



CYHOEDDIADAU  
**PLAID CYMRU**  
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Gwynfor Evans

# **WALES**

**: A HISTORIC COMMUNITY**

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Who are we?

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What are we?

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**PLAID CYMRU**  
*— the party of Wales —*

We want to see the nations of these islands cooperating in a Britannic confederation of free and equal nations, in no way subordinate one to the other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs: an association similar to, but tighter than, the Nordic Union of the Scandinavian nations. A Britannic confederation is our aim - a confederation of free and equal nations in which Ireland might wish to be a member. How much better it would be for the world if the huge British power state, which is far too big to be healthy, gave way to a confederation of smaller nations, and how much better for England. Inside the confederation the movement of people between the countries would be as free as it is today, without passports, and there would be freedom of movement for goods and capital without a frontier or tolls or tariffs. This civilised fraternity of nations would be in harmony with the needs of mankind; its creation would give a unique lead towards building a peaceful world order. The greatest contribution Wales can make to a just and peaceful world order is the achievement of self-government.

# WALES

## :A HISTORIC COMMUNITY

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Who are we?

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**PLAID CYMRU**

The public is generous in its sympathy for black African nationalism in South Africa and for third world nationalisms such as those of Nicaragua and El Salvador, and also for Latvian and Lithuanian, Georgian and Ukrainian and the scores of nationalisms inside the USSR, or Solidarnosc nationalism outside. These are acceptable to Tories and SDP'ites, Liberals and Labourites. But Welsh nationalism is anathema, for Welsh nationalism threatens the centralist structure of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the British state. It poses, alone in Wales, a radical challenge to the constitutional status quo, to the bureaucratic conservatism to which Labourites and Tories are so passionately attached. It seeks to create a Welsh democracy: that is going much too far.

The British parties are themselves nationalist parties. Equating the nation with the nation-state, their nationalism is British and bureaucratic, centralist and neo-imperialist, chauvinist and militarist. Perhaps it would be better called statism: Tories and Labourites alike are statist. Welsh nationalism in contrast is that of a small oppressed nation, democratic and internationalist, nonviolent and decentralist, anti-imperialist and anti-militarist. In the chauvinist sense, as Ioan Bowen Rees has pointed out, Plaid Cymru is the least nationalist of the parties in the countries of Britain, and there is none more internationalist.

This was strikingly illustrated by the Falklands War. In the famous Saturday debate before the armada was despatched, the speech by Michael Foot, a British nationalist of integrity, was even more jingo than Mrs Thatcher's. The only party who opposed the war from the outset, and which called for reference of Argentina's aggression for settlement by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, was Plaid Cymru. Unlike the British parties we opposed the Vietnam war throughout its length; and Plaid Cymru alone has stood consistently and unitedly against the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. The nature of Welsh nationalism is thus profoundly different from the nationalism of the British parties.

It has a lot in common with the Independent Labour Party of Keir Hardie, who supported Welsh self-government and the creation of a Welsh party on Irish lines, and whose radicalism came out in his contempt for the 1911 Investiture of the Prince of Wales. He opposed the 1914 war as did his friend the great French socialist Jean Jaurès. Hardie's death from a broken heart marked a sea-change in Labour's values. After he died Bernard Shaw wrote in the *Merthyr Pioneer* of the 'very general feeling of relief in the House of Commons and in the Labour Party now that Keir Hardie's body lies mouldering in the grave'.

Generally speaking, Welsh people have not thought their nation worth fighting for politically. It is so small and seems so unimportant. With only 4.8% of the UK population it is even smaller than Ireland, and smaller than Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden, though not as small as flourishing little Iceland which has a population little bigger than Swansea's. And does it not border on being evil to campaign for full national status for this small nation when its freedom would lower Great Britain's status in the world? Yet there remains in many a gnawing doubt that perhaps it is, after all, right for people to be

great year's strike. The Welsh nation is a historic community. More, it is a community of communities, of local communities, families, trade unions, churches and a myriad others. Our contention has always been that a basic aim of government, local and national, should be to foster community. It is in community that the human person, a social being, realises his or her potential. It is from community that civilisation springs. European civilisation is not an abstraction hovering in the air above us; it springs from the national traditions of Europe and from them alone; small nations, from Greece onwards, and not excluding Wales, have made an enormous contribution to its enrichment. It was this truth that impelled Jean Jaurès, the great socialist and pacifist assassinated on the eve of the first world war, to declare that to destroy the nation is to sink back into barbarism. Certainly to allow the destruction of a small ancient European nation, or the language which channels its tradition, is a barbarity which diminishes the life of Europe. In defending the community of Wales, nationalists defend our corner of European civilisation.

Obviously no more than a rearguard action is possible as long as this small nation is incorporated in a huge unitary bureaucratic state controlled by a Big Neighbour, without a tittle of control over her national life. If the people of Wales are denied for long again power to create the conditions of development of their cultural and economy the nation is unlikely to survive, let alone live a full national life. A culture is indissolubly linked to the economy; the fight for them is one and indivisible. The struggle for the language and against unemployment are one and the same struggle, and it is a political struggle.

But there is more to Welsh nationalism than securing freedom and justice for the people of Wales. We belong to a world of nations; and we have a duty to play a part in international life and to make a contribution to peace and justice in the world. Welsh nationalism is thoroughly internationalist. Welsh nationalists seek full representation for Wales in the EEC and have underlined the disadvantages Welsh agriculture and industry suffer in comparison with Ireland from our absence from Brussels. And one of our major aims has always been to get for Wales a seat in the international assembly of nations, first the League of Nations and then UNO, where I notice that our representatives would be placed between Venezuela and Yemen. We have thought that Wales has at least as much to contribute as these nations, or any one of the 50 nations there which are smaller than Wales in size. Ireland was responsible for initiating the Nuclear Anti-proliferation Treaty, the most important step taken to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. Can any good reason be advanced for excluding Wales, with her long peace tradition, from UNO? Today this nation is represented by Mrs Thatcher's nominee.

A free Wales would of course be nuclear-free; the stance of the Welsh county councils has made that clear. I hope it would also spend only a small fraction of what is spent today on military defence. But Wales will have power of decision in matters concerning military defence and international affairs only when full national status is achieved. Equality of status is Plaid Cymru's constitutional aim; equality among nations is as valid as equality among individual persons.

the statist as their most potent weapon against the nationalists, the trump card of the centralists against the decentralists, of Great British nationalists against Welsh and Scottish nationalists.

The process of Britishing the Welsh and Scots by the state, the establishment and the media bears all the classic marks of brainwashing. The steps in the process of brainwashing have long been clearly identified. The first and most important step is to cause the subject to lose his sense of identity, so that, unsure who he is, he confuses his own thoughts with those of his interrogator.

This is far advanced in Wales; great numbers of Welsh people are unsure of their national identity. Secondly, a synthetic mental conflict is produced which causes the subject to feel completely at sea and induces in him a state of tension. Isn't there evidence all around us of the tension between Welshness and Britishness, resulting sometimes in an almost pathological hatred, in both Welsh-speaking and non Welsh-speaking people, of the Welsh language, or sneering contempt for Welsh history? The third step is for the brainwashing interrogator, when the subject is in this neurotic state, to feed compelling ideas into his mind which are avidly seized because they give such relief from the welter of uncertainty which has distressed him. In the case of Wales these are relentlessly pumped in by Big Neighbour day by day by government and parties, television, radio and press. The subject is now ripe for the fourth stage, which is to encourage him to make an emotional confession which is an act of treachery to his past. When the Welshman has reached this point he sees those who are loyal to Wales as ridiculously narrow, non-emancipated and 'romantic', to use Dr Alan Williams' favourite description of them, whereas the subject himself is happy in the certainty that the outlook and ideas that he has now accepted are in all ways superior to the traditions and values of the people from whom he has sprung. The interrogator turns now into a kindly father figure who knows far better than his subject what is good for him. At this fifth stage in Wales Big Neighbour becomes Big Brother, rescuing our hopeless little land from poverty and backwardness and bringing the people into the wider civilisation of the London world. The subject is now ripe for the sixth and last stage, identification with his interrogator. Welshmen are now fully British, loyalty to Wales finally exorcised.

When the structural violence to which the Welsh nation is daily subjected is thus reinforced by psychological violence, the immensity of the task facing Welsh nationalists is clear. But that task is not an impossible one. Tradition and history, language and community, geography and size, the world crisis and the English situation, these together work powerfully in our favour. Their appeal is both intellectual and emotional, and is fortified by the fact that the aims of Welsh nationalism are so much in line with the needs of humanity at a time when human survival is threatened by the policies of the great powers.

The aims of Welsh nationalism have a universal validity. World circumstances cry out for the creation of a peaceful world order to which decentralism and small nonviolent communities like Wales have a lot to contribute.

Community is a word that goes to the heart of Welsh nationalism. It is community that we seek to defend, as the miners and their families did in the

loyal to their nation and to work to win national freedom. This pricking conscience often insinuates an element of malevolence and malice into the attitude of people not only towards Welsh nationalism but even the essential attributes of Welsh nationhood, the language in particular ...

The Welsh language is infinitely more than a means of communication. It is the factor which unites in partnership the generations who for a millennium and a half lived their life through Welsh. Language is the vehicle of a culture; it transmits values from generation to generation. It has dynamic power. It can revitalise a decaying way of life. It can create or recreate a culture as Hebrew has done in Israel. In recent centuries the gwerin of Wales - 'working-class' is not the equivalent - share a unique popular culture the like of which was not to be found anywhere else. This, the greatest glory of Wales, was bound up indissolubly with the Welsh language, and where the language died this intellectual culture died with it, usually giving way to the trivial culture of the admass. The language is the lifeblood of the national community, the factor on which national survival must depend. But for the Welsh language our nation would have died centuries ago as surely as the Welsh nation of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud) did. But, miraculously, it did live, in the shadow of the mightiest language on earth. Even the people of the industrial valleys of Glamorgan and Gwent and the industrial belt in Flintshire and Denbighshire were mainly Welsh-speaking up to the threshold of the twentieth century. Indeed, all the valleys of Glamorgan were far more Welsh in speech in 1900 than are Gwynedd and Dyfed today. The language was saved by industrialism.

The crucial importance of language to an oppressed people is emphasised by an article in Planet on Caribbean poetry in which Stewart Brown says, "Language ... is the prime index of self. To take away a people's language is to render them psychologically and emotionally vulnerable, that was why the attempts by the plantocracy of the slave colonies of the Caribbean - over four centuries - to beat out all remnants of the African languages spoken by their slaves and impose English ... was potentially the strongest weapon in the slavers' armoury".

English government has wielded this weapon in Wales with great effect. On the other hand, language can be a source of moral and political strength in the fight against oppressive imperialism, as Jean-Paul Sartre recognised in what he called the 'interior colony' of Euskadi. Only about a quarter of the Basque nation speaks the Basque language; nevertheless, Sartre declared, "If they succeed in destroying the language, the Basque will become the abstract man they want him to be. He will speak Spanish, which is not and never has been his language. For him to speak his own language is a revolutionary act".

Basque literature does not compare with the literature of Wales, which is the oldest living literature in Europe, older by far than the literatures of England, France, Germany, Spain or Italy. The earliest poems in the Oxford Book of English Verse come from the 14th century, but in the Oxford Book of Welsh Verse the earliest are from the 6th century, and magnificent poems they are.

For a thousand years the literature of Wales was a major European literature. It still lives; 400 books a year are published in Welsh. But no thanks to the Labour Party and such leaders as George Thomas, Lord Tonypandy, for that.



When Thomas was in the cabinet his opposition to those who strove for a status and a future for the national tongue was malicious, even going to the length of proposing "to form a league of English-speaking Welsh people" to counter Welsh language activists whom, he said, were creating a Northern Ireland situation! This resembled the Labour language line I encountered during 25 years on the Labour-controlled Carmarthenshire County Council.

Take again the attitude of Labourites to Welsh history. Its history is a nation's memory, and its possession is a condition of national survival. But consider the following statement about the Welsh in their history: "Between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-eighteenth century they had practically no history at all, and even before that it was the history of rival brigands who have been ennobled (sic) by being called princes". The words are those of the leader of the Labour Party, Neil Kinnock ... The contempt they display for the leaders of independent Wales reminds one of the comment of a 13th century English chronicler, Nicholas Trevet, on "the viciousness which makes people hate their princes and delight rather in abusing than in praising them". Their sour attitude to their nation augmented the delight of Lord Tonyndy and Neil Kinnock in the victory of the centralists in 1979 which prevented the people of Wales enjoying even the small measure of control over their national life which an elected assembly would have given them.

At the heart of the opposition to the elected assembly was the slippery slope argument, the fear that once the Welsh people got a taste of control over their life they would demand more and more, eventually enough to break up the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the state which is called a nation. The unitary British power state had to be maintained intact; no democratic decentralisation could be permitted. In Switzerland the central government controls only foreign affairs and defence, with an overall superintendence of the economy. Every other political field is under the control of the 26 canton governments. Some of the cantons have smaller populations than Powys; the population of the whole country is only twice that of Wales. Yet it has 27 governments, while Wales, which is a nation not a canton, governs no part of her life at all. So far from being a Welsh democracy, having a government of the people of Wales, for the people of Wales and by the people of Wales, the Welsh people have no power of decision and action whatsoever in their national affairs. Except for a small slither in the Welsh Office, which is democratically accountable to no one, all power over Welsh resides in London. Wales is governed by Whitehall bureaucrats in the most highly centralised state in Europe. This is the nature not only of Toryism but of Great British national socialism. Constitutionally, Kinnock's socialism is bureaucratic conservatism.

Wales is entitled to a place in the EEC. It should be playing a part in international life, with a seat in UNO, where Iceland sits next to India, but as things are she has no shred of power even inside Wales. She could not prevent her valleys being drowned even when her MPs united in opposition, and she had no power to resist effectively the destruction of Welsh-speaking communities to make way for an artillery range. For half a century campaigns have been mounted to get a major highway through the land, a crying need. Wales has no power to build it. The project has been constantly deferred. At long last

and their loyalty to Wales diminished. They are persuaded that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is a nation and that Wales is a sub-nation with little more claim on their loyalty than Yorkshire has on Yorkshire people, in any case it is a divided loyalty. For great numbers the question of identity is acute. Who are we? Few now opt (like Hussey Vivian) for being English. But are we Welsh. Or are we British. Or Welsh with a British dimension or British with a Welsh dimension? Persuaded that they do indeed belong to two nations, one a master nation, they fall into the predicament of serving two masters, holding to the one and despising the other as scripture has it. To take our earlier examples, there is no doubt about the master nation to which Neil Kinnock and Lord Tonyndy hold. They are models of being British with a Welsh dimension, rugby and choirs.

The assertion that Wales is a nation, our nation, has momentous consequences for those who accept it. For if Wales is a nation, then all the rights and duties of nationhood pertain to her. The basic right is to be herself, to live a full national life, so that her people as individual persons can realise their full personal potential. The basic duty is to contribute to European civilisation and help create a just and peaceful world order. None of this is possible without political freedom. Just as a human person cannot be himself or herself and live a fully human life if that person is not free to create the conditions of his or her life, so it is with a nation. It has long been recognised that slavery is totally unacceptable as a violation of human personality. The comparison with a nation is exact. National servitude is the condition of a nation which lacks all power of decision and action. Wales is such a nation. More, she is oppressed. The Oxford Dictionary defines 'oppress' as "Overwhelm with superior weight or numbers or irresistible power; be heavy on, weigh down". That defines the Welsh situation. Wales is an oppressed nation in servitude. The prime political duty of Welsh persons who accept that Wales is a nation is to shoulder the obligation to do all that is possible to set their people free, which means winning a government, creating a state.

Britain is a state, an anachronistic empire state. Wales is our nation. Our first loyalty is owed to our nation not to the state. And loyalty is the essence of our nationalism. We are nationalists not statisticians. It is statisticians who elevate the state above the nation as the British state is elevated above the Welsh nation. That has been the road to totalitarianism. "The state is all", said Mussolini, "everything within the state, nothing without the state". This was the creed of Hitler's Reich and of Stalin's empire, anti-nation statisticians all.

Britishness has been sedulously fostered in recent years by government and establishment in order to undermine the loyalty of Welsh and Scots people to their nations, to defeat the threat which Welsh and Scottish nationalism poses to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The centralist politicians realise, even if most people in Wales and Scotland do not, that nationalism in the submerged Celtic countries is a revolutionary force as it was in Ireland and throughout the British Empire. If there is a tremendous amount at stake for the nations of Wales and Scotland, so is there also for the British state. If Welsh nationalists fight for national survival, British statisticians fight for the survival of their power-state. Britishness is thus employed by

Wales has no state to serve her in a subordinate role. On the contrary, she has been so much dominated and exploited by the British state that, so far from being stronger and healthier in consequence of its activities the Welsh nation, which has been here since the 6th century, is being destroyed, her economy unbalanced and undeveloped, her people forced to emigrate to find work - 45,000 did so last year - and her Welsh-speaking heartlands invaded by tens of thousands of English-speaking immigrants. It is with the Baltic nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which have suffered so cruelly after being incorporated in Russia, that the Welsh experience must be compared. Russification there has proceeded almost as ruthlessly as anglicisation in Wales. Finland, too, was a part of Russia early this century. Were she still incorporated, no doubt Finnish experience would be similar to the Welsh. But Finland responded magnificently to the challenge of national freedom while Wales was enduring a lingering death. Our desperate need is what Finland has achieved, a state to serve the nation.

It is in order to prevent that achievement, and to integrate Wales still more firmly in England, that Britain is now unflaggingly called a nation. The anglicisation of Wales is thus pursued under the guise of British patriotism just as the Russification of the Baltic nations is prosecuted under cover of Soviet patriotism. But The United Kingdom is no more a nation than The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Great Britain and the USSR are states, multi-national states. It is of the most vital importance for us in Wales that nation, which is a historic community, be not confused with state, its political clothing. The distinction between them is clear and must be recognised. Wales is a nation. Four centuries ago, Milton called her "an ancient nation proud in arms". That was long before the British state came into existence. But unlike the 150 nations of the world that have achieved statehood, Wales is a nation without either state or government of her own.

Calling the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland a nation implies that the Welsh people, and the English for that matter, belong to two nations, one of them a sub-nation. Of course no English person believes for a moment that he belongs to two nations, still less that England is a subnation; the idea is ludicrous. It can be seriously peddled only in Wales and Scotland, and perhaps Northern Ireland. In any case it is of no consequence to English people that Britain is called a nation because they know that apart from geography everything British is English. For them Britain is a synonym for England. There is no tension between the two. Britishness poses no kind of threat to Englishness. They are one and the same thing. A J P Taylor dates the time when the English people merged with their state. It was, says this distinguished historian, during the first world war that "The history of the English people and the English state (no nonsense about British here) merged for the first time". So English people can tolerate without trouble being called British". It does not touch their English identity, a trifling price to pay for integrating Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in their state.

For Welsh people the situation is different. Because only 4.8% of the citizens of the British state are Welsh as compared with 84% English, and because Britishness is a synonym for Englishness, their Welsh national identity is blurred

the section between Cardiff and Merthyr Tudful has been completed. Plaid Cymru, campaigned very hard for its construction, instead of the Severn Bridge, in order to open up the valleys for industrial development. The reason given for refusing to build a south-north highway was the expense. When I was first in Parliament a dual carriageway between Cardiff and Caernarfon was costed at £120,000,000. Recently the Government has been able to afford £500,000,000 to build an airfield in the Falklands, 8,000 miles away. It's a matter of priorities. The point I make is that the nation which 1,400 years ago helped to relight the lamps of Christian civilisation in a Europe overrun by teutonic barbarians has no jot of control over her life. The bureaucratic centralists of the Labour and Conservative parties won't allow it.

Nationalists have dreamed of Wales becoming a social laboratory of some value in the world, a community dedicated to social justice. The land has all the advantages needed, and the possibilities lying latent in its talented people are enormous. But only once in their modern history have any of them enjoyed freedom to demonstrate what they are capable of. That was 8,000 miles away in the little Welsh colony in Patagonia in the Argentine, Y Wladfa, a few hundred miles from the Malvinas. In the 60s and 70s of the last century, Welsh families were at the mercy of tyrannical landlords, while quarrymen faced the oppression at the hands of despotic owners. In Patagonia, Welsh people established a co-operative order in which property was evenly distributed, similar to the order Plaid Cymru was later to advocate. The language of the law courts was Welsh - in Wales the language had been expelled from legal and official life by the Act of Incorporation 1536. The language of the schools was Welsh - English was the language of education in Wales and pupils were punished if they spoke Welsh to each other during school hours. Welsh was the language of the little parliament - at home Welsh is still banned as a foreign language in the only parliament Wales has. Members were elected to Y Wladfa parliament by ballot - there was no voting by ballot in Wales, where scores of tenants were evicted from their farms for voting against the landlords' will. In Y Wladfa men and women were given the vote at eighteen years of age, many decades before that was done in the countries of Britain. The homeland of these few thousand exiles was then, and still is, a peripheral region where the nation is not free to implement her ideals.

Why has the democratising of Wales been so grimly opposed? Why is a huge centralist monolithic Britain so stubbornly sustained? Not because the British parties are convinced of the social benefits of hugeness: the record of the small nations of Europe gives the lie to that. Not for reasons of economic viability. Nor because they are convinced that national freedom would be bad for Wales. It is for military and prestige reasons that the Labour and Conservative parties cling to bureaucratic centralism. It is Great British nationalism which inspires their ultra-Unionism. Without Welsh and Scottish clothing they fear that England would be naked in the councils of the world, indeed that it might not find a place at all at the top table, or if it did, that its place would be below that of France - an unbearable thought.

But how can Wales be liberated? How is her social, economic and cultural life to be powerfully reinvigorated? The power lies in nationalism, a spiritual



force which time and again, when properly directed, has inspired men and women to noble and courageous action. There is inspiration in belonging to a nation, and in national history, which can elevate its people to heroism. It has done so in Wales in recent years, particularly in the history of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg. As Saunders Lewis (himself a heroic figure) insisted, complete commitment to one's nation can drive away apathy and cynicism and selfishness. It can give hope to a beaten people. If we awakened among our people loyalty and commitment to Wales, if we inspired the love of a nation that would cast what our nationalism is all about. Loyalty and an awakened national consciousness must express itself politically in a national party which channels the moral force of nationalism. In time this cannot fail to remove the shame of Welsh political servitude.

A glimmer of this truth was seen at the end of the last century when Tom Ellis and Lloyd George, under the influence of the great Michael D Jones, founder of Y Wladfa, spoke of forming a Welsh national party on the lines of Parnell's Irish party. The nearest they got to it was the Cymru Fydd movement which, dedicated to self-government, flourished for a few years in the nineties. Cymru Fydd quickly faded away because it lacked independence; it existed inside the Liberal party, reflecting the fact that its leaders, though very able, did not have the depth of nationalist commitment which the Irish had. They were infected by the virus of British imperialism. They had been inspired by Thomas Davis and Young Ireland only to be corrupted by Ruskin, who called on "you youths of England, make your country again a sceptred isle (sic) ... this is what England must either do or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed by the most energetic and worthiest men; seizing every fruitful piece of waste ground she can set foot on, and there teach her colonists that their chief virtue was to be fidelity to their country, and the first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea ... I hope to see the boys of Wales filling the most important offices in India and Africa ... We must prepare the Welsh to rule the world ... to lead the Empire .. that in our view is the function of our schools". The youth of Wales responded with enthusiasm to the call to rule the world rather than to rule their own country, and hosts of them got on famously, serving the Empire in Whitehall and in more distant lands. They would do all they could to advance the power of England and to defend her Empire. 280,000 Welshmen did just that in the first world war, whose consequences in Wales were wholly evil, and scores of thousands were sacrificed on the imperial altar under the illusion that they were defending their own nation. Those who survived returned to a Wales that was at once ravaged by poverty and unemployment. In the next two decades the Government's only Welsh remedy - transfer of labour it was called - compelled nearly half a million to uproot themselves, destroying whole communities, and seek work where work was to be found in England. This policy was typically based on the premise that England and Wales were one nation, and if there were a Welsh sub-nation, sustaining and strengthening its life was irrelevant. War and economic depression, together with schools and colleges, politics and the media, immigration and emigration, were centrally encouraged to denationalise the Welsh, to destabilise their national community and to accelerate the process of anglicisation, always in the guise of course of British patriotism.

During the next generation England was increasingly to be called Britain, and 'English' was almost completely displaced by 'British'. This was due to the growing threat of Scottish and Welsh nationalism. Time was when bourgeois Welshmen would have given their eyes to be thought of as Englishmen. Addressing the Welsh thousands at Swansea Eisteddfod Hussey Vivian MP had a vision: "At this time we are one whole compact people ... remember that you are all Englishmen though you are Welshmen ... depend upon it, we must consider ourselves Englishmen". In another eisteddfodic effusion Dr Thomas Nicholas, a leading Welsh intellectual, tempered Hussey Vivian's crudity a little, but still deplored "the cultivation of a narrow feeling of nationality on the part of the Welsh ... (and) the obscurity which blind adherence to antiquated customs, and to a speech which can never become the vehicle of science, of commerce, must entail upon them. The Welsh like the Scotch (sic) should aspire to be in intelligence, culture, all that the English are".

In his introduction to his 600-page volume, 'Heroines of Welsh History', T J Llewelyn Prichard bluntly calls on the Welsh "to contentedly slide into the speech of their contiguous nation" and to abandon their own "antiquated and degenerated language". But he was nothing if not just - "In order to do full justice to their national literature, and to make it an object of interest to others, they should divest it of its native garb (the Welsh language), and present it to the world in a form more qualified to allure the general reader: namely, an English costume".

It was this uncritical adulation of England and all things English that was pilloried so brilliantly by Emrys ap Iwan. In our generation the crude approach reflected in the above quotations has given way to a subtler and more effective method of anglicising and assimilating the Welsh. The patriotism now inculcated is British not English. If Hussey Vivian were speaking today he would say, "Remember that you are all Britishers although you are Welshmen". But it is only the nomenclature which has changed, for, apart from geography and the state, all things British are in fact English. The British language is the English language, British culture is English culture, British law English law, British education English education, British television English television, the British press the English press, the British Crown the English Crown, the British Parliament the English Parliament, and so on indefinitely.

The British state is the great British fact. It came into existence early in the 18th century; it was in pre-British England that Wales was incorporated. Over the last five generations its power has grown mightily with calamitous results for Welsh nationhood, for the relationship that should exist between nation and state is absent. The state in a normal, healthy political situation is the political clothing of the national community. Its function is to serve the nation, which should be stronger and healthier in every way in consequence of its activities, as, indeed, England is. So it is in Ireland now that there is an Irish state; and so it is in the five Scandinavian countries, Norway and Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden, which are in the same size bracket as Wales. Their society and economy, their languages and cultures are all incomparably stronger than they were generations ago.