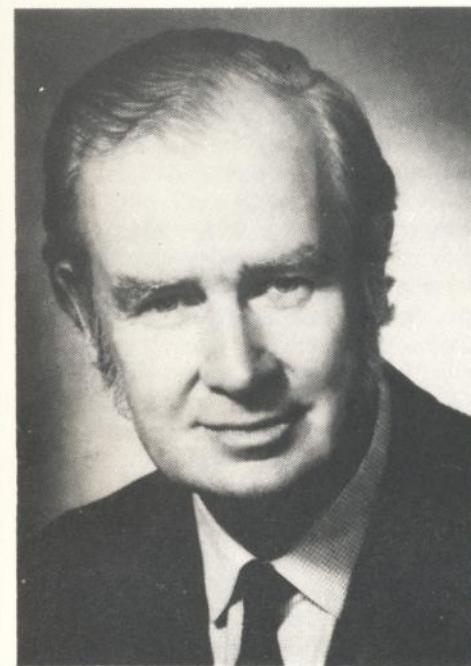




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BYW NEU FARW ?



Y FRWYDR
DROS YR IAITH
A'R
SIANEL DELEDU
GYMRAEG

GWYNFOR EVANS

THE STRUGGLE
FOR THE
LANGUAGE
AND A
WELSH
T.V. CHANNEL

LIFE OR DEATH ?

BYW NEU FARW?

Bu tuedd yng Nghymru, hyd yn oed ymhliith gwladgarwyr pybyr, i gredu mai grymoedd mawr, amhersonol sydd yn pennu ein holl hanes fel cenedl. Ym marn y rheini sy'n meddwl felly, yr hyn a roddodd ffurf ar Gymru heddiw yw pŵer gwirthwynebus Prydeindod ac imperialaeth Brydeinig, agosrwydd llêthol Lloegr, yr iaith Saesneg a'i sefydliadau, a'r newidiadau enfawr a fu yn yr economi ac yn y strwythur dosbarth. Ni ellir gwadu dylanwad anferth ffactorau o'r fath, ond pe bai'n wir mai hwy yn unig sydd yn creu hanes Cymru, byddai Cymru wedi marw ers tro byd.

Ond nid yw Cymru wedi marw. Pam felly? Am y rheswm nad dim ond y ffactorau hynny sydd y tu hwnt i'w rheolaeth sydd yn rhoi ffurf ar Gymru. Y mae ymateb pobl Cymru i'w sefyllfa yn bwysicach fyth. Creir hanes Cymru gan bobl Cymru. O'u dadansoddi, gwelir fod hyd yn oed y pwerau sydd yn ymddangos yn gwbl amhersonol ac sydd yn mygu anadl einioes y genedl, yn waith bodau dynol sydd yn byw eu bywydau eu hunain, yn gwneuthur eu penderfyniadau eu hunain, yn esgor ar eu syniadaeu hunain. Dim ond wrth edrych yn ôl arnynt y daw eu gweithgareddau i ymddangos fel rhan o ryw "beth" neu "gyfraith". Newidiwyd holl hanes y ddynolryw gan fywyd, marwolaeth ac atgyfodiad un gŵr, â nifer o ddynion cyffredin o'i gwmpas, â'i genhadaeth yn dâr ysol ynddo. Ar raddfa lawer llai, gellir egluro rhyfel Owain Glyndwr, y deilliodd gwladwriaeth Gymreig ohono, fel canlyniad ffactorau cymdeithasol, gwleidyddol ac economaidd, ond ni fuasai wedi digwydd oni bai am Lyndwr a'i ddilynwyr.

Camgymeriad dybryd yw bychanu'r grym sydd gan bobl Cymru. Ymddangosant fel pe baent yn ymdrechu'n ofer yn erbyn pwysau llêthol gwladwriaeth Brydeinig sydd bron yn holl-alluog. Ac eto, dibynna bodolaeth y wladwriaeth honno yng Nghymru ar ewyllys y Cymru. Ewyllys, ac nid grym, yw sail y wladwriaeth, ebe Bosanquet. Onid ewyllysiai'r bobl hynny, ni allai'r wladwriaeth barhau. Yn yr un modd, ped ewyllysient greu gwladwriaeth a llywodraeth Gymreig, ni ellid eu hatal rhag cyrraedd eu nod. Oblegid y mae ewyllys pobl Cymru, y sianelir drwyddi rym moesol cenedl, yn drech na phŵer unrhyw wladwriaeth ni waeth pa mor fawr, mor gryf neu mor gyfoethog. Y mae gan bobl Cymru rym anorhifygol cenedlaetholdeb at eu gwasanaeth er cyflawni eu hamcanion. Cenedlaetholdeb yw'r un grym yng Nghymru y mae'r sefydliad Llundeinig yn ei ofni. Y mae ganddynt achos i'w ofni: dyna'r grym a ddinistriodd eu Hymerdraeth.

LIFE OR DEATH ?

There has been a tendency in Wales, even among those loyal to their land, to believe that our history is completely determined by huge impersonal forces. This way of thinking sees Wales as moulded entirely in our time by the adverse power of Britishness and British imperialism, by the close propinquity of England, by the English Language and institutions, by massive changes in the economy and in class structure. The immense influence of such factors is undeniable, but if they were the only factors making Welsh history, Wales would have long been dead.

But Wales is not dead. Why not? The reason is that Wales is not moulded entirely by forces beyond her control. The response of the people of Wales to their situation is even more important. The history of Wales is made by the people of Wales. Even the seemingly impersonal powers crushing her life are, when analysed, seen to be the work of human beings living their own lives, making their own decisions, giving birth to their own ideas. Only in retrospect can their activity be seen as being part of some 'thing' or 'law'. The history of mankind was changed by the life, death and resurrection of one man with a group of men from ordinary walks of life around him, imbued with a burning sense of mission. On a very much smaller scale the war of Owain Glyndwr which led to the creation of a Welsh state can be explained as the result of social, political and economic factors, but it would not have happened but for Glyndwr and his followers.

How wrong we are to play down the power of the people of Wales. They appear to struggle in vain against the grinding weight of an almost all powerful British state. Yet the existence of that state in Wales depends upon the will of the Welsh people. Will and not force is the basis of the state, said Bosanquet. If they withdraw that will the state would not endure. Likewise if they willed the creation of a Welsh state and government they could not be prevented from reaching their goal. For the will of the Welsh people, channelling the moral force of a nation, is stronger than the power of any state, however big, potent or wealthy it may be. The Welsh people have at their service the unconquerable power of nationalism in achieving the aims they set before themselves. Nationalism is the one power in Wales feared by the London establishment. It fears it with cause: this was the power that destroyed their Empire.

This force has shown its effectiveness even when channelled through a comparatively small political party. Many concessions have been made in response to the growth of Plaid Cymru.

Gwelwyd pa mor effeithiol yw'r grym hwnnw, hyd yn oed pan sianelir ef drwy gyfrwng plaid wleidyddol gymharol fechan. Ildiwyd llawer braint mewn ymateb i dwf Plaid Cymru. Heb hynny, ni fuasai gennym Ysgrifennydd Gwladol dros Gymru na Swyddfa Gymreig, dim Comisiwn Brenhinol ar y Cyfansoddiad na Deddf Cymru yn caniatáu, yn amodol, Gynulliad Etholedig i Gymru; dim cydnabyddiaeth fod Cymru yn endid economaidd a hyd yn oed llai o ymgais i gryfhau economi Cymru nag a gafwyd.

Pe bai mwy o Gymru wedi dod yn ymwybodol o deimlad o deyrngarwch i Gymru, gallesid fod wedi ennill mwy fyth.

Gesyd y grym hwn gyfrifoldeb enbyd ar ysgwyddau'r Cymry. Y mae dyfodol Cymru yn eu dwylo hwy; nid peth i Whitehall a San Steffan ei benderfynu mohono. Hwyt-hwy sydd i benderfynu, drwy weithredu neu beidio â gweithredu, a drosglwyddir gwareiddiad cyfoethog Cymru i'r cenhedloedd sydd i ddod ai peidio. Pobl Cymru sydd yn creu hanes Cymru.

GWERTH ANNHRAETHOL Y BOD DYNOL

Y mae'r unigolion sydd â'r grym hwn yn eu dwylo o werth annhraethol, bob un ohonynt. Y mae mwy o werth i bob un bod dynol nag sydd i unrwyd beth arall yn y greadigaeth. Dyna sydd yn gwneud rhyfel, apartheid, gormes Gomiwnyddol a'r newyn sydd yn y byd mor gwbl wrthun. Y mae gan y lleiaf a mwyaf distadl o deulu dyn gymaint o hawl i fyw ei fywyd â'r mwyaf ei barch a'i fri. Nid ydynt megis tywod y môr; y mae bywyd unigol yn byrlymu ym mhob un.

Nid dim ond unigolion mohonynt ychwaith, heb fwy o gydlyniant na rhaff o dywod. Personau ydynt, sydd yn golygu eu bod yn fodau cymdeithasol, yn rhan o wead diwniad cymdeithas. Byddant yn byw eu bywyd mewn cymuned â'i gilydd, yn yr amryfal gymunedau sydd yn hanfodol i'w dynoliaeth. O blith y cymunedau hyn, y bwysicaf o safbwyt llywodraethu, yw'r genedl. Dylai llywodraeth, boed leol neu genedlaethol, fod yn nwylo'r gymuned bob amser. Ond yn lle llywodraeth gan gymuned genedlaethol, yr hyn sydd gennym ni yng Nghymru yw llywodraethu ar bobl Cymru gan bobl Lloegr ac er mwyn pobl Lloegr. Dyna'r sefyllfa, ni waeth beth a fo lliw'r llywodraeth; a pha bryd bynnag y bydd gan Gymru Lywodraeth Doriaidd gwaethygir y sefyllfa, oblegid bryd hynny gorfodir llywodraeth ar bobl Cymru yn erbyn eu Hewyllys. Ni phleidleisiodd y Cymry dros Lywodraeth Geidwadol erioed. Yn wir, yn etholiadau dechrau'r ganrif hon, nid etholwyd yr un A.S. Ceidwadol gan Gymru.

Without it there would have been no Secretary of State for Wales and no Welsh Office, no Royal Commission on the Constitution and no Wales Act, granting conditionally, an elected Assembly for Wales; no recognition of Wales as an economic entity and even less effort to strengthen the Welsh economy than there has been. If more Welsh people had been awaked to a sense of loyalty to Wales the results would have been greater.

This power places an enormous responsibility on Welsh people. The future of Wales is in their hands, not at the disposal of Whitehall and Westminster. It is they who will decide, through their action or inaction whether the rich civilisation of Wales is to be transmitted or not to future generations. Welshmen make Welsh history.

THE INFINITE VALUE OF THE HUMAN PERSON

The people who wield this power are, each one of them of infinite value. Every single human being has a greater value than anything else in the universe. That is what makes war, apartheid, Communist tyranny and the starvation in the world so totally unacceptable. The lowliest he or she in the world has his life to live as much as the greatest he or she. They are not like the ocean sands; a separate life wells up in each.

Nor are they just individuals, joined like a rope of sand. They are persons, which means that they are social beings, woven into the seamless web of society. Their life is lived in community, communities of many kinds which are essential to their humanity. Of these communities the most important from the view of government is the nation. Government should always be by community, local and national. But what we have in Wales, instead of government by the Welsh national community, is government of the Welsh people by the English people and for English people. That is the situation whatever the colour of the government; whenever Wales has a Tory Government the position is exacerbated, for the government is then imposed on the Welsh people against their will. Never have the Welsh people voted for a Conservative Government. Indeed, in the elections at the beginning of this century not a single Conservative M.P. was returned from Wales.

The main function of the nation is to transmit from one generation to another the values embodied in her civilisation. This is done through the vehicle of the national language. The overriding importance of the Welsh language lies in this fact, that it is the means whereby the values and the culture of Wales, which enrich the life of every Welsh man or woman whether he be Welsh-speaking or not, are transmitted through the centuries.

Prif swyddogaeth y genedl yw trosglwyddo o'r naill genhedlaeth i'r llall y gwerthoedd a ymgorfforir yn ei gwareiddiad. Gwneir hynny drwy gyfrwng yr iaith genedlaethol. Dyna a rydd i'r iaith Gymraeg ei harbenigrywydd hanfodol, mai drwy ei chyfrwng hi, o oes i oes, y trosglwyddir gwerthoedd a diwylliant Cymru sydd yn cyfoethogi pob Cymro neu Gymraes, boed efe neu hi yn medru'r Gymraeg ai peidio. Ni chreir y gymdeithas arall, gyflawn y dymunwn ei gweld yng Nghymru oni fydd honno'n gymdeithas rydd, Gymraeg.

RHYDDID CENEDLAETHOL

Y mae rhyddid mor hanfodol i ddatblygaid y gymuned genedlaethol ag ydyw i'r bod dynol. Y mae pawb yn gytun mai peth gwrthun yw caethiwo unigolyn, ond cyflyrwyd y Cymry i feddwl fod caethiwed cenedlaethol, lle nad oes gan y genedl yr un dewis, lle na all benderfynu dim drosti hi ei hun, lle na all weithredu, lle nad oes ganddi ddim cyfrifoldeb am ei bywyd ei hun, fod hyn yn dderbyniol, yn beth i'w chwennych hyd yn oed. Cymeradwyir y wladwriaeth Brydeinig anferth sydd yn ein gormesu yn hytrach na'n gwasanaethu. Felly y byddwn ni'r Cymry yn llyfu ein cadwyni. Mewn rhyw fodd, rhaid meithrin yn y Cymry ymdeimlad o urddas a hunan-barch, a'u cyffroi i fwrr eu cadwyni ymaith. Pwy a'u deffry i sylwedoli gymaint y'u diraddiwyd fel cenedl, a'u dysgu i ymwrthod â gormes a pheidio a bodloni ar fod yn gaeth?

Y cam cyntaf tuag at urddas a rhyddid cenedlaethol yw dad-seisnigeddio Cymru a'i dad-daleithio. Wrth i Gymru ymseisnigo fwyfwy o dan ddyylanwad addysg Seisnig, gwleidyddiaeth Seisnig a'r cyfryngau Seisnig, felly hefyd yr â'n fwy taleithiol. Mynd yn Brydeinig yw'r enw a roddir ar hyn. Y mae culni tal-eithiol di-liw Caerdydd a threfi eraill Cymru yn amgylchynu dyn fel tawch heintus. Metropolis y bobl, eu prif ddinas, yw Llundain; y mae'r ynni a'r hyder a gaent drwy sefyll ar eu traed eu hunain fel Cymry yn eisiau. Ystyrier y modd cyfoglyd y gwrthodasant hyd yn oed Gynulliad Eitholedig i Gymru – a'r pris economaidd a diwydiannol y maent yn ei dalu yn awr am fod mor wangalon.

PRYDEINDOD

Rhaid crafu'r haen o Brydeindod oddi ar fywyd Cymru a gadael iddo ymddangos yn ei ffurf naturiol, gyda'i holl wendidau, yn ffyddlon iddo ef ei hun. Denfyddiwyd Prydeindod fel esgus dros ecsplotio adnoddau dynol a naturiol Cymru a'i thrin fel trefedigaeth fewnol Brydeinig. Cyflyrwyd Cymry modern gan eu diffyg hyder, sydd bron yn gymhleth y taeog bellach, i dderbyn Prydeindod yn ddifater, a hyd yn oed i gredu fod y fath beth yn bod â chenedl Brydeinig. Nid oes cenedl Brydeinig yn bod, wrth

The creation of the just, alternative society which we wish to see in Wales, depends of its being free and Welsh.

NATIONAL FREEDOM

Freedom is as necessary to the development of the national community as it is to the human person. Everybody agrees that personal servitude is evil, but the Welsh have been brain-washed into thinking that national servitude, in which the nation has no choice, can make no decision for herself, cannot act, has no responsibility for her life, that this is acceptable and even desirable. The huge British State which oppresses us instead of serving is applauded. So we Welsh lick our chains. Somehow the Welsh people must be imbued with a sense of their own dignity and honour and roused to throw off their chains. Who will awaken them to a realisation of their national degradation, and refuse to accept tyranny and acquiesce in servitude?

The first step in the direction of national dignity and freedom is the de-anglicisation and the de-provincialisation of Wales. As Wales becomes more anglicised under the power of English education, English politics and the English media, so she becomes more provincial. That is known as becoming British. The colourless provincialism of Cardiff and other Welsh towns engulfs one like a miasma. The metropolis, the capital city of the people is London; they lack the vigour and the confidence which they would get by standing on their own two feet as Welsh people. Consider the sickening way in which they rejected even an elected Welsh Assembly, the economic and industrial price they are now paying for their pusillanimity.

BRITISHNESS

The veneer of Britishness must be scraped off Welsh life, leaving it to be itself, warts and all, true to itself. Britishness has been made the excuse for exploiting the human and national resources of Wales as an internal British colony. The lack of confidence of the modern Welsh, amounting almost to an inferiority complex, conditioned them into a supine acceptance of Britishness, and even a belief in the existence of an alleged British nation. There is of course no British nation, though there is a huge, complex and ailing British state. English historians recognise its character as being essentially English. A.J.P. Taylor says that with the world war of 1914, "the history of the English state and the English people merged for the first time". Wales, as a part of England, merged with the English state as well.

gwrs, ei bod yna wladwriaeth Brydeinig anferth, gymhleth a chlaf. Y mae haneswyr Lloegr yn ymwybodol o gymeriad hanfodol Seisnig y wladwriaeth honno. Medd A. J. P. Taylor am ryfel byd 1914, “am y tro cyntaf, daeth hanes y wladwriaeth Seisnig a hanes pobl Lloegr yn un”. Fel rhan o Loegr, daeth Cymru hithau yn un â'r wladwriaeth Seisnig.

Pe bai cenedl Brydeinig yn bod, pa beth a ddigwyddai iddi wedi i Gymru a'r Alban ennill hunan-lywodraeth? Fe'i dileid oddi ar wyneb y map ar unwaith. Ond nid yw cenhedloedd yn arfer diflannu dros nos. Er 1940, traflynnyd Latfia, Lithuania ac Estonia gan Rwsia, fel y traflynnyd Cymru gan Loegr. Ond y mae'r cenhedloedd Latfiaidd, Lithuaniaidd ac Estoniaidd yn dal i fod, er nad oes ganddynt wladwriaeth. Gallodd sawl cenedl oroesi heb feddu ar eu gwaldwriaeth ei hun, er bod hynny wedi mynd yn fwyfwy anodd, os nad yn amhosibl bron, gyda'r twf anferth yng ngrym y wladwriaeth. Ni oroesai'r “genedl Brydeinig” gwyp y wladwriaeth Brydeinig; nid oes y fath beth â bod cenedlaethol Prydeinig, dim ond dinasyddiaeth a chenedligrwydd cyfreithiol, fel yr oedd dinasyddiaeth Rufeinig yn bod yn nyddiau Ymerodraeth Rhufain.

Drwy wrthwynebu hunan-lywodraeth i Gymru mor ffyrnig, y mae'r pleidiau Prydeinig felly yn ymladd dros einioes y “genedl” Brydeinig, nad ydyw ond rhith.

YMLADD AM EIN BYWYD

Y mae cenedlaetholwyr Cymru yn ymladd i achub bywyd y genedl Gymreig sydd wedi bod yn ffaith hanesyddol er y 6ed ganrif, wyth can mlynedd cyn bod na iaith na llenyddiaeth Saesneg. Bygythir difodi bywyd Cymru am nad oes gandi ei llywodraeth a'i gwaldwriaeth ei hun. Pan drawyd Cymru gan ddirwasgiad rhwng y ddau ryfel, ni allai ei phobl weithred u i greu economi gytbwys ag iddi is-strwythur addas a digonol. Unig bolisi'r llywodraeth Brydeinig neu Seisnig (nid oes wahaniaeth rhwng y ddau derm) oedd yr hyn a elwir yn “drosglwyddiant llafur”; drwy hynny, dadwreiddiwyd 500,000 o wyr a gwragedd Cymru o'ucartrefi a'u broydd, eu diwylliant a'u gwlaid, a'u sugno o “bwll llafur” Cymru i wasanaethu diwydiant Lloegr. Pan benderfynodd y Llywodraeth ari gyfundrefn o addysg orfodol ym 1870, yr oedd y gyfundrefn a orfodwyd ar y Gymru Gymraeg yn un gwbl Seisnig a gosbai blant Cymru pe siaradent a'i gilydd yn Gymraeg. Pan chwenychai Lerpwl a'r cyffiniau ddŵr Cymru ar gyfer eu diwydiant yn rhad ac am ddim, boddasant Gwm Tryweryn a dinistrio'r gymuned Gymraeg ddiwylliadig a drigai yno, er bod Cymru gyfan yn gwrthwynebu'r cynllun fel un gŵr. Senedd Lloegr yw'r unig Senedd sydd gennym ni.

If there were a British nation what would happen to it when Wales and Scotland win self-government? It would be erased from the map immediately. Nations are not in the habit of disappearing overnight. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have been incorporated in Russia, as Wales is in England, since 1940. There are still Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian nations though they have no state. A nation has been able to survive without a state of her own, though that has become increasingly difficult, and almost impossible, with the enormous growth in the power of the state. The British nation would not survive the end of the British state; there is no British nationhood, only a legal British nationality and citizenship as there was Roman citizenship in the days of the Roman Empire.

In opposing Welsh self-government so fiercely the British parties are therefore fighting for the life of the British ‘nation’ which is a fiction.

FIGHT FOR LIFE

Welsh nationalists are fighting for the life of the Welsh nation which has been a historic fact since the 6th century, eight hundred years before there were an English language and literature. The life of Wales is threatened with extinction because it lacks a government and state of its own. When depression hit Wales between the two wars, her people could take no action to create a balanced economy with suitable and adequate infrastructure. The only policy of the British or English Government (the terms are synonymous) was what it called ‘transference of labour’ by which 500,000 Welsh men and women were uprooted from their homes and neighbourhood, culture and country, siphoned from the Welsh ‘pool of labour’ to serve English industry. When the government decided upon a system of compulsory education in 1870, the system it imposed on Welsh-speaking Wales was an entirely English system which punished Welsh children if they spoke to each other in Welsh. When Liverpool and its environs wanted Welsh water for their industry, free, gratis and for nothing, they drowned Cwm Tryweryn and destroyed its cultured Welsh-speaking community, although Wales was united in opposition. Our only Parliament is the English Parliament.

Currently our Government is engaged in destroying the Welsh economy. The Government which should defend and strengthen our national life is the agency most responsible for its destruction. Its unconcern for our language and culture is illustrated by the history of television.

Ar hyn o bryd, y mae'n Lywodraeth wrthi'n dinistrio economi Cymru. Y Llywodraeth a ddylai fod yn amddiffyn ac yn atgyfnerthu ein bywyd cenedlaethol yw'r cyfrwng sydd yn bennaf gyfrifol am ddinistrio'r bywyd hwnnw. Dengys hanes teledu yng Nghymru yn eglur ym mha fod y di-ystyrrir ein hiaith a'n diwylliant.

TELEDU

Teledu yw'r cyfrwng mwyaf nerthol o bell ffordd a welodd dyn erioed. Sicrhauodd y Llywodraeth ei fod yn tra-arglwyddiaethu ym mhob cartref Cymraeg bron. Disodlwyd yr aelwyd deuluol gan y blwch yn y gornel. Arolyga fagwraeth y plant, cyfeiria eu hymwybyddiaeth a rhydd faeth i'w dychymyg; ac yn dawel ac yn effeithiol, y mae wrthi'n lladd yr iaith a'r diwylliant brodorol heb nemor ddim ffwdan.

Er gwaethaf hyn oll, bu'r frwydr dros sicrhau rhaglenni Cymraeg yn un faith ac anodd. Yn y 60au cynnar, dechreusom gwmni annibynnol, Teledu Cymru, sef ymddiriedolaeth a fyddai'n gyfrifol am ddarlledu rhaglenni yn Gymraeg heb wneud fawr ddim elw i'r buddsoddwyr. I gychwyn, darlledai saith awr yr wythnos yn Gymraeg. Ond wedi i'r ATA gwblhau'r gwaith o godi trosglwyddydion, cafwyd mai dim ond 60,000 o setiau a fedrai dderbyn yr arwydd. Y rhain, sef gwerth £4 yr un o incwm hysbysebu, oedd unig ffynhonnell incwm y cwmni, cyfanswm felly o ddim ond £240,000 y flwyddyn. O ganlyniad i hynny, peidiodd Teledu Cymru â bod; daeth TWW i'r adwy, gan etifeddu'r cyfrifoldeb o ddarlledu saith awr yr wythnos yn Gymraeg. Yna, cafodd Teledu Harlech y rhyddfaint gyda'i hamod o leiafsum o saith awr yr wythnos o raglenni Cymraeg. Dim ond saith awr yr wythnos a ddarlledir ganddynt yn Gymraeg hyd heddiw, er bod eu cynyrrch yn yr iaith Saesneg wedi cynyddu'n aruthrol. Bydd mwyfwy beunydd o ddeunydd Saesneg yn arllwys i mewn i gartrefi Gymraeg; rhaid chwilio am y 100 munud o Gymraeg yng nghanol y llifeiriant beunyddiol o 2,200 o funudau o raglenni Saesneg sy'n tywallt i mewn drwy BBC 1, BBC 2 a HTV Cymru.

YMGYRCHU

Yn ystod y degawd diwethaf, dwysáu a wnaeth yr ymgyrch a arweiniwyd gan Gymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg dros galbwytio gwasanaeth Cymraeg ar y bedwaredd sianel a oedd yn segur ar y pryd. Aeth cannoedd i'r carchar dros yr achos. Archwiliwyd y mater gan bum pwyllgor a chomisiwn swyddogol, a nifer fawr o gyrrf eraill. Daethant oll i'r casgliad y dylid sefydlu gwasanaeth Cymraeg ar y 4edd sianel "cyn gynted ag y bo modd" meddai Crawford ym 1974, gan ychwanegu "byddai'r gost yn

TELEVISION

Television is by far the most powerful medium mankind has seen. Government has ensured that it is in command in almost every Welsh home. The box in the corner has replaced the family hearth. It supervises the upbringing of children, directs their consciousness and furnishes their imagination; and with unobtrusive efficiency it kills off the indigenous language and culture with a minimum of fuss and bother.

Despite this we have had to fight long and hard for Welsh language programmes. In the early 60's we started an independent company-Teledu Cymru, which was to be a trust responsible for broadcasting programmes in Welsh with only a slight profit for investors. It initially broadcast seven hours in Welsh. But when the I.T.A. finished erecting the transmitters it was found that only 60,000 sets could receive the signal. These, worth £4 each in advertising revenue were the company's sole source of income, which therefore amounted to only £240,000 per annum. Consequently Teledu Cymru ceased to exist; it was taken over by T.W.W. which inherited the obligation to broadcast seven hours weekly in Welsh. Then Harlech Television was given the franchise with its seven hour minimum for Welsh language programmes. They still broadcast only seven hours in Welsh, though the number put out in English has grown prodigiously. English language material pours into Welsh homes in ever increasing quantity: the 100 minutes of Welsh has to be searched for in the daily onslaught of 2,200 minutes of programmes funnelled through BBC 1, BBC 2 and HTV Wales.

CAMPAIGN

During the last decade the campaign, led by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, for concentrating a Welsh-language service on the unused 4th channel increased in intensity. Hundreds went to prison for the cause. The case was examined by five official committees and commissions and numerous other bodies. All arrived at the conclusion that there should be a Welsh-language service on the 4th channel "as soon as possible", said Crawford in 1974, adding that, "the cost would represent an investment in domestic, cultural and social harmony in the United Kingdom." The Government announced that it accepted all the representations on principle. We thought we were home and dry in 1974.

Then the matter was referred to the Siberry Committee, whose report in November 1975, stated, "BBC Wales and HTV Wales, each contributing 12½ hours to the initial target of 25 hours a week in Welsh, would aim to improve the quality and balance of their broadcasts in Welsh, making them more comparable in mix to programmes in English."

cynrychioli buddsoddiad mewn cytgord diwylliannol a chymdeithasol rhwng gwledydd y Deyrnas Unedig". Cyhoeddodd y Llywodraeth ei bod yn derbyn yr holl argymhellion hyn mewn egwyddor. Credem ein bod wedi mynd â'r maen i'r wal ym 1974.

Yna cyfeiriwyd y mater i ystyriaeth Pwyllgor Siberry; meddai adroddiad hwnnw ym mis Tachwedd 1975, "Byddai BBC Cymru a HTV Cymru, wrth gyfrannu 12½ awr yr un i'r nod ddechreul o 25 awr yr wythnos yn Gymraeg, yn anelu at wella safon a chydbwyssedd eu darllediadau Cymraeg, fel eu bod yn cymharu'n well o ran amrywiaeth â rhaglenni Saesneg."

Ni wnaethpwyd dim byd tan i Bwyllgor Annan gyflwyno ei adroddiad ym mis Mawrth 1977. Dywedai hwnnw: "Argymhellwn y dylied gweithredu cynigion Siberry cyn gynted ag y gall y Llywodraeth ddod o hyd i'r cyllid angenrheidiol . . . Yn sicr, dylied darparu'r bedwaredd sianel yng Nghymru cyn dechrau defnyddio'r sianel yng ngweddill y Deyrnas Unedig . . . Mater i bobl Cymru ei benderfynu fyddai'r gymsgedd o raglenni ar y sianel". Hynny yw, byddai'r sianel yn Nghymru o dan reolaeth Cymru. Ond ni weithredodd y Llywodraeth hyd yn oed wedyn.

Nid llenwi oriau'r bedwaredd sianel â rhaglenni Cymraeg oedd y polisi bellach, ond creu gwasanaeth Cymraeg cynhwysfawr am 25 awr yr wythnos i ddechrau; ar yr oriau brig—llif o raglenni rhwng, dyweder, 6.30 p.m. a 10 p.m. bob noson o'r wythnos: cyllid digonol; o dan reolaeth Cymry; i ddechrau yng Nghymru cyn i'r bedwaredd sianel ddechrau trosglwyddo yn Lloegr. Gan y byddai pobl yn gwybod at ble i droi i dderbyn rhaglenni Cymraeg, ceid pob cyfle i adeiladu cynulleidfa fawr o wylwyr, fel y gwnaeth Radio Cymru ar gyfer rhaglenni radio Cymraeg.

O'r diwedd, dechreuodd y Llywodraeth weithredu'r polisi, ym mis Ebrill 1979, drwy bleidleisio dros roi £18 miliwn i'r ADA o dan Ddeddf yr ADA, fel y gallai fwrw ati ar unwaith gyda'r gwaith peirianegol a chodi trosglwyddyddion yng Nghymru.

Yr oedd undod barn cwbl anghyffredin ar y mater yng Nghymru, ymhlið Cymry Cymraeg a di-Gymraeg fel ei gilydd. Yr oedd cefnogwyr Sianel Gymraeg yn cynnwys y pleidiau Llafur, Rhyddfrydol a Cheidwadol, a Phlaid Cymru, cynhadledd genedlaethol yr Arglwydd Faer yng Nghaerdydd ym mis Gorfennaf 1973, y pwylgorau swyddogol, yr undebau llafur, yr eglwysi, y brifysgol — yn wir, pob corff a oedd wedi ystyried y mater o ddifrif.

Action was delayed until the Annan Committee reported in March 1977. It stated: "We recommend that the Siberry proposals should be implemented as soon as the Government can find the necessary finance . . . The provision of the fourth channel in Wales should certainly precede the use of the channel in the rest of the United Kingdom . . . The mix of programmes on the channel would be a matter for the Welsh people to decide." That is, the channel in Wales would be under Welsh control, still the Government did not act.

The policy by now was not to fill fourth channel time with Welsh language programmes, but to create a comprehensive Welsh service for 25 hours a week initially; at peak viewing times — a flow of programmes between say 6.30 p.m. and 10 p.m. every night of the week; adequately financed; under Welsh control; to be started in Wales before the fourth channel started operating in England. Since people would know where and when to tune in for Welsh programmes there would be every chance of building up a big viewing public as has been done for Welsh language radio by Radio Cymru.

Eventually the Government started implementing the policy in April 1979 by voting £18million to IBA in the IBA Act, so that it could proceed immediately with the engineering and transmission work in Wales.

The concensus of opinion on the matter was extraordinary, extending through the Welsh-speaking and non Welsh-speaking population. It included the Labour, Liberal and Conservative Parties and Plaid Cymru, The Lord Mayor's national conference at Cardiff in July, 1973, the official committees, the trade unions, the churches, the university — in fact everybody which had examined the matter.

PROMISES MADE . . .

The Conservative Party stated in its Manifesto for the election of May, 1979: "We are anxious to see Welsh broadcasting starting on the fourth channel as quickly as possible. We believe that this could be done more cheaply, simply and at least as quickly if both the BBC and HTV Welsh programmes are transmitted on the fourth channel on an agreed basis under the overall control of the IBA."

This confirmed the statement made by Mr. Wyn Roberts, M.P., during the debate on the IBA Bill in April, 1979: "The non-Welsh-speaking majority of viewers, and the Welsh-speaking minority" he said, "wish that programmes in the Welsh language are put on a separate channel . . . The BBC and HTV Welsh-language programmes should be placed on the fourth channel

GWNEUD ADDEWIDION

Meddai'r Blaid Geidwadol yn ei Maniffesto ar gyfer etholiad Mai 1979: "Yr ydym yn eiddgar i weld darlledu Cymraeg yn cychwyn ar y bedwaredd sianel cyn gynted ag y bo modd. Credwn y gellid cyflawni hynny yn rhatach, yn symlach ac o leiaf cyn gyflymed pe trosglwyddid rhaglenni Cymraeg y BBC a HTV ar y bedwaredd sianel ar sail y cytunwyd arni, o dan oruchwyliaeth yr ADA."

Yr oedd hyn yn cadarnhau'r datganiad a wnaethpwyd gan Mr. Wyn Roberts, AS yn ystod y ddadl ar Fesur yr ADA ym mis Ebrill 1979: "Dymuniad y mwyafri� di-Gymraeg o'r gwylwyr, a'r lleiafrif Cymraeg eu hiaith", meddai, "yw gosod rhaglenni yn yr Gymraeg ar sianel ar wahan . . . Dylid gosod rhaglenni Cymraeg y BBC a HTV ar y bedwaredd sianel o dan reolaeth yr ADA, a dylai'r BBC ddal i drosglwyddo rhai rhaglenni dethol ar ei brif sianel Gymreig yn unol ag argymhellion Annan." (Ac yr oedd hyn, fel mae'n digwydd, yn rhannol ateb yr achos a osodwyd ger bron gan y diweddar Dr. Jac L. Williams am gadw rhaglenni Cymraeg ar y sianeli poblogaidd.) Ategodd Mr. William Whitelaw bolisi'r Ceidwadwyr mewn cyfweliad gyda'r Western Mail.

Yna, gyda Llywodraeth Geidwadol newydd, daeth Araith y Frenhines yn datgan y byddai'r Llywodraeth "yn ceisio dechrau'r bedwaredd sianel deledu yng Nghymru yn fuan". Y mae Mr. Whitelaw bellach yn maenturnio nad oedd y datganiad hwn yn Araith y Frenhines, a baratowyd o fewn ychydig ddiwrnodau i'r etholiad, yn unrhyw gadarnhad o'r addewid a wnaethpwyd yn y Maniffesto. Y mae hyn yn gywilyddus o ddwywynebog. Rhaid deall Araith y Frenhines yng nghyd-destun addewid y Maniffesto, a dyna fel yr oedd pawb wedi ei deall.

Dyna fel y'i deallwyd gan hyd yn oed Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru. Tra'n siarad yn Nadol Dydd Cymreig cyntaf y Senedd newydd ar y 23ain Mai 1979, dywedodd yn holol glir, "Ein bwriad eglur yw bwrw ymlaen â chynlluniau ar gyfer darlledu yn Gymraeg ar y bedwaredd sianel . . . Byddai'n rhaid dod o hyd i ryw ffordd o gyd-gysylltu rhaglenni gan y BBC a chan gontractwr rhaglenni yr ADA yn Nghymru a fyddai'n porthi'r gwasanaeth newydd."

. A'U TORRI

Y "bwriad eglur" hwn a chwalwyd i'r pedwar gwynt yng Nghaergrawnt yng ngweundir Dwyrain Lloegr, lle dewisodd Mr. Whitelaw draddodi arraith ar y 11eg Medi 1979 (o fewn tridiau i Ddydd Owain Glyndwr) yn bradychu addewid ei Lywodraeth i sefydlu gwasanaeth yn yr iaith Gymraeg ar y bedwaredd

under the management of the IBA, and that the BBC continues to transmit selected programmes on its main Welsh channel in accordance with the Annan recommendations." (And incidentally meeting in part the case put by the late Dr. Jac L. Williams for keeping Welsh programmes on the popular channels). Mr. William Whitelaw reconfirmed the Conservative policy in an interview with the Western Mail.

Then, with a new Conservative Government, came the Queen's Speech, which stated that the Government "will seek an early start with the fourth television channel in Wales," Mr. Whitelaw now maintains that this Queen's Speech statement, prepared within a few days of the election was no confirmation of the promise made in the Manifesto. The Government he maintains is fulfilling the Queen's Speech pledge. This is disgraceful deviousness. The Queen's Speech statement must be understood in the context of the Manifesto pledge, and everybody so understood.

Even the Secretary of State for Wales understood it in that way. Speaking in the first Welsh Day Debate of the new Parliament on 23rd May, 1979, he stated quite explicitly, "Our clear intention is to press ahead with plans for Welsh language broadcasting on the fourth channel . . . There would have to be some means of coordinating the programme input of the BBC and IBA's programme contractor in Wales."

. AND BROKEN

It was this "clear intention" which was blown to the winds at Cambridge in the fen country of Eastern England, which Mr. Whitelaw chose as the location of a speech on 11th September, 1979 (within three days of Owain Glyndwr's Day) which reneged on his Government's promise to establish a Welsh language service on the fourth channel. Government is not a "thing", an impersonal institution: it is people. In this field, so fateful for the national heritage for Wales, the Government of Wales is an Englishman who knows nothing of Wales and cares less. Perhaps because he sees here a chance of a little more profit for commercial television in Wales, or because he sees an opportunity of dealing the Welsh language a deadly blow – he is reputed to be hostile to the language and nationality of Wales – perhaps it is for those reasons he is breaking a solemn promise made to the Welsh people.

No doubt the referendum fiasco, and the decline in Plaid Cymru's vote and number of seats in the general election, are in the background. The Government obviously thinks that Welsh nationalism has weakened so much that it can attack the economy and industry and culture of Wales with impunity. If these have

sianel. Nid "peth" mo llywodraeth, nid rhyw sefydliad amher-sionol; pobl yw llywodraeth. Llywodraeth Cymru yn y maes hwn, o bwys mor dyngedfennol i dreftadaeth Cymru, yw Sais na wyr ddim am Gymru ac sy'n malio llai fyth amdani. Hwyrach oherwydd y gwêl yn y fan hon gyfle i deledu masnachol yng Nghymru i wneud ceiniog neu ddwy yn fwy o elw, neu oherwydd y gwêl yma gyfle i roi ergyd angheul i'r iaith Gymraeg - y mae son ei fod fod yn elyniaethus tuag at iaith a chenedligrwydd Cymru – hwyrach mai am y rhesymau hynny y mae'n torri'r dwys addewid a wnaethpwyd i bobl Cymru.

Diau fod ffiasgo'r refferendwm, a'r gostyngiad ym mhleidais Plaid Cymru ac yn nifer ei haelodau seneddol yn yr etholiad cyffredinol, yn gefndir i hyn oll. Y mae'n amlwg y cred y Llywodraeth fod cenedlaetholdeb Cymru wedi edwino i'r fath raddau bellach fel bod modd iddi ymosod ar economi a diwydiant a diwylliant Cymru heb ofni'r canlyniadau. Os nad hynny a barodd i'r Llywodraeth i dorri ei haddewid, boed iddi ddweud wrthym beth yw'r rheswm. Ni wnaeth hynny hyd yma. Ni chawsom air o eglurhad. Y mae'r Llywodraeth wedi diystyr uâ dirmyg llwyr ein hymgyrch ddemocrataidd faith a gostiodd mor ddrud i gymaint o bobl.

Y mae Mr. Whitelaw yn ddyn anrhydeddus, ond yn y mater hwn, y gall dyfodol iaith a threftadaeth Cymru fod yn dibynn arno, y mae wedi ymddwyn heb ddim anrhydedd. Os gŵyr na all yr iaith Gymraeg fyw heb wasanaeth teledu teilwng, yna y mae ei ymddygiad yn waeth byth.

SIANEL GYMRAEG YN AWR!

Ein polisi ni, y polisi yr oedd pawb o bob barn yn gytun arno, oedd sefydlu gwasanaeth pur debyg i eiddo Gwlad yr Ia, sydd â phoblogaeth ychydig yn fwy nag Abertawe. Yn ystod y gaeaf hirfaith, bydd Corfforaeth Deledu Gwlad yr Ia yn darlleu 25 awr yr wythnos, a 22 awr yr wythnos yn ystod tymor byr yr haf. Yn ystod y flwyddyn ddiwethaf, darledodd naw o ddrwmâu, a ddylai godi cywilydd ar Deledu Harlech gan mor brin eu cynnrych hwy. Yr hyn y mae Mr. Whitelaw wedi ei benderfynu yw tynnu pob rhaglen Gymraeg oddi ar y sianel poblogaidd BBC 1 a HTV 1 a'u gwasgaru, heb glustnodi dim oriau pendant ar eu cyfer, ymhlih rhaglenni Saesneg ar y ddwy sianel leiafrifol BBC 2 ac ADA 2, nas gwelir ond gan leiafrif bach o bobl. Ni fydd gwasanaeth ar yr oriau brig ar un sianel, dim byd a fyddai'n sicrhau llif o raglenni yr un pryd bob nos a'i gwneud hi'n bosibl adeiladu cynulleidfa fawr o wylwyr.

not caused the Government to break its promise let it tell us what the reason is. It has never done so. We have been given no explanation. The Government has dismissed our long and costly democratic campaign with complete contempt.

Mr. Whitelaw is an honourable man, but in this matter on which the future of the language and heritage of Wales may rest, he has been dishonourable. If he knows that the Welsh language cannot survive without an adequate television service he is worse.

WALES WANTS A WELSH CHANNEL

Our policy, which had a complete consensus of opinion behind it, was to establish a service not unlike that enjoyed by Iceland, which has a population a little bigger than Swansea. In the long winter the Icelandic Television Corporation broadcasts 25 hours a week, during the short summer it is 22 hours a week. During the last year it televised nine plays, which should make Harlech TV ashamed of the paucity of its production. What Mr. Whitelaw has decided is to take all Welsh language programmes off the popular channels BBC1 and HTV 1, and to scatter them, jumbled with English programmes, at all times on two minority channels, BBC 2 and IBA 2, which will only be seen by a small minority of people. There is to be no service at peak viewing hours on one channel, nothing involving a flow of programmes at the same time every night which would make the build-up of a big viewing public possible.

To keep its promise would cost the Government nothing. From the London standpoint it is a very small matter; from the standpoint of Wales it is a very big matter indeed. It is a major decision which could decide the fate of the marvellous language and the rich culture of Wales.

To keep its promise would involve the Government in no legislation. It needs only an executive decision.

If the Government is determined to break its word what does it expect the defenders of Wales to do – to lie down like cowards and renew a futile 'democratic' campaign?

Mr. William Whitelaw has made a promise. There are two kinds of promises, as Leopold Kohr says. There are talent promises and there are character promises. If Mr. Whitelaw had promised to abolish Welsh unemployment or to abolish war, he would be forgiven if he did not keep his word. He has not the talent to keep the promise, nor has anyone else. But what Mr. Whitelaw has done is to make a character promise, one which he can keep.

Ni chostiai hi ddim i'r Llywodraeth i gadw ei haddewid. O safbwyt Llundain, mater bach iawn yw hwn; o safbwyt Cymru, y mae'n fater mawr dros ben. Dyma benderfyniad o'r pwys mwyaf a allai bennu tynged iaith odidog a diwylliant cyfoethog Cymru.

Ni fyddai gofyn i'r Llywodraeth ddeddfu er mwyn cadw ei haddewid. Nid oes angen dim byd mwy na phenderfyniad gweithredol.

Os yw'r Llywodraeth yn benderfynol o dorri ei gair, beth a ddisgwylia i amddiffyfyr Cymru ei wneud — gorwedd i lawr fel llwfrgwn ac ailgychwyn ymgyrch "ddemocrataidd" ofer?

Gwnaeth Mr. Whitelaw addewid. Y mae dau fath o addewid, ys dywed Leopold Kohr. Y mae addewidion dawn ac addewidion cymeriad. Pe bai Mr. Whitelaw wedi addo dileu diweithdra yng Nghymru neu ddileu rhyfel, gellid maddau iddo pe na chadwai ei air. Nid oes ganddo'r ddawn i gadw addewid o'r fath, ef na neb arall. Ond yr hyn a wnaeth Mr. Whitelaw oedd gwneud addewid cymeriad, un y gall ei chyflawni. Addawodd sefydlu gwasanaeth teledu Cymraeg drwy ganolbwytio rhagleni Cymraeg ar yr oriau brig ar y bedwaredd sianel. Y mae cyflawni addewid felly, sydd o fewn ei allu i wneud, yn fater o etheg, nid o wleidyddiaeth etholiadol.

Gwneuthum innau addewid. Yr wyf wedi dweud, os na cheidw Mr. Whitelaw ei air erbyn Hydref 6ed, y dechreuaf ymprydio y diwrnod hwnnw a pharhau â'r ympryd hyd oni chyflawnar Llywodraeth ei haddewid. Gobeithiaf ddangos fod Cymro yn cadw ei addewid.

He has promised to establish a Welsh language television service by concentrating Welsh programmes at peak viewing times on the fourth channel. Keeping such a promise, well within his power, is a matter of ethics, not of election politics.

I too have made a promise. I have said that if Mr. Whitelaw does not keep his word by October 6th I shall start fasting on that day, and will continue the fast until the Government redeems its promise. I hope to show that a Welshman's word is his bond.