was at one time threatened. This is why we do not wish to see the Wirral overflowing into Flint, and why we have battled against moving the firing range from Shoeburyness to Pembrey. This was also the reason why we fought against the plan for Severnside. It is the Welsh language, and the fact of its existence, which is responsible for our stand on all these.

To me, this is the "why and wherefore" of the matter—the reason for the existence of Plaid Cymru. (*This* is why some eighteen-hundred people from all parts of the country have come to Newtown today.)

Y Gwreiddyn

Ar y cychwyn, fe soniais i am ddarllith y diweddar Athro J. R. Jones ar y testun “ . . . am nad oes iddo wreiddyn ”. Ped anghofiem ni'r gwreiddyn hwnnw, a diystyru'r graig y'n naddwyd ni ohoni, yna, yn sicr, fe fyddai yr iaith Gymraeg yn diflannu o'r tir, ac ni fyddai cenedl y Cymry mwyach yn bod.

A diau, dedfryd haneswyr y dyfodol ar ein cenhedlaeth ni fuasai—“ Fe ddarfyyddwyd am y rhain, trwy iddynt fwrw allan eu hiaith ; fe ddiflannodd eu cenedl oddi ar wyneb daear *am nad oedd iddynt wreiddyn.*”

Na ato Duw ! Gyfeillion, gwarchodwn y gwreiddyn hwn—canys, o'i golli, ni ddaw yr un byth yn ei le.

The Root

In my introduction, I mentioned the lecture delivered by the late Professor J. R. Jones on the subject “ . . . for it hath no root ”. Should we forget this, and choose to ignore the rock from which we were hewn, then assuredly, the Welsh language will vanish from our land, and the nation called *Y Cymry* will no longer exist.

And doubtless, the verdict of future historians upon our generation would be—“ These people ceased to exist, because they cast out their language ; their nation vanished from the face of the earth, *because they had no root.*”

God forbid ! My friends, let us fight to maintain this root—for, once lost, no other will ever take its place.

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