

Plaid Cymru

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Plaid Cymru - its Welsh name means "the party of Wales" was founded in August 1925 to secure self-government for Wales. Plaid Cymru aims at achieving Wales' right to govern itself by winning the support of a majority of her people. It rejects violence and believes in a peaceful road to Welsh freedom - by fighting elections and also campaigning to improve the lives of ordinary people in Wales today.

Plaid Cymru has three basic objectives:

1. We seek full self-government for Wales by establishing a democratic socialist state;
2. We have developed a set of decentralist, socialist policies designed to strengthen the social and economic life of Wales, restore the Welsh language, and protect our environment;
3. We believe that Wales should take a full part in world affairs as a member of the United Nations Organisation.

Plaid Cymru is the only political party whose first loyalty is to Wales, and we invite you to join and help to build a better country.

Welsh Nationalism

Plaid Cymru believes that Wales is a nation which has the right to live a full national life. It is the **only** political party which believes this - the other parties all accept that Wales should be ruled from London.

That is why Plaid Cymru is a nationalist party. We believe that every nation (including our own) must have the right to live their own lives and contribute freely to the cultural diversity of the world. Our nationalism is international and outward-looking. No-one accuses that people of Denmark or Norway of narrow-minded nationalism because they govern their own countries - and yet that is exactly the sort of mistaken criticism levelled at Welsh nationalists by ill-informed politicians whose horizons are limited to Britain.

A Free Wales

No self-respecting person or family would ask the next-door neighbour to decide how to spend their pay-packet or what colour the wallpaper should be. That doesn't mean that we shut ourselves off from our neighbours or refuse to play our part in the community. But it does mean that we accept responsibility for our own affairs.



Plaid's monthly papers -
Y Ddraig Goch in Welsh, and Welsh Nation in English.

Both can be ordered by writing to Plaid Cymru's publications department at 32 Heol y Wig, Aberystwyth, Dyfed.

Plaid Cymru believes in the same way that Wales should accept responsibility for governing itself. That doesn't mean that Wales would be cut off or isolated - any more than Denmark or Norway are today. On the contrary, with a government of its own Wales would be able to join the world and play an active role in the international community.

Plaid Cymru want a democratically elected Welsh parliament, with the majority party forming the government (instead of being a tiny minority with no power in Westminster). We would remain within the Commonwealth, and have a constitutional position similar to New Zealand.

Plaid Cymru's policy provides for a two-chamber Parliament for Wales, with a lower house of around 100 Members directly elected; and an upper house elected by local authorities who would each have the same number of representatives. This would ensure a fair voice for more sparsely populated rural areas. There would be greater decentralisation within Wales itself, with more power given to local authorities. Elections would employ the single transferable vote system to give more democratic representation.

Wales would be a free and equal partner in a confederation of countries in the British Isles comparable with the Nordic Countries in Scandinavia - with no customs or passports between them. There are no such barriers in the Benelux countries or Scandinavia, and they are not needed here.

Is Wales Viable?

Some people ask whether Wales isn't too small for self-government.

In fact, the twentieth century is the age of the small nations. As empires have dissolved, more and more countries have gained independence. By the beginning of 1982, no less than 44 countries with full membership of the United Nations Organisation had populations smaller than that of Wales; and many advanced countries with high living standards have populations similar in size or smaller than Wales e.g. New Zealand.

By contrast Wales' subservient position means that it is forced to subsidise administration of the British state which is largely concentrated in south east England.

Economic analysis of European countries shows that small size - whether in terms of national area or population - is a positive advantage. Some of the best economic performances have been

Unemployment - the curse of Wales



Unemployed youngsters waiting for interview at Port Talbot careers office. London government has wrecked the lives of thousands of young people in our country.



Plaid in action: Meirionnydd MP Dafydd Elis Thomas joins Ebbw Vale nationalists in march against unemployment.

registered by relatively small but self-governing nations. Countries such as Norway and Austria have low rates of unemployment and high levels of national income.

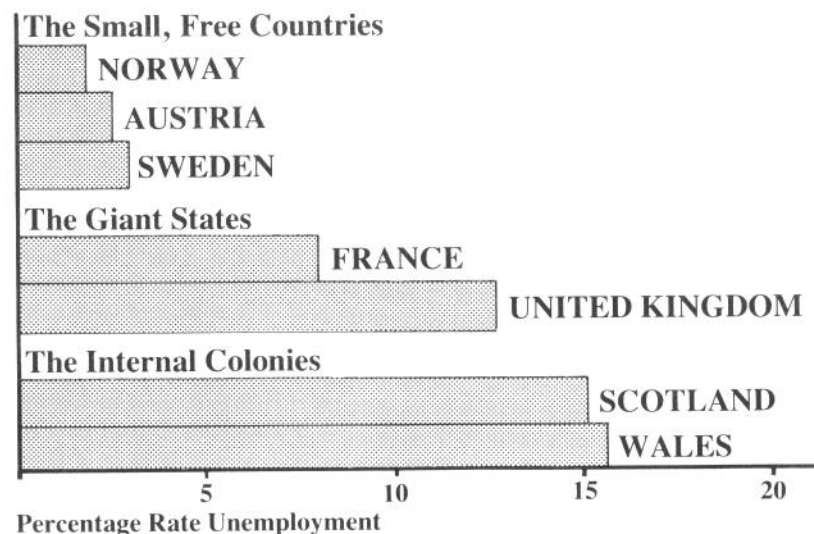
Table 1: Unemployment and National Income in Europe

	POPULATION (million)	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (per cent) 1982	NATIONAL INCOME PER HEAD (1980) \$
The small independent countries:			
AUSTRIA	7.5	2.6	8,442
NORWAY	4.1	1.9	12,650
SWEDEN	8.3	2.9	13,520
The giant states:			
FRANCE	54.0	8.1	11,370
UNITED KINGDOM	55.8	12.7	7,920
The internal colonies:			
SCOTLAND	5.2	15.2	7,604
WALES	2.8	15.6	6,917

Sources: OECD Labour Force Statistics
World Bank Atlas and Regional Trends, Table 10.2
U.N. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics

Comment: This table does not prove that an independent Wales would be more prosperous than London-ruled Wales. **But it demolishes the argument that Wales is too small to govern itself.**

Unemployment - The Curse of Wales, caused by London



Even with the handicap of London government, world-wide comparisons show that Wales is an economically viable country. Of the 154 member-states of the United Nations, only 35 have a level of income higher than Wales.

At the same time, almost every large country in the world is divided into smaller regions with substantial self-government. The United States of America for example comprises 50 states, more than half of which are smaller in population than Wales. Yet each U.S. state has its own constitution and its own laws.

In the modern world it is Britain with its overcentralised system of government which is the odd man out. With a constitution devised to meet the needs of 1707, it is today the largest western country governed by a single parliament. The result is that the House of Commons cannot cope with the pressure of business and Government Ministers are out of touch with the problems faced by ordinary people.

Wales is an ideal size for efficient government. Britain is far too large.

Exploitation of Wales

While many small countries which govern themselves have prosperous economies, the Welsh people are paying a bitter price for having no control at all over our own economic life.

London Government has been a disaster for Wales. It has meant that Wales has gained virtually nothing from its rich natural resources - for example coal and water, which have been ruthlessly exploited by outsiders.

No London government has ever sought to develop Wales as a balanced economy with a wide and complementary range of modern industry. Road and rail links have been neglected so that economic growth has been discouraged.

Both Tory and Labour parties have a bad record. It was a Labour Government which savaged the Welsh coal industry, closing an average of one Welsh pit every seven weeks between 1964 and 1970. Labour also shut two major steelworks at East Moors, Cardiff and Ebbw Vale.

The result of London government has been large-scale unemployment in Wales, with the forced migration of many talented young people that has hit at the heart of many Welsh communities and left a deep sense of hopelessness and loss. This economic neglect has left Wales with the worst housing conditions and health standards in the British Isles.

For example, Wales has the oldest housing in Western Europe, with 43 per cent of the stock built before 1918 (compared with 27 per cent in the English Midlands).

Plaid Cymru seeks to put new life into our communities. We aim to give people pride and self-respect by creating more employment and ensuring greater industrial democracy and more co-operative enterprises - a key part of our policy of decentralised socialism. We aim to improve health service and housing conditions, and abolish the iniquitous leasehold system. And hand in hand with economic recovery will come the restoration of our own language and cultural heritage to create a new sense of pride and self-respect in being Welsh and having a national identity of our own.

Other small countries can do it - why not Wales?

Wales' Resources

Wales can provide almost all the basic materials needed by modern manufacturing industries.

Coal, oil products, plastics and other petrochemicals; iron, steel and tinplate; a wide range of non-ferrous metals, including fabricated aluminium, zinc and nickel; quarried minerals; factory products; synthetic fibres such as rayon and nylon ... the list is a long one.

Wales can guarantee abundant water supplies, and is an ideal centre for the growing number of industries which require large quantities of water. But Wales' water has been a prime target for outside exploitation - e.g. the drowning of the Tryweryn valley by Liverpool Corporation. Today Wales exports 200 million gallons of water every day for next to nothing - yet Welsh water rates are higher than those of Birmingham or Liverpool.

Plaid Cymru campaigns for Welsh water to be controlled by a democratic all-Wales water board and for a fair price to be paid for Welsh water exports.

Wales is an energy-rich country - one of the richest in Europe. Wales is third in the European league table of energy production from home resources (after Scotland and the Netherlands). We produce the equivalent of 4.2 tonnes of coal per person (compared with England 3.1, Republic of Ireland 0.6 and Japan 0.5). We have a large coalfield with huge reserves, a major oil-port and widespread hydro-electric resources; and our coastline and hilly terrain can provide further sites to develop renewable energy sources such as wave power, tidal and wind

energy. Plaid Cymru is the only party to publish a comprehensive energy plan which shows how a Welsh government could use our abundant energy resources for the needs of Wales.

Without a government of our own, Wales is certain to face blatant exploitation. Already our country has experienced a massive energy rip-off: it is estimated that 3,000 million tons of coal have been torn from the south Wales Valleys during the last 150 years, a total worth £150,000 million (nearly £60,000 per head of the present Welsh population).

Welsh coal is the fuel of the 21st century. It is a source of gas, petrol, and valuable chemicals vital to a modern economy, but at present it is exploited by the British state and outside capitalists.

Plaid Cymru believes that Wales' massive surplus of electricity should be used to provide employment for our own communities - not stolen as a cheap source of power for outside industry.

Few nations have been so well endowed with material resources as Wales. We also have an educated and talented people. Such a nation should be among the most prosperous in the world - and with self-government it will be.

Welsh Production

Wales' population is only 5 per cent that of Britain. Yet despite the disadvantage of London government, we still produce more than our 'share' of key commodities - coal 9.6 per cent, electricity 8.8 per cent, iron 25.5 per cent, crude steel 26.2 per cent, refined oil 25.0 per cent, tinplate 100.0 per cent.

Home food production will become more important in the years ahead, and Wales has a high degree of self-sufficiency. Again, Wales produces more than its 5 per cent 'share' of British output in most sectors: eggs 5 per cent, milk 10 per cent, cattle 10 per cent, sheep and lambs 25 per cent.

Plaid Cymru believes that agricultural production should be encouraged by cultivating more marginal land; and that the best way of doing this is to safeguard the family farm which is the most efficient unit of production and the backbone of the Welsh way of life.

At the moment, Wales supports the British economy with a considerable financial subsidy, and large amounts of coal, water, electricity, refined oil, steel, tinplate and agricultural produce in excess of our own needs. With self-government Wales could

become one of the prosperous countries of Europe instead of remaining a backwater province of a declining Britain.

Plaid Cymru's Economic Policy for Wales

Although we have the material and human resources, Wales needs a clear economic plan to provide employment. No London Government has ever attempted this - instead Wales has been regarded as an internal economic colony providing the basic needs of the British economy - coal, iron, water and labour. Plaid Cymru's economic plan for Wales was first produced in 1970 when it became clear that the Labour Government elected in 1966 had no intention of producing a real plan for jobs to replace those it had destroyed in the coal industry.

Plaid Cymru aimed at creating 175,000 jobs within five years to replace those we predicted would disappear. This was a forecast rejected with scorn by Labour politicians who predicted that only 15,000 jobs were needed - but events proved that Plaid Cymru was right. Regional economic policy under the Labour and Tory parties has been a failure.

Plaid Cymru's economic plan aims to eliminate mass unemployment and forced migration by providing work within reasonable distance of all communities in Wales. This could be done most efficiently by concentrating investment on providing industrial parks at strategically located growth areas.

The economic plan identifies which particular industries would be suitable to a given growth area. A National Development Authority would then be able to offer specific incentives to firms to locate in growth areas, and would also have the power to establish economic enterprises directly. The plan lays down priorities for a network of motorways, roads and rail-links to serve growth areas and provide a decent transport system for the whole of Wales. It also gives a clear guide for provision of industrial education by indicating the sort of training that would give local people the best chance of getting a job in the area. Plaid Cymru has also outlined a plan for constructing a major international container-port and developing Wales' harbours.

Wales Can Pay Its Way

There is no doubt that Wales could pay its way as self-governing country. First of all, most small European countries which govern themselves are doing considerably better than Wales (or Britain for that matter).

Secondly, with self-government, Wales would be able to save large sums of money at present wasted on nuclear weapons and

other armaments - and plough it into economic development and construction which would generate more income.

The only time the Treasury ever published the facts about Welsh national income and spending, it showed that a self-governing Wales could have made a current profit of £22 million in one year (at 1969 prices).

Welsh Socialism

As well as developing a broad range of employment within Wales, Plaid Cymru also aims to secure real industrial democracy. All but the smallest companies will have a majority of workers' representatives on companies' boards of directors. In addition, a Plaid Cymru government would give maximum financial encouragement to the formation of co-operative enterprises.

Plaid Cymru's economic policy for Wales would help reduce unemployment and emigration, and its emphasis on co-operation and industrial democracy would give people real involvement in their place of work.

Plaid Cymru would use the vast sums of money wasted on armaments to provide useful employment. We would give maximum encouragement to co-operative enterprises: in the Basque country co-operatives set up by Basque nationalists have proved a great success in providing jobs and withstanding economic recession. A free Wales would ensure that our own money - at



Community service in the south Wales valleys: Plaid Cymru councillors and local members in the Rhymni Valley prepare firewood for old-age pensioners.

present loaned to banks, finance houses and pension funds - would be channelled into local industries and co-operatives.

It was a Welshman, Robert Owen, who first coined the word socialism. During the last century Wales provided the crucible for many of the great struggles on working people - the Merthyr uprising of 1831, the Chartist movement in industrial districts and the Rebecca riots in the rural areas. In later years, Welsh people played a leading role in the fight for workers' and trade union rights and for a welfare state. Plaid Cymru aims to build on these foundations in our struggle to build a better Wales.

Plaid Cymru's vision of socialism is very different from that of the Labour party. We oppose placing economic and political power in the hands of faceless and remote government bureaucrats. Political power and economic control should be decentralised to give people more real control over their own lives. That is why Plaid Cymru favours a decentralised socialist Wales for the benefit of everyone.

Whose Wales?

We believe in a fair and equitable society in which all people living in Wales, both women and men, should enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities. We oppose discrimination on any grounds. Plaid Cymru's commitment to women's rights is reflected in our own internal organisation where equal representation is now being introduced at all levels from local branches to our National Council and Conference. The party's Women's Section campaigns vigorously on issues such as employment, housing, social security and the law in fields specifically relating to women.

Plaid Cymru is also committed to defending civil liberties and has campaigned against excessive intrusion by the authorities into people's private lives as well as the enormous spending by the British state on internal security.

The Welsh Language

Plaid Cymru believes that it is vital to restore the Welsh language to its rightful place in our national life.

The Welsh language - Cymraeg - has been spoken for over 1500 years. One of the oldest-known Welsh poems was written in the south of Scotland around the year 650 AD and commemorates an attack on the Anglo-Saxon military centre at Catraeth or Catterick. Welsh had previously been the language of all Britain south of the Forth and the Clyde.

In Wales our government, laws, religion, poetry, politics and daily life have all been conducted through the medium of Welsh for most of our history. If we lose it, we lose contact with a wonderfully rich heritage. Possession of the Welsh language also ensures a sense of identity with our community and greater social cohesion in an increasingly rootless world where vandalism, crime and the breakdown of family life are all too common.

Despite repeated attempts throughout our history to stamp out Welsh, the language has retained a wonderful vitality, and it is only during the last four generations that a major decline set in. Outside economic and cultural domination have deprived hundreds of thousands of Welsh people of their rightful heritage - and yet the language is showing signs of revival with a strong recovery led by the Welsh schools movement.

Plaid Cymru believes that the Welsh language can and should be restored with a major national effort and comprehensive language plan. The vast majority of Welsh people want their children to speak Welsh as well as English. As many surveys have shown knowledge of Welsh gives them the key to their heritage, broadens their mind, flexes their abilities and makes it easier for them to learn other new languages.

We need:

- * More Welsh-medium and bilingual nurseries, schools and colleges - in line with the increasing demand throughout Wales. The bilingual schools are now the best in Wales in terms of educational achievement, and parental demand for bilingual education is outstripping facilities.
- * Positive planning to safeguard the character of Welsh communities from being submerged by too great an influx of outsiders and second-home owners. Many small European countries have done just that.
- * Sufficient financial resources to ensure a successful television and radio service in Welsh as well as in English.
- * Greater use of Welsh by public bodies, business and industry. Many other countries succeed in ensuring full bilingualism - why not here?

Wales and the World

Without a government of her own Wales can do nothing as a nation. We are cut off from the world, separated from the mainstream of international affairs. Our voice is the voice of Britain whether we like it or not.

Fighters for a Better Wales



Voice of the Valleys - Dr. Phil Williams from Bargoed, Plaid Cymru's Vice President. A leading space scientist, Dr. Williams is also the party's spokesman on international affairs.



Dafydd Iwan, chairman of Plaid Cymru. One of Wales' leading entertainers, he helped establish the Sain record company and Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd which provides housing for local people.



Left to right: Plaid Cymru president Dafydd Wigley, M.P., Gwynfor Evans, Plaid Cymru's president 1945-81 and now the party's Honorary President; and Dafydd Elis Thomas M.P.

We cannot throw our country into the struggle for disarmament because we are ruled by a government committed to nuclear arms and biological warfare. Until we accept our own responsibility as a full member of the world community, we share the guilt for Britain's involvement in the suicidal world arms race.

A Plaid Cymru government in Wales would work for world peace, disarmament and freedom for all nations. A free Wales would also play a greater part in helping Third World countries, and give its full support to the United Nations Organisation.

We in Plaid Cymru are inspired by the small nations of Europe - Denmark, Norway and Sweden and others whose independence allows them to make a tremendous contribution to world affairs. Welsh nationalists are not alone in their struggle for their country's freedom to join the world - Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corsicans, Scots and other submerged nations share a common struggle for national identity.

A Nuclear-Free Wales

The nuclear arms race means that mankind faces the greatest danger ever to its survival. By 1982 the five countries with acknowledged nuclear arsenals had built up stockpiles equal to one million of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The Labour party's record on nuclear weapons is as shameful as that of the Tories; it was a Labour Government which gave the go-ahead for the secret Chevaline nuclear weapons project.

Recent crises and errors in missile warning systems have shown that the world is perilously close to nuclear destruction. There is no safety in the present balance of terror - instead there is an unstable build-up of nuclear weapons on both sides with the serious prospect of Europe becoming the battlefield of a 'limited' nuclear war. 'Limited' or not, such a war could destroy us totally.

If we are to avoid the final holocaust, the whole of Europe must make itself nuclear-free and ban the placement of nuclear weapons on their territory. It is the smaller European countries such as the Netherlands which have taken the most vigorous lead in ensuring this vital first step.

Plaid Cymru has led the drive for disarmament by working for a truly nuclear-free Wales. No country can hope to isolate itself from the effects of a nuclear war. But self-government would mean a strong Welsh voice for world peace.

Defence

A self-governing Wales would not spend vast amounts devoted to armaments by British governments of all parties (at present no less than £70 per household every year).

Instead a Plaid Cymru government would aim at diverting most of this money into economic growth. This would bring Wales into line with countries like Austria, Finland, Luxembourg or New Zealand.

With this streamlined defence budget, Wales would maintain a small professional army as a nucleus, supported by a larger territorial force. The role of this integrated force would include coping with emergencies such as civil disasters. Wales would also be able to assist United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Wales would maintain a small navy for maritime policing, fishery protection, customs enforcement and rescue operations. A fleet of helicopters would also be maintained for air-sea and land rescue.

Wales and Europe

Wales is not recognised officially as a nation by the European Common Market.

Because of that we have
no representative on the Council of Ministers
no right to nominate European Commissioners
no voice on key bodies such as the Economic and Social Committee.

While Ireland has 15 European Assembly MPs, Wales (with the same population but not government) has only 4.

Full self-government will give Wales the right to decide whether to remain within the EEC or pull out and negotiate free trade arrangements (similar to the favourable terms secured by Norway).

Only full self-government can give Wales a voice of its own in Europe if we decide to remain an EEC member.

Freedom or London rule?

Many Welsh people face a dilemma - whether to go on voting for the Labour party as their parents did, or give their support to Plaid Cymru. In the past, most have voted Labour.

Yet London rule usually means Tory rule, although the Conservative party has never secured majority support in Wales.

Labour politicians in Westminster prefer Tory government from London to a Welsh socialist government in Wales - and in practice they pander to marginal seats in the Midland and S. E. England. The records of Labour governments have been disastrous for Wales - increased unemployment, high arms spending, and cuts in crucial areas such as housing, health and education.

Plaid Cymru is a democratic party whose policies are decided by the Annual Conference, with delegates elected by branches and constituency organisations in all parts of Wales.

Unlike the London parties which are given massive coverage by the mass media and financial backing by big business and the trade union hierarchy, Plaid Cymru's strength lies in its membership and its local branches.

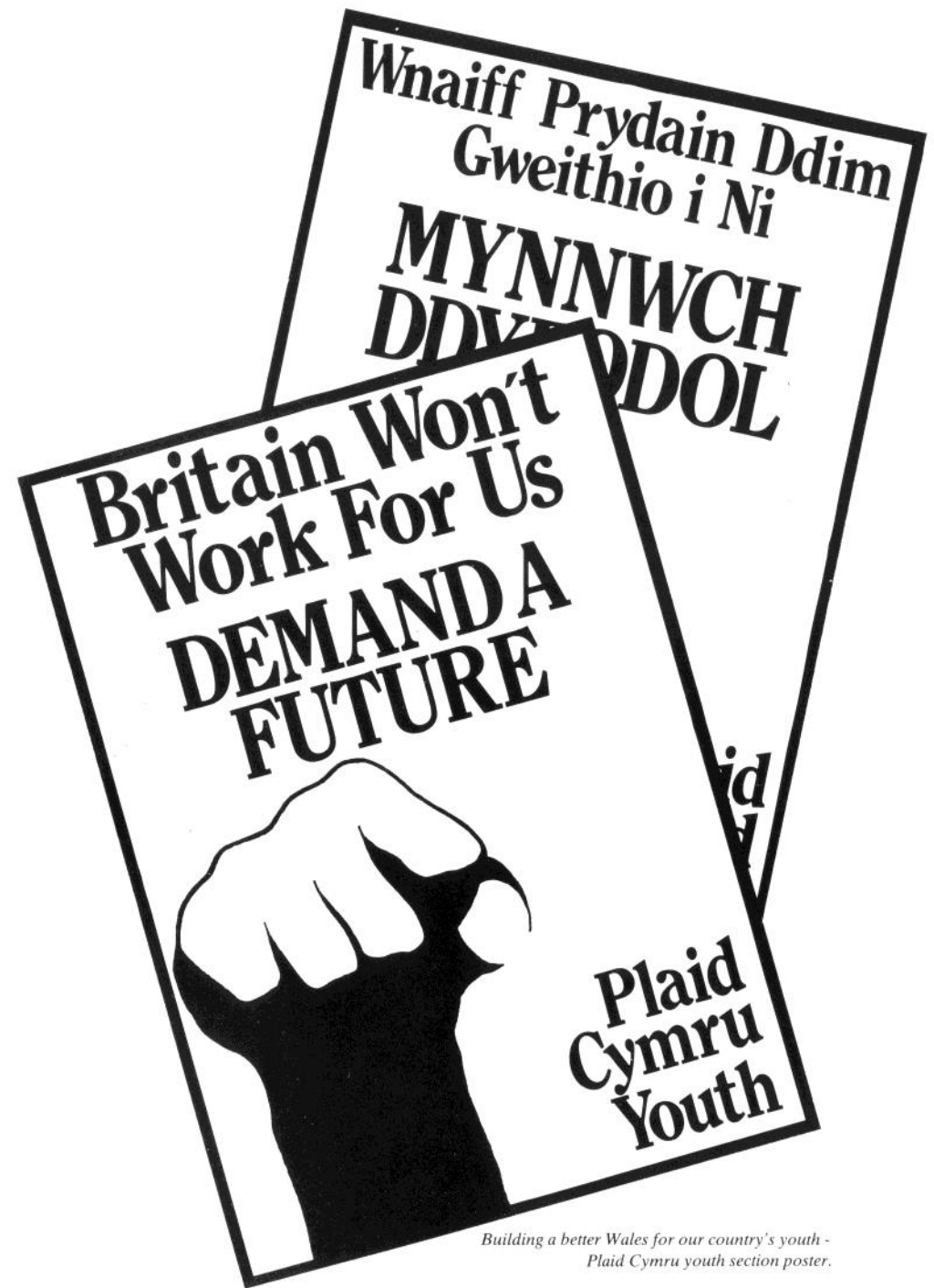
Plaid Cymru is the party of the people of Wales - the people upon whom the struggle for Welsh freedom depends.

Why not take part in that struggle by joining Plaid Cymru now?

To join Plaid Cymru and/or get more information write to Plaid Cymru, 51 Cathedral Road, Caerdydd/Cardiff CF1 9HD.



Planning the Wales of the future - Plaid Cymru's annual conference.



*Building a better Wales for our country's youth -
Plaid Cymru youth section poster.*