



Pam y dylai Cymru gael Hunanywodraeth ?

Why should Wales have Self-government ?

Yr Athro / Professor Phil Williams



Plaid Cymru

Gorffennaf / July 1997

- ▶ Why should Wales have Self-Government ?
- ▶ But don't we have democratic government through parliament in London ?
- ▶ Is Wales large enough for self-government ?
- ▶ Can small nations succeed economically ?
- ▶ How would a self-governing Wales pay for Government services ?
- ▶ Have we got the natural resources to succeed ?
- ▶ What would be the first priority of a Welsh government ?
- ▶ What weight would an independent Wales carry in international affairs ?

- ▶ **Pam y dylai Cymru gael hunanlywodraeth?**
- ▶ **Ond oes ganddon ni ddim llywodraeth ddemocrataidd drwy'r senedd yn Llundain?**
- ▶ **A yw Cymru'n ddigon mawr ar gyfer hunanlywodraeth?**
- ▶ **A all cenhedloedd bychain lwyddo'n economaidd?**
- ▶ **Sut y byddai Cymru ymlywodraethol yn talu am wasanaethau'r Llywodraeth?**
- ▶ **A oes gennym yr adnoddau naturiol i lwyddo?**
- ▶ **Beth fyddai blaenoriaeth gyntaf llywodraeth Gymreig?**
- ▶ **Pa bwysau fyddai gan Gymru annibynnol mewn materion rhyngwladol?**

► **Why should Wales have Self-Government?**

Because Wales is a nation, and it is the right and duty of every nation to take responsibility for its own affairs.

No-one now denies that Wales is a nation with a separate identity, with its own flag, its own national anthem and with its boundaries clearly defined. The Welsh language is the oldest spoken language in Europe, with the possible exception of Basque. The laws of Wales were codified by Hywel Dda over a thousand years ago. Wales is recognised as a separate nation in the world of sport.

Above all, Wales has all the machinery of national government: the Welsh Office, the Development Agency, the Higher Education Funding Council, the Countryside Council ...

Wales has all the ingredients of full nationhood except for one thing: we have no measure of democratic self-government. We are denied the right to make our own laws or the right to raise our own taxes and spend them according to the priorities decided by the people of Wales.

So our aim is self-government, with Wales enjoying full national status within the European Union and with full membership of the United Nations.

We envisage a smooth and responsible transition to full self-government, with the democratic support of the people of Wales at each stage. Phase One - long overdue - must be a law-making Parliament to deal with all our internal affairs. The Government is now offering Scotland such a Parliament, with power to make laws suitable for Scotland and power to decide the appropriate level of taxation. Wales cannot afford to fall behind.

► **But don't we have democratic government through the parliament in London ?**

The parliament in Westminster has never properly represented the voters of Wales.

Over the past 100 years Wales has always rejected the Tories by an overwhelming majority. In the last 26 general elections in Wales the Tories have won on average less than 6 seats out of 36. Yet over the same 100 years we have suffered no less than 67 years of Tory (or Tory-dominated) governments (see Appendix A).

And now in 1997 we have achieved a Tory-free Wales - repeating the triumph of 1906. But we have a Labour government that has accepted the bulk of Tory policies, Tory tax levels and Tory spending plans. Labour is now so obsessed with winning the middle-class voters of the South of England that it totally rejects the radical policies that Wales needs so badly.

Under the present system Wales is given a choice of Blue Tories or Pink Tories. Wales has always voted for radical government - but under the present system we get the government chosen by the voters of England which is usually Tory.

If we really want to share the high living standards and model welfare, health and education

► **Pam y dylai Cymru gael hunanlywodraeth?**

Oherwydd bod Cymru yn genedl, a hawl a dyletswydd pob cenedl yw bod yn gyfrifol am ei bywyd ei hunan.

Nid oes neb bellach yn gwadu fod Cymru yn genedl gyda hunaniaeth wahanol, ei baner ei hunan, ei hanthem genedlaethol ei hunan a ffiniau amlwg. Yr iaith Gymraeg yw'r iaith hynaf a siaredir yn Ewrop, ar wahân effallai i'r Fasgeg. Cafodd cyfreithiau Cymru eu codeiddio gan Hywel Dda fwy na mil o flynyddoedd yn ôl. Caiff Cymru ei chydnaabod fel cenedl ar wahân ym myd chwaraeon.

Yn bennaf oll, mae gan Gymru holl beirianwaith llywodraeth genedlaethol: y Swyddfa Gymreig, yr Awdurdod Datblygu, y Cyngor Cyllido Addysg Uwch, y Cyngor Cefn Gwlad ...

Mae gan Cymru bopeth sydd ei angen i fod yn genedl lawn ar wahân i un peth: nid oes gennym unrhyw fesur o hunanlywodraeth ddemocrataidd. Gwadir yr hawl i ni wneud ein cyfreithiau ein hunain, i godi ein trethi ein hunain a'u gwario yn ôl y blaenoriaethau a benderfynwyd gan bobl Cymru.

Felly ein nod yw hunanlywodraeth, gyda Chymru yn mwynhau statws cenedlaethol cyflawn o fewn yr Undeb Ewropeaidd a gyda aelodaeth lawn o'r Cenhedloedd Unedig.

Rhagwelwn drosiant esmwyth a chyfrifol i hunanlywodraeth lawn, gyda chefnogaeth ddemocrataidd pobl Cymru ar bob cam. Fel cam cyntaf, rhaid i ni gael senedd ddeddfwriaethol i fod yn gyfrifol am ein holl faterion mewnol. Mae'r Llywodraeth yn cynnig Senedd o'r fath i'r Alban ar hyn o bryd, gyda grym i wneud deddfau addas ar gyfer yr Alban a grym i benderfynu ar y lefel briodol o drethiant. Ni all Cymru fforddio bod ar ei hôl hi.

► **Ond oes ganddon ni ddim llywodraeth ddemocrataidd drwy'r senedd yn Llundain?**

Nid yw senedd Cymru erioed wedi cynrychioli pleidleiswyr Cymru yn iawn.

Dros y can mlynedd diwethaf, mae Cymru bob amser wedi gwrrthod y Torïaid gan fwyafrif llethol. Yn y 26 etholiad cyffredinol diwethaf yng Nghymru, mae'r Torïaid ar gyfartaledd wedi ennill llai na 6 sedd allan o 36. Eto yn yr un can mlynedd, rydym wedi gorfol dioddef dim llai na 67 mlynedd o lywodraethau Torïaid (neu Doriad yn bennaf).

A nawr yn 1997 llwyddasom i gael Cymru di-Dori - gan ailadrodd buddugoliaeth 1906. Ond mae gennym lywodraeth Lafur sydd wedi derbyn swmp polisiau'r Torïaid, lefelau trethiant y Torïaid a chynlluniau gwariant y Torïaid. Mae gan Lafur bellach gymaint o obsesiwn gydag ennill pleidleiswyr dosbarth-canol de Lloegr fel ei bod yn llwyr wrthod y polisiau blaengar y mae Cymru gymaint o'u hangen.

Dan y system bresennol, mae Cymru'n cael dewis Torïaid Glas neu Doriad Pinc. Mae Cymru wedi pleidleisio bob amser am lywodraeth flaengar - ond dan y system bresennol, cawn y llywodraeth a ddewisodd pleidleiswyr Lloegr.

systems of other small European countries, then democracy is the answer and **democracy demands self-government for Wales so that we get the government that we vote for.**

► **Is Wales large enough for self-government ?**

The twentieth century has been the century of the small nation. There are now 59 nations in the world, smaller than Wales in population but with complete self-government and full membership of the United Nations Organisation (see Appendix B). The list includes such advanced nations as Luxembourg (with a population smaller than Gwent), Iceland (with a population smaller than Cardiff), and Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino (each with a population smaller than Merthyr Tydfil or Wrexham). If Vanuatu can enjoy self-government and be a full member of the United Nations, surely Wales can do the same!

At the same time, almost every large country in the world is divided into smaller regions with a substantial measure of self government.

The USA is a nation of 50 states, more than half of these being smaller in population than Wales. Yet each state has its own constitution, its own Governor and Senate, raises its own taxes and passes its own laws.

Germany is divided into 16 Länder, 7 of them smaller than Wales, each with its own parliament, prime minister and government. Spain has 19 autonomous regions, 15 of them smaller than Wales, each with its own parliament and government.

In the modern world Wales is just the right size for self-government. The UK is the oddity, trying unsuccessfully to govern 60 million people and four different nations from a single parliament.

► **Can small nations succeed economically ?**

In general it is small, self-governing nations that have the greatest economic success (see Appendix C).

In Europe the five countries with far-and-away the highest standards of living are all small countries. They are Luxembourg (population 0.4 million), Switzerland (population 7.0 million), Norway (population 4.4 million), Iceland (population 0.3 million) and Denmark (population 5.2 million).

Poor UK has dropped to 15th place in the European prosperity league, overtaken in the past 18 years by Italy, Austria, Finland and Ireland. But what else could we expect in a state so large, where so much power is centralised in one parliament, and where for so long we have suffered the fumbling incompetence of Tory and Labour governments that have presided over the systematic run-down of our economy.

The most striking comparison is with the Republic of Ireland. When Ireland won its independence from the UK it was one of the poorest countries in Europe - much poorer than

Os ydym o ddifrif eisiau'r safonau byw uchel a systemau lles, iechyd ac addysg cyffelyb i wledydd Ewropeaidd bychain eraill, yna democratiaeth yw'r ateb ac mae **democratiaeth yn mynnu hunanlywodraeth i Gymru fel y cawn y llywodraeth y pleidleisiwn drosti**.

► **A yw Cymru'n ddigon mawr ar gyfer hunanlywodraeth?**

Bu'r ugeinfed ganrif yn ganrif y genedl fach. Mae bellach 59 o genhedloedd yn y byd, gyda phoblogaeth lai o ran rhif na Chymru, ond sydd â hunanlywodraeth gyflawn ac sy'n aelodau llawn o Sefydliad y Cenhedloedd Unedig (gweler Atodiad B). Mae'r rhestr yn cynnwys cenhedloedd mor ddatblygedig â Lwcsembwrg (gyda llai o boblogaeth na Gwent), Gwlad yr Iâ (gyda phoblogaeth lai na Chaerdydd), a Liechtenstein, Monaco a San Marino (pob un ohonynt gyda llai o boblogaeth na Merthyr Tudful neu Wrecsam). Os gall Vanuatu fwynhau hunanlywodraeth a bod yn aelod llawn o'r Cenhedloedd Unedig, mae'n sicr y gall Cymru wneud yr un peth!

Ar yr un pryd, mae bron bob gwlad fawr yn y byd wedi'i rhannu yn rhanbarthau llai gyda mesur sylweddol o hunanlywodraeth.

Mae'r Unol Daleithiau yn genedl o 50 talaith, mwy na'u hanner gyda llai o boblogaeth na Chymru. Eto mae gan bob gwladwriaeth ei chyfansoddiad ei hun, ei Llywodraethydd a'i Senedd ei hun, yn codi ei threthi ei hun ac yn pasio ei chyfreithiau ei hun.

Mae'r Almaen wedi'i rhannu yn 16 Länder, 7 ohonynt yn llai na Chymru, pob un ohonynt gyda'i senedd, ei phrif weinidog a'i llywodraeth ei hunan. Mae gan Sbaen 19 o ranbarthau ymlywodraethol, 15 ohonynt yn llai na Chymru, pob un gyda'i senedd a'i llywodraeth ei hun.

Yn y byd modern mae Cymru yn union y maint iawn am hunanlywodraeth. Y Deyrnas Gyfunol yw'r odrwydd, yn ceisio'n aflwyddiannus i lywodraethu 60 miliwn o bobl a phedair cenedl wahanol o un senedd.

► **A all cenhedloedd bychain lwyddo'n economaidd?**

Yn gyffredinol, cenhedloedd bychain gyda hunanlywodraeth sydd fwyaf llwyddiannus yn economaidd (gweler Atodiad C).

Yn Ewrop mae'r pum gwlad gyda'r safonau uchaf

o fyw i gyd yn wledydd bychain: Lwcsembwrg (poblogaeth 0.4 miliwn), Y Swistir (poblogaeth 7.0 miliwn), Norwy (poblogaeth 4.4 miliwn), Gwlad yr Iâ a Denmarc (poblogaeth 5.2 miliwn).

Mae'r Deyrnas Gyfunol dlawd wedi disgyn i'r 15ed lle yng nghynghrair ffyniant Ewrop, gyda'r Eidal, Awstria, y Ffindir ac Iwerddon wedi'i goddiweddyd yn y 18 mlynedd diwethaf. Ond beth arall fedrem ni ei ddisgwyl mewn gwladwriaeth mor fawr, lle mae cymaint o rym wedi ei ganoli mewn un senedd, a lle rydym wedi dioddef cyhyd o fwngleriaeth llywodraethau Torïaidd a Llafur a lywyddodd dros ddirywiad systematig yn ein heonomi.

Wales. But with full national status within the European Union, the economy of Ireland has grown so rapidly that the standard of living in Ireland overtook Wales in 1995 and according to the latest figures Gross Domestic Product per head is now higher than the average for the UK. If present trends continue, by the year 2000 the standard of living in Ireland will be far higher than in England - an object lesson in the economic advantages enjoyed by small nations.

With its rich resources and economic potential Wales should share in this advance. Instead we are saddled with the huge burden of an incompetent London government that has seen living standards in the UK fall further and further behind our partners and has made Wales a cheap-labour colony.

► **But could a self-governing Wales pay for Government services ?**

This is the oldest - and weakest - argument against self-government. The anti-Welsh brigade never tire of listing the services in Wales paid for by the Government. Even the official "Digest of Welsh Statistics" lists in great detail all items of Government expenditure in Wales, but gives no similar record of the many forms of taxation levied on the people of Wales!

Fortunately, independent economists have done the job the Government failed to do. *The full facts show that over the years Welsh taxpayers have paid for every penny of government expenditure.*

In 1955 Professor Nevin published "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy", which showed for the first time that the Government budget for Wales was in balance. In 1966 this work was extended when Nevin published "The Structure of the Welsh Economy" which showed that between 1948 and 1962 total revenue raised in Wales through taxes on income, capital gains, commodities and national insurance comfortably exceeded all government expenditure in Wales, including all spending on pensions, unemployment and health, all government grants to local authorities to cover housing, education, etc, and all subsidies to agriculture. Nevin even included all defence expenditure in Wales and all repayments to the National Debt in Wales. After counting every penny of Government expenditure, he showed that Wales had paid a surplus of £53 million to the Exchequer over that period.

In 1970 Plaid Cymru research group repeated the exercise in "An Economic Plan for Wales" which was praised so warmly by the distinguished economist Lord Crowther. This showed that in the year 1967-68 a self-governing Wales would have enjoyed a budget surplus of £36 million after allowing for defence expenditure and National Debt repayments.

At this stage, for the first (and last) time, the Government commissioned an independent study, carried out by the Economics Research Unit at Bangor and published in 1971. This showed that in 1968 government revenue from Wales exceeded government expenditure by £33 million, confirming that Plaid Cymru's calculations were "spot on".

Nowadays the Government publish in great detail the exact total of identifiable Government spending in Wales but they only publish rough and inaccurate estimates of Government revenue, omitting many important items such as income from the European Union. And then

Gyda Gweriniaeth Iwerddon mae'r gymhariaeth fwyaf trawiadol. Pan enillodd Iwerddon ei hannibyniaeth o'r Deyrnas Gyfunol, roedd yn un o'r gwledydd tloaf yn Ewrop - llawer tlotach na Chymru. Ond gyda statws cenedlaethol cyflawn o fewn yr Undeb Ewropeaidd, mae economi Iwerddon wedi tyfu mor gyflym fel bod safon byw Iwerddon wedi rhagori ar Gymru yn 1995 ac yn ôl y ffigurau diweddaraf mae Cynnyrch Domestig Gros y pen bellach yn uwch yn Iwerddon nag yn y DG. Os yw'r tueddiadau presennol yn parhau, erbyn y flwyddyn 2000 bydd safon byw Iwerddon yn llawer uwch na Lloegr - enghraift dda o'r manteision economaidd a fwynheir gan genhedloedd bychain.

Gyda'i hadnoddau cyfoethog a'i photensial economaidd, dylai Cymru rannu yn y llwyddiant hwn: yn hytrach cawn ein llethu gan faich enfawr b wngleriaeth llywodraeth Llundain sydd wedi gweld safonau byw y Deyrnas Gyfunol yn llusgo fwyfwy ar ôl ein partneriaid ac wedi gwneud Cymru yn drefedigaeth llafur rhad.

► **Sut y byddai Cymru ymlywodraethol yn talu am wasanaethau'r Llywodraeth?**

Dyma'r ddadl hynaf - a'r wannaf - yn erbyn hunanlywodraeth. Nid yw'r frigâd wrth-Gymreig byth yn blino rhestru'r gwasanaethau yng Nghymru y mae'r Llywodraeth yn talu amdanyst. Mae hyd yn oed cyhoeddiad swyddogol y "Crynodeb o Ystadegau Cymreig" yn rhestru holl eitemau gwariant y Llywodraeth yng Nghymru yn fanwl ond nid yw'n sôn o gwbl am yr holl wahanol fathau o drethiant a godir ar bobl Cymru!

Yn ffodus, mae economegwyr annibynnol wedi gwneud yr hyn y methodd y Llywodraeth â'i wneud. *Dengys y ffeithiau llawn fod trethdalwyr Cymru dros y blynnyddoedd wedi talu am bob ceiniog o wariant y llywodraeth.*

Yn 1995 cyhoeddodd yr Athro Nevin o Aberystwyth "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy", a ddangosodd am y tro cyntaf fod cyllideb y llywodraeth i Gymru yn gytbwys. Yn 1996 ehangodd Nevin y gwaith hwn a chyhoeddi "The Structure of the Welsh Economy" a ddangosodd fod cyfanswm y refeniw a godwyd yng Nghymru rhwng 1948 a 1962 drwy drethiant, enillion cyfalaf, nwyddau ac yswiriant cenedlaethol yn rhwydd yn uwch na holl wariant y llywodraeth yng Nghymru, yn cynnwys yr holl wariant ar bensiynau, diweithdra a iechyd, holl grantiau'r llywodraeth i awdurdodau lleol ar gyfer tai, addysg a yb, a'r holl gymorthdaliadau i amaethyddiaeth. Cynhwysodd Nevin hyd yn oed yr holl wariant amddiffyn yng Nghymru a'r holl ad-daliadau i'r Ddyled Genedlaethol yng Nghymru. Ar ôl cyfrif pob ceiniog o wariant y llywodraeth, dangosodd fod Cymru wedi talu gwarged o £53 miliwn i'r Trysorlys dros y cyfnod.

Ailadroddodd grwp ymchwil Plaid Cymru yr ymarfer hwn yn ei Chynllun Economaidd i Gymru yn 1970 a gafodd gymaint o ganmoliaeth gan yr economegydd enwog yr Arglwydd Crowther. Dangosodd hyn y byddai Cymru ymlywodraethus yn y flwyddyn 1967-68 wedi mwynhau gwarged cyllideb o £36 miliwn ar ôl caniatau am wariant amddiffyn ac ad-daliadau Dyled Genedlaethol.

Ar y cam hwn, am y tro cyntaf (a'r olaf), comisiynodd y Swyddfa Gymreig astudiaeth annibynnol, a gynhalwyd gan yr Uned Ymchwil Economeg ym Mangor a gyhoeddwyd yn 1971. Dangosodd hyn fod refeniw'r llywodraeth yn 1968 yn fwy na gwariant y llywodraeth gan £33 miliwn, gan gadarnhau fod cyfrifon Plaid Cymru yn llygad eu lle.

they add a totally spurious "bill for "spending on behalf of Wales in England", including an absurd £940 million for armaments.

Once again we have to rely on Welsh economists to do the job properly. The results (Appendix Ch based on figures published by Plaid Cymru in "A Democratic Wales in an United Europe") show that total government spending in Wales in 1995-96 was £12.7 billion, and total government income was £12.0 billion. This suggests a budget in deficit by £0.7 billion BUT in the same year, following a series of reckless and irresponsible Tory budgets, the UK as a whole was **£21.5 billion** in deficit!

However, to get the full honest picture there are two items we must add to the balance sheet:

- for full self-government we have to add the cost of defence, repayment of debts, overseas aid and the actual cost of a Welsh Government.
- on the credit side we can safely conclude that a self-governing Wales would win more favourable treatment from the EU.

On balance we estimate that in 1995-96 the total deficit could have been £1.1 billion or a Public Borrowing Requirement of £380 per head. But this must be compared with the average UK deficit of £370 per head.

In other words, if Wales won self-government tomorrow, kept all taxes and all government spending at the present level and received directly all the payments from the EU for which Wales is eligible, the overall budget situation would be exactly the same as that accepted by both Tory and Labour parties for the UK as a whole.

This is the situation after 100 years of bad government from London. With self-government the economy of Wales - like Norway and Ireland who won their freedom this century - would be transformed. If people think that the UK can "afford" self-government, then Wales will certainly do much better.

So the answer is simple: *of course we can afford self-government but how much longer can we afford the neglect of London government?*

► **Have we got the natural resources to succeed ?**

Wales has always been rich in natural resources and in the basic industries of a modern economy. This is still the case.

In energy resources Wales has been doubly blessed. In the past Wales produced more coal per head than any other country in the world. And now, when global environmental factors demand non-polluting and renewable energy, Wales is once again in a very strong position. Situated on the Atlantic coast Wales can take advantage of prevailing winds that already make wind-generation of electricity an economic reality, and in the near future the high tides around the Welsh coast will give Wales an unique opportunity to provide the base-load of energy through tidal generators. Wales is one of the very few countries that could use renewable energy to meet its total demand.

Y dyddiau hyn, mae'r Llywodraeth yn cyhoeddi'n fanwl iawn union gyfanswm gwariant dynodedig y Llywodraeth yng Nghymru ond dim ond amcangyfrifon bras ac anghywir a gyhoeddant am refeniwr Llywodraeth, gan adael llawer o eitemau pwysig allan megis incwm o'r Undeb Ewropeaidd. Ac yna maent yn ychwanegu "bil" holol ffug am "wariant ar ran Cymru yn Lloegr", yn cynnwys £940 hurt miliwn am arfau.

Unwaith eto rydym yn gorfol dibynnau ar economegwyr o Gymru i wneud y gwaith yn iawn. Dengys y canlyniadau (Atodiad Ch yn seiliedig ar ffigurau a gyhoeddwyd gan Blaid Cymru yn "Cymru Ddemocratiaidd mewn Ewrop Unedig") fod cyfanswm gwariant y llywodraeth yng Nghymru yn 1995-96 yn £12.7 biliwn, a bod cyfanswm incwm y llywodraeth yn £12.0 biliwn. Mae hyn yn awgrymu cyllideb mewn diffyg o £0.7 biliwn OND yn yr un flwyddyn, yn dilyn cyfres o gyllidebau diofal ac anghyfrifol gan y Toriad, drwyddi draw roedd gan y Deyrnas Gyfunol ddifffyg o £21.5 biliwn.

Fodd bynnag, i gael y darlun onest rhaid i ni ychwanegu dwy eitem i'r fantolen:

- gyda hunanlywodraeth gyflawn, mae'n rhaid i ni ychwanegu cost amddiffyn, ad-dalu dyledion, cymorth tramor a chost Llywodraeth Cymru ei hunan.
- ar yr ochr gredyd mae'n sicr y byddai Cymru ymlywodraethol yn sicrhau triniaeth fwy ffafriol gan yr Undeb Ewropeaidd.

Drwyddi draw amcangyfrifwn y byddai'r cyfanswm diffyg yn 1995-96 wedi bod yn £1.1 biliwn neu Ofyniad Benthyca Cyhoeddus o £380 y pen. Ond rhaid cymharu hyn gyda diffyg cyfartalog y DG o £370 y pen.

Mewn geiriau eraill, pe byddai Cymru'n ennill hunanlywodraeth yfory, yn cadw'r holl drethi a holl wariant y llywodraeth ar y lefel bresennol, a derbyn yn uniongyrchol yr holl daliadau gan yr Undeb Ewropeaidd y mae Cymru'n gymwys amdanynt, byddai sefyllfa'r gyllideb drwyddi draw yn union fel yr un a dderbyniwyd gan y Toriad a Llafur ar gyfer y Deyrnas Gyfunol i gyd.

Dyma'r sefyllfa ar ôl can mlynedd o lywodraeth wael o Lundain. Gyda hunanlywodraeth, trawsffurfiad economi Cymru, megis Norwy ac Iwerddon a enillodd eu rhyddid y ganrif hon. Os yw pobl yn credu y gall y Deyrnas Gyfunol "fforddio" hunanlywodraeth, yna mae'n sicr y bydd Cymru'n gwneud yn llawer gwell.

Felly mae'r ateb yn symbl: *wrth gwrs medrwn fforddio hunanlywodraeth ond faint hwy y medrwn ni fforddio esgeulustod llywodraeth Llundain?*

► A oes gennym yr adnoddau naturiol i lwyddo?

Bu Cymru bob amser yn gyfoethog iawn mewn adnoddau naturiol ac yn niwydiannau sylfaenol economi modern. Mae hyn yn dal i fod yn wir.

Cafodd Cymru fendith ddwbl mewn ynni. Yn y gorffennol cynhyrchodd Cymru fwy o lo y pen nag unrhyw wlad arall yn y byd. Ac yn awr, pan fo ffactorau amgylcheddol byd-eang yn

And Wales has a guaranteed supply of water. In the past water was regarded as a "free good", a "gift of God", but the United Nations Organisation has warned that in the next century possession of an adequate water supply will prove to be the most important single factor in economic development. Increased demand for water and long-term climate changes will create serious shortages in the South of England. With the water industry restored to public ownership, our water resources under the control of a Welsh government will not only generate extra income but will play a key role in attracting water-dependent industries to Wales.

Steel is still the base material for construction and manufacture in a modern industrial society. Welshmen led the development of the steel industry in America, Europe and Russia. Wales remains a world-leader in steel, producing 40% of the steel output of the UK. But Wales also supplies the alternatives to steel, as a major producer of aluminium and other non-ferrous metals and as home to a large petro-chemical industry.

Above all Wales is strong in the "sunrise" industries of information technology. Wales produces 20% of the world output of optic fibre and as optic fibre becomes the standard channel for wide-band communication we will see the massive growth of this industry in the north-east. In the south-east the specialist production of electronic and optical components, including epitaxial crystals, has given the region world-wide strategic importance in the manufacture of opto-electronic devices.

Throughout history Wales has always been rich in natural resources and strong in primary industries. Yet without self-government these have brought little long-term benefit to the people of Wales.

► **What would be the first priority of a Welsh government ?**

The top priority of a Welsh government would be an all-out attack on the unacceptable levels of unemployment, creating 100,000 new jobs (Appendix D).

Between 1981 and 1994 the number of full-time employees in Wales fell from 751,000 to 684,000. Even the government admit a total of 107,000 registered unemployed, but there are another 60,000 eager to work who have disappeared from the official statistics.

The challenge is simple enough : there is so much work to be done and there are unemployed people capable of doing the work. It is the duty of a responsible government to bring the two together in a carefully planned programme.

A healthy economy in a healthy society is based on a network of small enterprises and skilled craftsmen in a country well-served by workshops, schools, hospitals, homes and leisure facilities. A Welsh government would encourage extra employment through a small-firms expansion programme and a self-employment allowance scheme, which would generate 10,000 permanent jobs over a ten-year period, while a similar number of jobs would arise from the construction work stimulated by such a plan.

mynnu ynni dilygredd ac adnewyddadwy, mae Cymru unwaith eto mewn sefyllfa gref iawn. Wedi'i lleoli ar arfordir yr Iwerydd, gall Cymru fanteisio ar y gwyntoedd sydd eisoes yn gwneud cynhyrchu trydan gyda gwynt yn realaeth economaidd, ac yn y dyfodol agos bydd y llanw uchel o amgylch arfordir Cymru yn rhoi cyfle unigryw i Gymru i roi'r bâs-lwyth o ynni drwy eneraduron llanw. Mae Cymru yn un o'r ychydig iawn o wledydd a fedrai ddefnyddio ynni adnewyddol i ateb ei holl alw.

Ac mae gan Gymru gyflenwad gwaranteedig o ddwr. Yn y gorffennol ystyriwyd dŵr fel "nwydd rhad ac am ddim", "rhodd Duw", ond rhybuddiodd Sefydliad y Cenhedloedd Unedig mai meddu ar gyflenwad digonol o ddŵr fydd y ffactor bwysicaf mewn datblygiad economaidd yn y ganrif nesaf. Bydd galw cynyddol am ddŵr a newidiadau tymor hir i'r hinsawdd yn achosi prinder difrifol yn Ne Lloegr. Gyda'r diwydiant dŵr wedi'i adfer i feddiant cyhoeddus, bydd ein hadnoddau dŵr dan reolaeth llywodraeth Gymreig nid yn unig yn cynhyrchu incwm ychwanegol ond yn chwarae rôl allweddol wrth ddenu diwydiannau sy'n dibynnu ar ddŵr i Gymru.

Mae dur yn parhau i fod yn ddeunydd sylfaenol adeiladu a gweithgynhyrchu mewn cymdeithas ddiwydiannol fodern. Cymry arweiniodd ddatblygiad y diwydiant dur yn America, Ewrop a Rwsia. Mae Cymru'n dal i arwain y byd mewn dur, gan gynhyrchu 40% o gynnrych dur y DG. Mae Cymru hefyd yn gynhyrchedd sylwedol o alwminiwm a metelau anfferrus arall ac yn gartref i ddiwydiant petro-cernegol mawr.

Yn bennaf oil, mae Cymru'n gryf yn y diwydiannau "gwawr" technoleg gwybodaeth. Daw 20% o gynnrych opteg ffibrau'r byd o Gymru ac fel y daw opteg ffibrau yn gyfrwng safonol ar gyfer cyfathrebu band-eang, byddwn yn gweld twf enfawr yn y diwydiant hwn yn y gogledd-ddwyrain. Yn y de-ddwyrain, mae cynhyrchiad arbenigol cydrannau electroneg ac optegol, yn cynnwys grisial epitacsial, wedi rhoi pwysigrwydd strategol byd-eang i'r rhanbarth yng nghynhyrchiad dyfeisiau opto-electroneg.

Bu Cymru'n gyfoethog drwy gydol hanes mewn adnoddau naturiol ac yn gryf mewn diwydiannau sylfaenol. Eto heb hunanlywodraeth ychydig o fudd tymor-hir a ddaethant i bobl Cymru.

► Beth fyddai blaenoriaeth gyntaf llywodraeth Gymreig?

Blaenoriaeth gyntaf llywodraeth Gymreig fyddai ymosod o ddifrif ar y lefelau annerbyniol o ddiweithdra, gan greu 100,000 o swyddi newydd (Atodiad D).

Gostyngodd y nifer o weithwyr llawn-amser yng Nghymru o 751,000 i 684,000 rhwng 1981 a 1994. Mae hyd yn oed y llywodraeth yn cyfaddef fod 107,000 wedi cofrestru'n ddiwaith, ond mae 60,000 arall sy'n barod i weithio a ddiflannodd o'r ystadegau swyddogol.

Mae'r her yn ddigon syml: mae cymaint o waith i'w wneud ac mae pobl ddiwaith a all wneud y gwaith. Dyletswydd llywodraeth gyfrifol yw dod â'r ddau at ei gilydd mewn rhaglen a gylluniwyd yn ofalus.

Mae economi iach mewn cymdeithas iach yn seiliedig ar rwydwaith o fentrau bychain a chrefftwyr sgiliedig mewn gwlaid gyda digonedd o weithdai, ysgolion, ysbytai, cartrefi a

At the same time we need to meet the environmental challenge. A home insulation programme would require 5,000 jobs spread throughout Wales. Modern public transport, with more buses and taxis and the re-opening of railway lines, would add a further 25,000 jobs. A fibre-optic network linking every community in Wales would provide 2,000 permanent jobs.

An environmental improvement scheme, creating open green spaces, planting trees, flowers and hedgerows, repainting public and private buildings, recycling waste materials There is a ready demand for 2,000 jobs in this sector, and pollution control and a water-quality improvement programme would add a further 2,000 jobs.

Above all, education is the key to long-term success. Throughout the world, from the Pacific Rim to Scandinavia and Ireland, it has been demonstrated that spending on education is the most productive form of investment, with the biggest "multiplier factor" and the highest long-term return. An additional 10,000 positions in training opportunities and full-time jobs will strengthen the education and training system from the nursery level right through to post-graduate research in information technology and opto-electronics.

And finally we will use our human resources to do what humans do best : looking after others. Direct support is needed for elderly, disabled and sick people on the one hand and families with young children on the other. Additional home help, bath nurses, paramedical services, crèche and nursery supervisors : at least 8,000 jobs are required in this sector.

This is what self-government is really about : the power to raise taxation by a small amount to create employment for all our people, young and old, and to secure the economic future of all our towns and villages. With self-government it is possible, as the small countries of Europe have shown over and over again.

► **But what weight would an independent Wales carry in international affairs ?**

Just as small nations have greater economic success, small nations have made a disproportionate contribution to European and world affairs.

M. Santer, from Luxembourg is the President of the Commission of the EU. Small countries like Ireland and Luxembourg have a seat on the European Council of Ministers and take their turn to chair the Council and all the ministerial committees. Their representatives can press for their national interests in the decisions of the Council. Thus Ireland were able to avoid the worst effects of milk-quotas when Wales - without a voice - was badly hit. Ireland has also won far more financial support from the EU than Wales.

An elected Parliament would give us -immediately - greater status in Europe, especially on bodies such as the Committee for the Regions. But only full self-government and an independent voice can give us the full benefit from the European Union.

In world affairs, too, small countries have made their mark.

It was Ireland which provided the diplomatic initiative that led to the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty

chyfleusterau hamdden. Byddai llywodraeth Gymreig yn annog cyflogaeth ychwanegol drwy raglen i ehangu cwmniâu bychain a chynllun lwfans hunan-gyflogaeth, a fyddai'n cynhyrchu 10,000 o swyddi parhaol dros gyfnod deng-mlynedd, tra byddai nifer tebyg o swyddi yn codi o'r gwaith adeiladu a ysgogid gan y fath gynllun.

Ar yr un pryd, mae angen i ni ateb yr her amgylcheddol. Byddai angen 5,000 o swyddi wedi'i gwasgaru drwy Gymru ar gyfer rhaglen i insiwlleiddio cartrefi. Byddai trafnidiaeth gyhoeddus fodern, gyda mwy o fysus a thacsis ac ail-agor llinellau rheilffordd, yn ychwanegu 25,000 o swyddi eraill. Byddai rhwydwaith opteg ffibrau yn cysylltu pob cymuned yng Nghymru yn rhoi 2,000 o swyddi parhaol.

Cynllun gwelliannau amgylcheddol, creu gofodau gwyrdd newydd, plannu coed, blodau a gwrychoedd, ailbeintio adeiladau cyhoeddus a phreifat, ailgylchu deunyddiau gwastraff ... mae galw parod am 2,000 o swyddi yn y sector hwn a byddai rhaglen rheoli llygredd a gwella ansawdd dwr yn ychwanegu 2,000 arall.

Yn bennaf oll, addysg yw'r allwedd i lwyddiant tymor-hir. Ym mhedwar ban byd, o'r Môr Tawel i Lychlyn ac Iwerddon, dangoswyd mai gwariant ar addysg yw'r dull mwyaf cynhyrchiol o fuddsoddiad, gyda'r "ffactor lluosydd" mwyaf a'r dychweliad tymor-hir uchaf. Bydd 10,000 o swyddi ychwanegol mewn cyfleoedd hyfforddiant a swyddi llawn-amser yn cryfhau'r system addysg a hyfforddiant o lefel meithrinfa drwedd i ymchwil ôl-raddedig mewn technoleg gwybodaeth ac opto-electroneg.

Ac yn olaf, byddwn yn defnyddio ein hadnoddau dynol i wneud yr hyn a wnaiff pobl orau: gofalu am eraill. Mae angen cefnogaeth uniongyrchol ar gyfer pobl oedrannus, anabl a gwael ar y naill law a theuluoedd gyda phlant ifanc ar y llaw arall. Cymorth cartref ychwanegol, nyrsys ymolchi, gwasanaethau parafeddygol, arolygwyr meithrinfeidd: mae angen o leiaf 8,000 o swyddi yn y sector hwn.

Dyma hanfod hunanlywodraeth: y gym i wneud cynnydd bychan mewn trethiant er mwyn creu cyflogaeth i'n holl bobl, hen ac ifanc, a sicrhau dyfodol economaidd ein holl drefi a phrentrefi. Mae'n bosibl gyda hunanlywodraeth, fel a dangosodd gwledydd bychain Ewrop dro ar ôl tro.

► Pa bwysau fyddai gan Gymru annibynnol mewn materion rhyngwiadol?

Yn union fel mae cenhedloedd bychain yn fwy llwyddiannus yn economaidd, mae cenhedloedd bychain wedi gwneud cyfraniad anghymesur i faterion Ewropeaidd a byd-eang.

M. Santer o Lwcsembwrg yw Llywydd Comisiwn yr Undeb Ewropeaidd. Mae gan wledydd bychain fel Iwerddon a Lwcsembwrg sedd ar Gyngor Ewropeaidd y Gweinidogion ac maent yn cymryd eu tro i gadeirio'r Cyngor a'i holl bwylgorau gweinidogol. Gall eu cynrychiolwyr bwysu am eu buddiannau cenedlaethol ym mhenderfyniadau'r Cyngor. Felly medrodd Iwerddon osgoi effeithiau gwaethaf y cwotâu llaeth pan ddioddefodd Cymru gymaint.

Mae Iwerddon hefyd wedi ennill llawer mwy o gefnogaeth gan yr Undeb Ewropeaidd na Chymru. Mae gan Gymru angen taer am lais annibynnol yn Ewrop - a dim ond drwy fod â hunanlywodraeth gyflawn y medrwn gael hynny.

Mae gwledydd bychain wedi gadael eu hól mewn materion byd-eang hefyd.

and the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear States. It was Norway who first brought together Israel and Palestine in peace negotiations.

We have been cut off for too long, forced into parochial isolation.

It is time for Wales to join the world. Our aim must be clear. Full national status. Nothing else is good enough.

References

- Home Office/Welsh Office, 1953-1996, *Digest of Welsh Statistics, Volumes 1-42*, HMSO
Tomkins CR, 1971 "Income and Expenditure Accounts for Wales 1965-68" (189pp), Welsh Council
Nevin E, 1955 "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1950", (47pp) Dept. of Economics and Political Science, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Nevin E, 1956 "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-1952", (17pp) Welsh Economic Studies 1, University of Wales Press.
Nevin E, 1957 "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-1956", (15pp) Welsh Economic Studies 2, University of Wales Press.
Nevin E, Roe AR and Round JI, 1966 "The Structure of the Welsh Economy", (41pp) Welsh Economic Studies 4, University of Wales Press.
Williams PJS, Wigley D, 1970 "An Economic Plan for Wales", (288pp) Plaid Cymru.
Wigley D, 1995, "A Democratic Wales in an United Europe", (28pp), Plaid Cymru.
Wigley D, 1995 "1000 Answers ... to Conquer Unemployment in Wales" (12pp) Plaid Cymru

Cynllun diplomatiig gan Iwerddon a arweiniodd at y Cytuniad Gwahardd Profion Niwclear a Chytuniad Dim-amlhau Gwladwriaethau Niwclear. Norwy ddaeth ag Israel a Phalestina at ei gilydd mewn trafodaethau heddwch am y tro cyntaf.

Rydym wedi ein hynysu am rhy hir, wedi'n gorfodi i ddioddef arwahanrwydd plwyfol.

Mae'n amser i Gymru ymuno â'r byd. Rhaid i'n nod fod yn glir. Statws cenedlaethol cyflawn. Does dim arall yn ddigon da.

Cyfeiriadau

- Y Swyddfa Gartref/Y Swyddfa Gymreig 1953-1996. Crynhoad o Ystadegau Cymru. Cyfrolau 1-42,
Llyfrfa ei Mawrhydi
Tomkins CR., 1971 "Income and Expenditure Accounts for Wales 1965-68". (189pp). Cyngor Cymru.
Nevin E., 1955, "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1950", (47 tt) Adran Economeg a
Gwyddor Wleidyddol, Coleg Prifysgol Cymru, Aberystwyth
Nevin E., 1956, "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-1952", (17tt), Welsh Economic
Studies 1, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru
Nevin E., 1957 "The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-1956", (15tt), Welsh Economic
Studies 1, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru
Nevin E, Roe AR a Round JI, 1966 "The Structure of the Welsh Economy", (41tt) Welsh Economic
Studies 4, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
Williams PJS, Wigley D, 1970 "Cynllun Economaidd i Gymru", (288tt), Plaid Cymru.
Wigley D, 1995, "Cymru Ewropeaidd mewn Ewrop Unedig", (28tt), Plaid Cymru.
Wigley D. 1995."1000 o Atebion" (12tt) Plaid Cymru

ATODIAD/APPENDIX A

<i>Blwyddyn</i>	<i>Nifer o seddau yng Nghymru</i>	<i>Nifer o seddau Toriaidd yng Nghymru</i>	<i>Llywodraeth yn Llundain</i>
Year	Total No. of Seats in Wales	No. of Seats in Wales won by Tories	Government in London
1895	34	9	Tori/Tory
1900	34	6	Tori/Tory
1906	34	-	Rhyddfrydol/Liberal
1910	34	2	Rhyddfrydol/Liberal
1910	34	3	Rhyddfrydol/Liberal
1914			Clymbaid/Coalition
1918	36	4	Cenedlaethol/Tori gan fwyaf/ National (Tory dominated)
1922	36	6	Tori/Tory
1924	36	9	Uafur/Labour
1925			Tori/Tory
1929	36	1	Uafur/Labour
1931	36	6	Cenedlaethol(Tori gan fwyaf)/ National (Tory dominated)
1935	36	6	Cenedlaethol (Tori gan fwyaf)/ National (Tory dominated)
1939			Clymbaid/Coalition
1945	36	2	Uafur/Labour
1950	36	4	Uafur/Labour
1951	36	6	Tori/Tory
1955	36	6	Tori/Tory
1959	36	7	Tori/Tory
1964	36	6	Uafur/Labour
1966	36	3	Uafur/Labour
1970	36	7	Tori/Tory
1974	36	8	Uafur/Labour
1974	36	8	Uafur/Labour
1979	36	11	Tori/Tory
1983	38	14	Tori/Tory
1987	38	8	Tori/Tory
1992	38	6	Tori/Tory
1997	40	-	Uafur/Labour

ATODIAD/APPENDIX B

CENHEDLOEDD GYDA LLAI O BOBL NA CHYMRU SY'N AELODAU LLAWN O SEFYDLIAD Y CENHEDLOEDD UNEDIG

COUNTRIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS SMALLER THAN WALES IN POPULATION WHICH ARE FULL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

CENEDL/NATION	POBLOGAETH/POPULATION	AELOD O'R CU ERS ../ MEMBER OF U.N. SINCE ...
Andorra	70,000	1993
Antigua & Barbados	70,000	1991
Bahamas	280,000	1973
Bahrain	590,000	1971
Barbados	260,000	1966
Belize	220,000	1981
Bhutan	1,640,000	1971
Botswana	1,460,000	1966
Brunei	280,000	1984
Cape Verde	390,000	1975
Comoros	650,000	1975
Congo	2,590,000	1960
Cyprus	740,000	1960
Djibouti	580,000	1977
Dominica	70,000	1975
Equatorial Guinea	400,000	1968
Estonia	1,530,000	1991
Fiji	780,000	1970
Gabon	1,320,000	1960
Gambia	1,120,000	1965
Grenada	90,000	1974
Guinea-Bissau	1,070,000	1974
Guyana	830,000	1966
Iceland/Gwlad yr Iâ	270,000	1946
Jamaica	2,530,000	1962
Kuwait	1,690,000	1963
Latvia	2,510,000	1991

Lesotho	2,050,000	1966
Liberia	2,760,000	1945
Liechtenstein	30,000	1990
 Luxembourg/Lwcsembwrg	410,000	1945
Macedonia	2,160,000	1993
Maldives	250,000	1965
Malta	370,000	1964
Marshall Islands	60,000	1991
 Mauritania	2,280,000	1961
Mauritius	1,090,000	1968
Micronesia	100,000	1991
Monaco	30,000	1993
Mongolia	2,410,000	1961
 Namibia	1,540,000	1990
Oman	2,160,000	1971
Palau	20,000	1994
Panama	2,630,000	1945
Qatar	550,000	1971
 St Kitts & Nevis	40,000	1983
St Lucia	140,000	1979
St Vincent & Grenadines	110,000	1980
Samoa	170,000	1976
San Marino	20,000	1992
 Sao Toma & Principe	130,000	1975
Seychelles	70,000	1976
Slovenia	1,980,000	1992
Solomon Islands	380,000	1978
Suriname	420,000	1975
Swaziland	910,000	1968
Trinidad & Tobago	1,310,000	1962
United Arab Emirates	2,310,000	1971
Vanuatu	170,000	1981

*Amcangyfrifon poblogaeth gan Fwletin Misol Ystadegau, Sefydliad y Cenhdloedd Unedig
 Population estimates from Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, United Nations Organisation*

ATODIAD/APPENDIX C

Pymtheg Uchaf Ewrop/Europe's Top Fifteen

Cynnyrch Domestig Gros y Pen: 1996 ar brisiau marchnad a phareddau gym prynu cyfredol

Gross Domestic Product per Capita : 1996 at current market prices and purchasing power parities

Cenedl/Nation	Poblogaeth/ Population	\$UD y pen/ US\$ per head
Luxembourg/Lwcsembwrg	0.4m	32,206
Switzerland/Swisdir	7.04m	25,074
Norway/Norwy	4.36m	24,177
Iceland/Gwlad yr Iâ	0.27m	23,576
Denmark/Denmarc	5.23m	22,271
Belgium/Gwlad Belg	10.11m	21,446
Austria/Austria	8.53m	21,367
Germany/Yr Almaen	81.64m	21,083
Netherlands/Yr Iseldiroedd	15.45m	20,621
France/Ffrainc	58.15m	20,510
Italy/Yr Eidal	57.19m	19,991
Sweden	8.83m	19,242
Ireland/Iwerddon	3.58m	18,745
Finland/Ffindir	5.1m	18,521
UK/Y Deyrnas Gyfunol	58.26m	18,494

ATODIAD/APPENDIX Ch

Government Expenditure in Wales under self-government on 1995-96 spending patterns/

Gwariant y Llywodraeth yng Nghymru dan hunan-llywodraeth ar batrymau gwariant 1995-96

Existing Government Expenditure in Wales (excluding Defence)/ Gwariant Presennol y Llywodraeth yng Nghymru (heb gynnwys Amddiffyn)	£ billion/ £ biliwn
Agriculture, Trade, Industry and Employment/ Amaethyddiaeth, Masnach, Diwydiant a Chyflogaeth	0.6
Trafnidiaeth ac Amgylchedd/ Transport and Environment	0.6
Education, Arts, Housing and Local Government/ Addysg, Y Celfyddydau, Tai a Llywodraeth Leol	3.6
Health/ Education	2.2
Social Security/ Nawdd Cymdeithasol	5.1
Law and Order and other spending programmes/ Cyfraith a Threfn a rhaglenni gwariant arall	0.6
CYFANSWM/TOTAL	12.7
Additional Spending by a Self-Governing Wales (including Defence, Foreign Service, Overseas Aid and the administration of a Welsh Government)/ Gwariant Ychwanegol gan Gymru Ymlywodraethol (yn cynnwys Amddiffyn, Gwasanaeth Tramor, Cymorth Tramor a gweinyddiaeth Llywodraeth Cymru)	0.4
Repayment of Debt/ Repayment of Debt	0.6
GRAND TOTAL/Y CYFANSWM	13.7

**Total Government Revenue from Wales, and from Companies operating in Wales at 1995-96 taxation levels/
Cyfanswm Refeniw'r Llywodraeth o Gymru, a gan Gwmniau'n gweithredu yng Nghymru ar lefelau trethiant 1995-96**

Central Government from Wales including income, taxation on profits and expenditure, national insurance and other government income/
Llywodraeth Ganolog o Gymru yn cynnwys incwm, trethiant ar elw a gwariant, yswiriant cenedlaethol ac incwm arall y llywodraeth

Business and Local Taxes/
Trethi Busnes a Lleol

Existing EU income intended for Wales/
Incwm presennol UE a fwriadwyd i Gymru

TOTAL/CYFANSWM **12.0**

Additional EU Grants to a Self-Governing Wales/
Grantiau ychwanegol EU i Gymru Ymlywodraethol

GRAND TOTAL/Y CYFANSWM **12.7**

Net Public Sector Borrowing Requirement **1.1**

(Net Borrowing Requirement per head £380)/

Gofyniad Benthyca Sector Cyhoeddus net

(Gofyniad Benthyca net fesul pen £380)

**UK Public Expenditure and Taxation 1995-96 (Revised Est.)/
Gwariant a Threthiant Cyhoeddus DG 1995-96 (Amcan. Diwygiedig)** **£ biliwn/
£ billion**

General Government Expenditure/
Gwariant Cyffredinol y Llywodraeth

General Government Receipts/
General Government Receipts

Net Public Sector Borrowing Requirement **21.5**

(Net Borrowing Requirement per head £370)/

Gofyniad Benthyca Sector Cyhoeddus Netl

(Gofyniad Benthyca net fesul pen £370)

ATODIAD/APPENDIX D

Summary of Jobs Created under Plaid Cymrus 100,000 Answers/ Crynodeb o'r Swyddi a Grewyd dan "100,000 o Atebion" Plaid Cymru

Programme/Rhaglen	Additional jobs created/ <i>Swyddi ychwanegol a grëid</i>
Energy conservation/ <i>Cadwraeth Ynni</i>	5,000
Trafnidiaeth/ <i>Transport</i>	25,000
Community Care/ <i>Gofal Cymunedol</i>	8,000
Fibre-optic network/ <i>Rhwydwaith Ffibr-Optic</i>	2,000
Environmental Improvements/ <i>Gwelliannau Amgylcheddol</i>	2,000
Rheoli Llygredd/ <i>Pollution Control</i>	1,000
Water-quality Improvement/ <i>Gwelliannau ansawdd dwr</i>	1,000
Education and Training/ <i>Addysg a Hyfforddiant</i>	10,000
Police and Security/ <i>Heddlu a Diogelwch</i>	3,000
Small firms Expansion/ <i>Ehangu Cwmnïau Bach</i>	5,000
Self-employment Expansion / <i>Ehangu hunan-gyflogaeth</i>	5,000
Voluntary Sector Support/ <i>Cefnogaeth Sector Gwirfoddol</i>	2,000
Capital Construction Projects/ <i>Prosiectau Adeiladu Cyfalaif</i>	10,000
Additional Jobs from Multiplier Effect/ <i>Swyddi Ychwanegol o Effaith Lluosydd</i>	20,000
TOTAL/CYFANSWM	100,000