



CYHOEDDWYD GAN MELIN DRAFOD © 2022
melindrafod.cymru

CEDWIR POB HAWL.

DYLUNIO: RHYS LLWYD

ARGRAFFWYD YNG NGHYMRU
GAN GWASG SEROL, CASTELL NEDD

PUBLISHED BY MELIN DRAFOD © 2022
melindrafod.cymru

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

DESIGN: RHYS LLWYD

PRINTED IN WALES
BY SEROL PRINT, NEATH



R H A G A I R – P R E F A C E

Mae newid ar droed yn yr ynysoedd hyn – gwêl pawb hynny. Mae'r ddadl a'r galw am annibyniaeth i'n cenedl yn poethi.

Yn y llyfr yma, ceir amrywiaeth o feddyliau a dyheadau personol ymgyrchwr a sylwebwyr ar gyfer Cymru annibynnol.

Pan ddechreuwyd trafodaethau am sefydlu'r hyn a enwir 'Melin Drafod', un o'r prif amcanion oedd inni fel pobl ddechrau mynd i'r afael o ddifri a'r cwestiynau o amgylch annibyniaeth.

I ni, mae annibyniaeth yn ganlyniad anochel diwedd prosiect ymerodraethol Prydain – ymdrech gwbl anghyflawn a ecsbloitiol.

Ni ellir gwadu rhan Cymru yn y prosiect hwnnw a'r erchyllterau a gyflawnwyd yn ei henw. Wrth inni lunio'r Gymru rydd newydd, felly mae cyfrifoldeb moesol arnom ddysgu o wersi ein gorffennol ac o brofiad gwledydd eraill.

Change is afoot in these islands – everyone sees that. The debate about, and demand for, independence for our nation is heating up.

This book contains a variety of personal thoughts and aspirations from activists and commentators on an independent Wales.

When discussions began about establishing what is now called 'Melin Drafod', one of the main aims was for people to really get to grips with the questions surrounding independence.

For us, independence is an inevitable consequence of the end of Britain's imperial project – a completely unjust and exploitative endeavour.

Wales' part in that project and the evils committed in its name cannot be denied. So, as we forge a new free Wales, we have a moral duty to learn from the lessons of our past and the



Mae newid cyfansoddiadol yn gofyn inni fel dinasyddion wneud penderfyniadau am y math o gymdeithas rydym yn dymuno byw ynnddi.

Wedi'r cwbl, bydd Cymru yn ennill ei hannibyniaeth yn adlewyrchiad o'r dyhead i weld ffordd wahanol iawn o fyw o'r hyn a yrrir gan gonsensws rhyfelgar, hyper-gyfalafol a hegemoniaidd y Sefydliad Prydeinig. Bydd annibyniaeth yn llechen lân.

Fel melin drafod, nid ydym yn cuddio'r ffaith ein bod am weld y dewisiadau hynny yn rhai blaengar ac yn dilyn yr amryw draddodiadau chwith-radical sydd â gwreiddiau hir yn ein cymunedau ledled y wlad.

Y brif neges yr hoffem ni i bobl gymryd o'r llyfr hwn yw dechrau dychmygu: dychmygur hyn y gallwn ni fod. Nawr yw'r amser inni drin a thrafod yr hyn sy'n bosib yn rhydd o hen strwythurau San Steffan, yn rhydd yn y Gymru newydd.

Hoffem ddiolch i'r holl gyfranwyr am eu haelioni wrth lunior ethylglau sy'n dilyn, yn ogystal â Gwasg Serol am eu cefnogaeth, Rhys Llwyd am y gwaith dylunio a chysodi ac aelodau eraill pwylgor Melin Drafod am eu cymorth wrth ddod â phopheth ynghyd.

Gadewch i'r trafod ddwysau.

Talat Chaudhri
Cadeirydd, Melin Drafod
melindrafod.cymru

experience of other countries.

Such constitutional change demands that we as citizens make decisions about the type of society in which we wish to live.

After all, Wales gaining its independence will be a reflection of a desire to see a very different way of life from the UK Establishment's hegemonic, hyper-capitalistic, militaristic consensus. Independence will be a clean break.

As a think tank, we do not hide our wish that those choices are progressive, rooted in the left-radical traditions in our communities across the country.

The main message we would like people to take from this book is to start imagining: imagining what we can become. Now is the time for us to discuss what is possible free from Westminster's old structures, free in the new Wales.

We would like to thank all the generous contributions of those who wrote the articles which follow, as well as Gwasg Serol for their support, Rhys Llwyd for the design work and to the other Melin Drafod committee members for their help in bringing everything together.

May the debate intensify.

Talat Chaudhri
Chair, Melin Drafod
melindrafod.cymru



C Y N N W Y S - C O N T E N T

DAFYDD IWAN Y GYMRU NEWYDD	7
MERCY SHIBEMBA WHAT IF THE FUTURE OF WALES COULD BE SHAPED BY THE FUTURE OF WALES?	11
LLYWELYN AP GWILYM YR ECONOMI	13
EDDIE BUTLER THE WALL	17
LEANNE WOOD GWIR ANNIBYNAETH, REAL INDEPENDENCE	21
SAM COATES GLOBAL CLIMATE BREAKDOWN	25
TESSA MARSHALL Y PATRWM	29
CATRIN ASHTON CYFLOGAU AM WAITH DOMESTIG	33
MIKE PARKER MEDIUM, RARE	37
MIRAIN OWEN Y LLE GORAU I DYFULAN	47
AM Y FELIN DRAFOD ABOUT MELIN DRAFOD	50



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





Yn ôl ynghanol chwedegau'r ganrif ddiwethaf, gofynnwyd imi ysgrifennu pwt o erthygl ar yr heriau oedd yn wynebu Cymru. Dewisais ganolbwytio ar yr her o gymhathu'r traddodiad amatur, neu wifoddol, sydd mor gryf yn y diwylliant Cymraeg (a Chymreig i raddau llai) gyda'r angen i ddathlygu'r ochr broffesiynol i'n diwylliant. Mae'n debyg fy mod wedi mynd ar y trywydd hwnnw yn rhannol oherwydd fy mhoefiad fel canwr, ond dwi'n dal i gredu fod rhywbeth yn y pwnc sy'n berthnasol iawn wrth ystyried pa fath o Gymru annibynnol y carwn ei gweld.

Efallai nad ydym yn llawn werthfawrogi'r ffaith fod y traddodiad gwirfoddol mor gryf yn ein ffordd ni o fyw fel Cymry Cymraeg. Yn wir, gwn am sawl "prosiect" gymunedol oedd yn chwilio am arian cyhoeddus a gafodd drafferth gyda'r cwestiwn "faint o wifoddolwyr fydd yn cyfrannu at y prosiect", cyn sylweddoli mai gwirfoddolwyr oedd bron pawb oedd yn ymwneud âr holl beth. Gwn hefyd am arolwg a wnaed o weithgaredd cymunedol gwirfoddol mewn ardal Gymraeg oedd yn anwybyddu talp mawr or bywyd Cymraeg am nad oedd fawr neb wedi sylweddoli mai "gwirfoddolwyr" oedd yn rhedeg y capeli, y Clwb Ffermwyr Ifanc, adrannau'r Urdd, Merched y Wawr, yr eisteddfod leol, "y Gymdeithas Lenyddol" a sawl corff arall. Mae'r pethau hyn yn gymaint rhan o'n gwead cymdeithasol fel nad ydym yn eu hystyried fel gweithgaredd "gwirfoddol", ond dyna ydyn nhw. Ac y mae'n draddodiad y dylem wneud yn fawr onoho.

Ond ar yr un pryd, mae angen datblygu'r ochr "broffesiynol" yn ein diwylliant hefyd. Cyn mynd ymhellach, dylwn bwysleisio nad wyf yn defnyddio'r termau "proffesiynol" ac "amatur" i olygu "gwell" a "salach", ond fel termau technegol sy'n golygu bod rhywun "proffesiynol" yn cael ei dalu am ei waith, a rhywun "amatur" yn ei wneud

Y G Y M R U N E W Y D D **D A F Y D D** I W A N



yn wirfoddol, heb ddisgwyl tâl. Ac y mae gennym ddigon o enghreifftiau yn ein traddodiad diwylliannol Cymraeg lle mae gweithgaredd amatur yn cyraedd safon uchel iawn – edrychwn ar ein traddodiad corau meibion a bandiau pres er enghraifft. Ac y mae llawer canwr sydd wedi cyraedd uchelfannau'r byd canu proffesiynol yn barod iawn i dalu teyrnedd i'r traddodiad eisteddfodol lleol fel lle y gosodwyd y seiliau i'w gyrrfa.

Ond pam sôn am hyn wrth drafod pa fath o Gymru annibynnol y carwn ei gweld yn y dyfodol? Wel, yn symwl am fod gennym gryfderau yn ein traddodiadau fel Cymry y mae angen i'w cadw a'u datblygu wrth inni gynllunio'r Gymru Newydd. Ac un o'r cryfderau hynny yw grym y gymuned leol, a'i photensial i greu ac i gynnal diwylliant ac economi gref a chynaliadwy. Mae'r hyn sy'n digwydd yn prynu tafarnau cymunedol ar hyn o bryd yn enghraifft odidog o'r hyn sydd gennyf dan sylw. A chofier fod hyn yn digwydd heb fawr ddim cymorth na chynllunio strategol ar ran Llywodraeth ganolog na lleol. Ond mae arwyddion bod yr awdurdodau yng Nghymru yn dechrau sylweddoli bod yn rhaid iddyn nhw gefnogi'r math yma o ddatblygiadau, a hynny gyda strategaeth fwriadus ac arian digonal y tu cefn iddo.

Efallai fod yr hyn a ddwedais hyd yn hyn yn rhoi'r argraff fy mod yn sôn am gynlluniau "meddal", ac am weithgarwch cymdeithasol sy'n gwneud fawr ddim i greu swyddi. Ond

dim o'r fath beth: mae'n hen bryd inni sylweddoli nad rhywbeth pell, estron ac oeraidd yw'r "economi", ond mai pobl a'u bywydau a'u bywoliaeth yw'r economi go iawn, ac mai'r gymuned dylai fod yn ei gyrru a'i chynnal, a hynny er lles pobl yn eu cynefin.

Rai blynnyddoedd yn ôl, roedd Llywodraeth Cymru yn gwthio'r syniad o "gynllunio gofodol", ond doedd neb yn holol siŵr beth ydoedd, a phan adawodd Sue Essex y Llywodraeth diflannodd y cyfan. Roeddwn yn gryf iawn dros hyn, gan ein bod wedi cael ein dal yn ôl yn rhy hir gan y syniad Seisnig o gynllunio fel mater o dynnu llinellau ar fap a rheoli defnydd tir. Ond mae cynllunio gofodol yn dechrau gyda chymdeithas o bobl, ac yn ystyried pob agwedd o fywyd wrth greu cynlluniau: diwydiant, estheteg, cynaliadwyedd a byd natur, diwylliant ac Iaith. O dan y Cynllun Gofodol, roedd Cymru yn cael ei rhannu yn ardaloedd "teithio i waith", a phob un o'r ardaloedd hynny i gynnwys Canolfan/nau trefol a mannau gwledig, fel na fyddai unrhyw gartref yn rhy bell o gyfleusterau trefol, ond gyda digon o gymhelliaid i bobl gartrefu mewn amgylchedd gwledig.

Yn ganolog i'r weledigaeth hon mae'r angen i ddatganoli yng ngwir ystyr y gair. Osgoi gor-ddatblygu'r De-Ddwyrain, gyda'r holl broblemau sy'n codi o or-ganoli yn ardal Caerdydd a Chasnewydd. Mae angen symud canolfannau Llywodraeth a bywyd sifil i bob cwr o Gymru, a chreu amgylchedd deniadol i bobl ifanc a



hŷn i fyw. Gyda'r angen i ddatganoli, mae angen creu canolfannau amlbwrrpas mewn pentrefi i sicrhau bod gwasanaethau o fewn cyrraedd i bawb. Bydd yn amhosib i bob gwasanaeth fod ar gael drwy'r amser, ond dylai'r canolfannau amlbwrrpas hyn fod yno ar gyfer gwasanaethau symudol, boed meddygol neu heddlu neu lyfrgell.

Ond wedi sôn am rai o'r darpariaethau "caled" sydd eu hangen, mae angen wrth gwrs inni feddwl sut gymdeithas rydym ni am ei chreu i fyw yn y llefydd hyn. Cymdeithas sy'n gweld pawb fel pobl gyfartal, a chymdeithas sy'n derbyn pawb yn ddiwahâan, ac yn gwerthfawrogi amrywiaeth wrth barchu'r pethau sy'n arbennig inni fel Cymry, gyda chanolfannau trochi Iaith ar gyfer teuluoedd y mewnfudwyr. Mae cwestiwn hollbresennol ein tai a'n cartrefi hefyd yn graidd i hyn, a gan ein bod yn byw mewn ardaloedd mor ddeniadol, rhaid cael rheolaeth ar y farchnad dai i amddiffyn hawl ein pobl ifanc i fyw yn eu cynefin. Ac un arf, rwy'n credu, sy'n dod yn fwywfwy angenrheidiol yw bod angen trwydded i osod tŷ fel tŷ gwyliau, ac na ddylai neb gael trwydded i osod mwy nag un tŷ gwyliau heb iddyn nhw ddarparu cartref ar rent hefyd i deulu lleol. A'r Awdurdod Lleol ddylai gael yr hawl i bennu'r galw lleol am dai, ac i roi cniatâd cynllunio yn unol â'r galw hwnnw yn unig.

Mae rheolaeth dros y farchnad dai, gyda blaenoriaeth i'r galw lleol, a datblygu'r potensial lleol am waith a

chyfleusterau atyniadol yn hanfodol wrth inni ddechrau ar y gwaith mawr o osod sylfeini'r Gymru Newydd annibynnol.

Ganwyd Dafydd ym Mrynaman yn un o bedwar mab i Weinidog gyda'r Annibynwyr. Roedd ei dad-cu, Fred Jones, yn un o sylfaenwyr Plaid Cymru. Wedi graddio mewn Pensaerniaeth, canolbwytiodd Dafydd ar ei waith gyda Chwmni Recordiau Sain, Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd, Cymdeithas yr Iaith a'i yrfa fel canwr/cyfansoddwr. Bu'n Gadeirydd Cymdeithas yr Iaith ac yn Llywydd Plaid Cymru. Daeth ei gan "Yma o Hyd" yn anthem i'r byd Pêl-droed a Rygbi yng Nghymru. Mae'n briod gyda 5 o blant, ac mae'n byw yn Rhos-bach ger Caernarfon.



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





W H A T
I F T H E
F U T U R E
O F W A L E S
C O U L D B E
S H A P E D
B Y T H E
F U T U R E
O F W A L E S ?
M E R C Y
S H I B E M B A

The future of what Wales could be is more exciting than ever. Most people, whether they're pro-Independence, 'Indy-curious' or doubtful about Independence, have some ideas about the Wales they want to see. Collectively, we are re-imagining what Wales could be.

What could the future of Wales look like if children and young people were key stakeholders in shaping it?

To be truly democratic, engagement in civic life should be open to all. Across the world, the participation of children and young people in civic leadership rests on the political will and structures there to enable them to do so. Wales has already made its commitment to children and young people clear in the *Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011*.

Recent years have highlighted how Wales is governed by Westminster-based British unionism, which has little understanding or regard for Wales. This is shown by events such as the recent decision to override legislation set by the Senedd or the negative impact of HS2 on Wales.

A recent YouGov poll showed that opposition to independence is at its lowest, with those more likely to support Welsh independence being 16-24. Engaging this group (which Wales is losing as part of the 'brain-drain') to imagine what Wales could and should be a priority. Most people want change, but how we get there and what it looks like is both a challenge and opportunity.

Research highlights the often binary perceptions we have about the



participation of children and young people in civic life. Either they're disengaged and disenfranchised or leading and creating change. The Welsh Youth Parliament is an example of the value young people can bring to politics. But it is also an example of the limitations of replicating systems that we should reimagine.

Reimagining the future of Wales with young people as key stakeholders requires us all to be aware of the influence and power our current frameworks keep away from them.

Additionally, being accountable to the future should ensure that we support children and young people to define what that is. The *Well-being of Future Generations Act (2015)* shows that Wales is already leading the way in investing in the people of tomorrow.

By taking an intergenerational approach and supporting children and young people to create, challenge and inspire us all, Wales will be better off. They're already building a better future for Wales by preserving our planet, tackling loneliness or bringing our cities to life. It is important that we don't just value them for who they may become, but instead, who they are now, and what they dream for today.

What if we supported our children and young people of today to be key stakeholders in building the independent Wales of tomorrow?

Mercy Shibemba is an award-winning activist who uses her story of growing up with HIV to educate, challenge and inspire. Mercy works on youth engagement and participation across paediatric clinical trials and research. In addition, she is co-leading the development of the £10million 'We Move Fund', enabling Black children and young people to reach their full potential. Mercy is passionate about ensuring that the voices of young people are centred in decisions and processes that impact their lives. As a speaker and consultant, she regularly works with organisations that want to embed community-led practice and capacity building within their work. She is a health journalist, passionate about sharing key scientific developments with communities who are directly affected. Mercy is also a Non-Executive Director at The Social Innovation Partnership: their mission is to improve people's quality of life and make society fairer.



Y R ECONOMI LLYWELYN AP GWILYM

Beth yw'r economi, a phwy y mae én ei wasanaethu?

Gofynnais y cwestiwn yn 2020 yn niweddglo i'm llyfr, Llyfr Du Cymru Fydd. Awgrymais fod y ffordd gonfensiynol o feddwl yn cael pethau tuag yn ôl. Mae "yr economi" fel arfer yn cael ei amlygu fel peth ynddö'i hun, gyda pholisiau gwleidyddol wedi'u cynllunio a'u dewis oherwydd eu heffaith ar dyfu'r economi, Cyfrifir gwerth pobl gan amlaf ar eu cyfraniad at dwf economaidd.

Credaf, foddy bynnag, na ddylai pobl fod yno i wasanaethu'r economi: dylai "yr economi", beth bynnag yw hynny, fod yno i wasanaethu'r bobl. Dylai gweithgareddau economaidd gael eu trefnu i gefnogi polisiau sydd o fudd sylweddol i'r nifer mwyaf posibl o bobl, nid yr un y cant, sydd i bob pwrrpas yn gyfystyr â syniad "yr economi".

Daw hyn â ni at graidd y mater: y rheswm am alw am annibyniaeth. Annibyniaeth yw'r llwybr i wella bywydau'r bobl sy'n byw yma. Ni fydd yn gwneud hynny'n awtomatig, ond bydd yn rhoi'r gallu i bobl yng Nghymru, neu eu cynrychiolwyr etholedig, i wella pethau mewn ffyrdd sy'n amhosibl fel y mae. Bydd yn rhoi'r gallu i Gymru dros yr offer cymdeithasol, gwleidyddol ac economaidd sydd eu hangen i wneud gwahaniaeth. Bydd yn galluogi gweithredu polisiau sy'n gwella bywydau pobl o ddydd i ddydd.

Mae angen i bethau wella. Er ei bod yn rhan o un o'r economiau cyfoethocaf yn y byd, mae gan Gymru rai o'r cymunedau tlotaf yng ngogledd Ewrop. Mae chwarter y bobl yn byw mewn tloidi



cymharol. Mewn rhai ardaloedd, mae hanner yr holl blant yn byw mewn tlodi. Mae dibyniaeth ar fanciau bwyd yn cynyddu, gan nad yw bod mewn gwaith bellach yn ddigon i warantur pethau sylfaenol, heb sôn am fywyd da. Golyga chwyddiant rhemp a biliau ynni cynyddol fel mae mwyfwy o bobl yn gorfod dewis rhwng gwresogi eu tai a bwyta.

Ond yn y cyfnod hwn o argyfyngau cyson, does ond angen inni edrych yn ôl ar yr argyfwng penodol a ddechreuodd yn 2020, a ddaeth yn sgil pandemig COVID-19, i weld beth y gellir ei wneud pan fydd gan wlad reolaeth lawn ar bob offeryn economaidd. Yn gynnar yn 2020, aeth y Deyrnas Unedig, yn dilyn rhannau eraill o'r byd, i mewn i gyfnod clo, gyda chyfngiadau llym ar ryddid symud. Er gallai rhai pobl weithio o gartref, ni allai rhai eraill, ac roedd pryderon gwirioneddol ynghylch cynyddu diweithdra a'i sgil-effeithiau.

Mewn ymateb, cyflwynodd llywodraeth y DU gynllun ffyrlo lle gallai cyflogwyr ofyn i Gyllid y Wlad am grant i dalu am 80% o gyflog gweithwyr nad oeddent yn gallu gweithio, ond a oedd yn cael eu cadw ar y gyflogres. Gadawodd hyn i gwmniau osgoi diswyddiadau torfol, ac amddiffyn eu sefyllfaeodd ariannol yn ddigon hir i oresgynt y cyfngiadau llymaf. Y pwynt allweddol, fodd bynnag, yw na wnaeth llywodraeth y DU "dod o hyd" i'r arian i dalu am ffyrlo; ni chymerodd arian o gynlluniau eraill nac o adrannau eraill.

Yn lle hynny, creodd Banc Lloegr yr arian ychwanegol oedd ei angen. Oherwydd bod gan Lywodraeth y DU sofraniaeth ariannol, mae ganddi ei harian cyfred ei hun. Oherwydd bod yr ewyllys gwleidyddol i wneud hynny, roedd Llywodraeth y DU yn gallu gwneud y dewis i gefnogi millynau o bobl a fyddai fel arall wedi colli eu swyddi, neu'n waeth.

Ac nid oes angen inni ond edrych ar yr argyfwng mwyaf diweddar, goresgyniad Rwsia ar Wcráin, fel enghraifft arall. Addawyd biliyna'u o bunnoedd i gefnogi'r ymdrech ryfel, ac ni ofynnwyd unrhyw gwestiynau ynghylch o ble y daw'r arian (yn wahanol i, er enghraifft, arian ar gyfer prydau ysgol am ddim yn Lloegr, neu i gadw'r cynnydd yn y Credyd Cynhwysol). Beth bynnag yw eich barn ar gefnogaeth filwrol i Wcráin, mae un ffaith yn anochel: **mae bob amser arian ar gyfer rhyfel.** Ni chwestiynir unrhyw gynnydd mewn gwariant "amddiffyn", yn lle hynny, un ai dod o hyd i'r arian, lleihau'r arian ar gyfer meysydd polisi mwy hynaws, neu "creu" yr arian yw'r nod.

Fel y mae'r enghraifft o ffyrlo'n ei ddangos mor glir, pan fydd gan lywodraeth yr ewyllys gwleidyddol ac, yn hollbwysig, y grym dros bob offeryn economaidd, gall wneud pethau anhygoel i gefnogi'r bobl sydd wedi'i hethol hi i'w cynrychioli. Mae sofraniaeth ariannol yn allweddol i hyn.



Rhaid i Gymru'r dyfodol gael ei harian cyfred ei hun. Ni chyfyngir ar gyllideb gwlad sydd â sofrafiaeth ariannol yn yr un ffordd â chyllideb a ddosrennir, gan na all byth redeg allan o arian; nid oes rhaid iddo fantoli ei gyllideb oherwydd gall bob amser greu mwy o arian. Mewn gwirionedd, mae holl wariant y llywodraeth yn dod o arian y mae'n ei greu.

Nid diben trethiant, felly, yw ariannu gwariant y llywodraeth, ond yn hytrach tynnu pŵer prynu oddi ar bobl er mwyn lleihau pwysau chwyddiant, ac ar adegau, i newid dosbarthiad cyfoeth ac incwm. Nid oes cinio am ddim, wrth gwrs, ac er nad yw gwlad wedi'i chyfyngu'n ariannol ar yr hyn y gall ei wario, mae terfynau go iawn o ran pwysau chwyddiant ac adnoddau yn yr economi go iawn. Ond chwyddiant, nid cyllideb fantoledig, yw'r cyfyngiad.

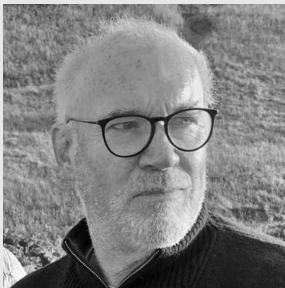
Felly, sut olwg fyddai ar economi Cymru annibynnol? A fyddai ganddi drethi uchel a flaengar? A fyddai'n trethu cyfoeth neu asedau anghynhyrchiol? A fyddai ganddi dreth gorfforaeth isel, gan rasio Iwerddon i'r gwaelod, mewn ymdrech i ddenu swyddi sgil-uchel sy'n talu'n uchel? Os, fel y dadleuais, bydd gan Gymru ei harian cyfred ei hun, yna fel y dywedais ar ddechrau'r erthygl hon, bydd economi Cymru yn edrych fel beth bynnag a ddewiswn, oherwydd bydd economi Cymru'nadlewyrchu'r math o gymdeithas y dymunwn iddi hi fod.

Daw Llywelyn ap Gwilym o Gaerdydd yn wreiddiol o gefndir mewn gwasanaethau ariannol. Mae'n ymgyrchydd, awdur ac yn sylfaenydd y grŵp ymbarél AUOCymru.



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





THE WALL EDDIE BUTLER

The Wall looms large in places. It was supposed to stretch from top to bottom of the border, high, spiked, menacing and unbreachable, but it was only ever a one-sided project, despite the boast of the Prime Minister that “the Welsh of course will pay for it”. It was commissioned by his Westminster government and funded by them (or at least through a party donor) and it came as no surprise when the monies dried up pretty quickly. That was even before Welsh miners began to dig the tunnels that passed under all the signs that said: “Welcome to England. You Are Obliged to Stop at the Customs and Declarations Stations”.

Because the first tunnellers came from the top of the South Wales valleys, the barrier under which they worked now bears their home village’s name: the Great Wall of Blaina (“GWB”). The odd cow in Shropshire or Herefordshire still steps on a mine and splatters the grey concrete of the GWB with raw prime beef, while on the Welsh side sheep graze right up to the base of the wall and sometimes rub themselves against the murals that decorate it. No Welsh lamb has ever exploded. For the English, the Wall is a splash mat; for the Welsh it is a canvas.

In the period after Independence, known as the Days of Truth (Unpicking the Lies We Have Been Told), it was explained that being part of the European Union “EU” was of much more benefit than being chained to the union of the United Kingdom. The application by Scotland and Wales to be reinstated in the EU was processed in record time, prompting Westminster to react with



equal haste to pass the Wall Bill and start the project to keep England physically separate. The first blocks on Hadrian's Wall II and the GWoB were laid by Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner respectively and everything went well for a couple of months until all work stopped and the smuggling began.

European goods and workers went however through the tunnels only for a short time. Now, they go unchecked through the holes in the GWoB and everybody on both sides seems secretly relieved. 'Brexit is Done', Westminster ministers still declare at their photo opportunities in front of finished sections of the GWoB, while only metres away (yards in English), articulated lorries bearing the registration plates of all the member states of Europe pour through the gaps.

These gaps also allow the tourists back into Wales. For a few weeks after the Senedd announced that Welsh would be the language of primary-school education, the second-home owners clogged the roads in their rush to flee Wales, but it was soon noticeable that the children who remained and attended school seemed totally unaffected by the shift in language. If anything, they were singing better than ever.

The second-homers returned to find the local taxes on their properties had multiplied eight-fold. When they complained, either to the county authorities or to the Senedd

in Cardiff, they were told that they should please feel free to sell their property in Wales at any time. They were thanked for stimulating the Welsh property market and informed that they would qualify for a voucher for a free weekend (off-peak) in a hotel or self-catering cottage of their choice. More than a few reflected on their choices and opted to sell up their primary home in England and settle full-time in Wales. A small area of Meirionnydd became known as Provence Newydd and dinner parties there were filled with the chatter of the new class. "Us, migrants ... who'd ever have thought?"

One hole in the GWoB was deliberately planned – where the pipe from the Elan Valley reservoirs crossed the border on its way to Birmingham. It remained a hole in the wall, never finished by the plumbers. Instead, Elan water is piped to Milford Haven, from where it is exported to desert kingdoms, prepared to build it into the new deal on liquified petroleum gas for Wales. LPG in, H₂O out. There is resistance to the ongoing use of fossil fuels, but it is a deal that for the moment works better than simply seeing Welsh water disappear for no return.

Besides, now that Wales has wrestled control of the commercial exploitation of the coastline and seabed from the Crown, there is a real prospect of making clean energy from the wind, sun and waves. In the meantime, LPG for water will fill the gap.



IMAGINING AN INDEPENDENT WALES

You may be aware that none of the above has happened. But we should never stop building our dreams. One step at a time. One brick after another in the building of an independent nation. Something else to paint on the Welsh side of the GWoB.

Eddie Butler is a renowned writer, broadcaster and sports commentator. He won 16 caps at number eight for the national rugby union team and scored two tries, captaining them on six occasions.





D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





Ni ddylai fod yn ddadleuol: y rhai gorau i wneud penderfyniadau ydy'r rhai sydd yn cael eu heffeithio'n uniongyrchol gan y penderfyniadau hynny.

Oni bai eich bod yn ystyried meinciau a neuaddau breintiedig San Steffan a Whitehall fel eich cynefin wrth gwrs.

Wyneba pobl yng Nghymru nifer o problemau a heriau na ellir eu datrys gan ein Senedd oherwydd ei phwerau cyfyngedig. Ni ellir eu datrys ychwaith gan San Steffan lle na all Cymru fyth bod yn flaenoriaeth.

The best decision makers are those who are directly affected by those decisions: that should not be controversial.

Except, that is, if Westminster and Whitehall's benches and halls of privilege are your natural home.

People in Wales face a number of problems and challenges that cannot be solved by our current power-limited Senedd. Nor can they be resolved by Westminster where Wales is never a priority.

GWIR ANNIBYNIAETH REAL INDEPENDENCE **LEANNE WOOD**



Heb os, mae dod yn wlad annibynnol yn mynd i rymuso pobl Cymru. Ond tu hwnt i'r pennawd, mae'n bryd i ni fel cenedl ystyried beth fydd ei ystyr mewn gwirionedd.

Unwaith eto, roedd meddwl Raymond Williams ymhell o flaen ei amser gyda'i gysyniad o 'wir annibyniaeth'. Mae'n agwedd sy'n mynd lawer pellach na threfniadau cyfansoddiadol cenedlaethol yn unig. Galwad am ryddid sy'n nodweddu eangfrydedd a'r hyder sydd gan bobl pan rymusir hwy yn wleidyddol ac yn economaidd i benderfynu ar gyfeiriad eu bywydau eu hunain.

Wedi cyfnod llawer rhy hir o wladwriaeth un blaidd, mae'n bryd rhoi cyfle i weledigaeth am gydraddoldeb daearyddol ac economaidd a grymuso cymunedol. Bydd y sosialaeth ddatganoledig honno, wedi'i harwain gan y gymuned, yn newid llwyr o'r consensws neo-ryddfrydol ar lefel y Deyrnas Gyfunol.

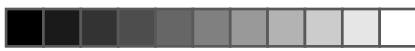
Fel mudiad cenedlaethol, nid y nod yw dod â rhagor o bwerau i Gaerdydd. Os canolbwytir weithgaredd economaidd a buddsoddiad cyhoeddus o amgylch traffordd yr M4 yn ne ddwyrain Cymru, byddwn yn efelychu'r wladwriaeth Brydeinig ar raddfa lai, ac yn esgeuluso cymunedau yn ac o amgylch y brifddinas hefyd.

There is no question that becoming an independent country will empower the people of Wales. But beyond the headline, it's time for us to examine what it will really mean.

As ever, Raymond Williams' thinking – introducing his concept of 'real independence' – was far ahead of his time. It's approach that goes much further than just national constitutional arrangements. A call for a freedom characterised by a broad-mindedness and confidence that people have when they have been politically and economically empowered to decide the direction of their own lives.

After too much time as a one-party state, it's time to give geographical and economic equality and community empowerment a chance. That community-led, devolved socialism will be a clear break neo-liberal approach at the United Kingdom level.

As a national movement, our aim is not to bring more powers to Cardiff. If economic activity and public investment continue to focus on the area around the M4 corridor in south east of Wales, we will be emulating the British state on a smaller scale, while neglecting communities in and around the capital as well.



Mae gennym y cyfle gael gwleidyddiaeth wahanol, gan sicrhau fod polisiau yn gweddus anghenion ein cymunedau.

Yr hyn sydd ei angen yw annog pobl i ymgysylltu yn y broses o feddwl am sut y gallwn ddatrys ein problemau gyda'n gilydd ac i ysbrydoli pobl i gymryd rhan mewn mentrau lleol sy'n adeiladu gwytnwch eu cymunedau.

Yr hyn sydd ei angen yw rhaglen sy'n cyflwyno set o werthoedd ac egwyddorion a syniadau polisi i rymuso a rhoi terfyn ar ein dibyniaeth economaidd.

Mae'r broses ar waith yn barod: wrth i ymgyrchwyr lwyddo argyhoeddi mwy a mwy o bobl i gytuno gyda'r egwyddor y dylai penderfyniadau sydd yn effeithio ar Gymru gael eu gwneud yng Nghymru.

Mae gwir annibyniaeth Raymond o fewn ein cyrraedd, a'r ddadl ddwys am y cynllun i'n cael i ben y daith ar y gweill.

Mae Leanne Wood wedi dal sawl rôl mewn bywyd gwleidyddol gan gynnwys cynghorydd lleol, AS dros y Rhondda ac arweinydd Plaid Cymru. Hi oedd y fenyw gyntaf i gynrychioli'r Rhondda a'r fenyw gyntaf i arwain Plaid Cymru. Gellir darllen mwy am weledigaeth Leanne ar gyfer annibyniaeth drwy fynd i: <https://www.plaid.cymru/newidchange>

We will have the opportunity to do our politics differently, ensuring that policies suit the needs of our communities.

What is needed is to encourage people to engage in the process of thinking about how we can solve our problems together and to inspire people to take part in local initiatives that build the resilience of their communities.

What is needed is a program that presents a set of values and principles and policy ideas to empower and end our economic dependency.

This process has already started: as activists succeed in convincing more and more people to agree with the principle that decisions that affect Wales should be made in Wales.

Raymond's real independence is in touching distance, and the intense debate about the plan to get us there is underway.

Leanne Wood has held many roles in political life including local councillor, MS for the Rhondda and leader of Plaid Cymru. She was the first woman to represent the Rhondda and the first woman to lead Plaid Cymru. You can read more about Leanne's vision for independence by visiting: <https://www.plaid.cymru/newidchange>



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





GLOBAL CLIMATE BREAKDOWN **SAM COATES**

Wales' efforts to preserve our environment and do our bit to tackle global climate breakdown lay bare the limits of devolution perhaps better than any other policy area. The cross-cutting nature of the challenge – from energy to transport, planning and even education – means that many of the powers to take effective action still rest with Westminster, showing up the growing pretence that Cardiff Bay is a mini-state in its own right.

The Welsh Government openly admits this in its climate policy:

"We have a much clearer understanding now than we did in 2019 about the extent to which the UK Government must act to enable our net-zero pathway...by 2050, around 60% of the changes needed in Wales were influenced by powers mostly reserved to Westminster. In this Plan, we call on the UK Government to take the action which is needed to unlock a green future in Wales".

Every section of the Welsh climate plan includes its 'asks to the UK government'.

We need a wholesale transformation of the way we generate and use energy, travel around the country, provide our food, heat our homes and fuel our remaining heavy industry. To achieve this change in a way that brings everyone with us and in fact, improves the lives of working class people, the scale of investment leaves the state as the only viable actor.



The level of transformation required is far beyond anything the Welsh government has attempted, and has regularly failed in much smaller challenges. And unlike Covid, the changes we need are permanent as well as all-reaching. In fact, a green transformation is easily as complex as the hardest thing the British state has ever done: fight a total war while providing for the basic provision of the whole population.

Even if it had the financial powers to act, it is easy to see that devolution does not have the capacity to deliver it. Basic environmental monitoring and regulation in Wales shows us how little devolution can achieve when nested within a state that has been cut to the bone.

Our government refused to block 40 million tonnes of coal being extracted in Aberpergwm, despite having the authority. While the rest of Europe has been removing cars from city centres for decades, Cardiff Council welcomed cars back onto Castle Street citing evidence of pollution they refuse to publish. Abandoned coal tips remain unsafe, leaving Valleys' communities in fear. We are a nation that knocked down the most polluted street in the country instead of removing the pollution.

In Cardiff, a park has been closed for at least 6 months after discovering the former landfill was leaking toxic waste into the river Ely; and staff responsible for maintaining the filter system were unaware of what the

equipment was for. The much-lauded Future Generations Act has proven to help only to buttress decision politicians already want to make: Drakeford rightly using it to cancel the M4 relief road, yet campaigners have found it toothless in preventing environmental destruction when decision makers want a project to happen.

If we want to keep to the Paris Agreement, global emissions need to halve in 8 years. Emissions in developed countries need to fall by up to 90%, but our national targets will not achieve this until 2050. The climate agenda is clearly important to the Welsh Government's self-image; but behind eye-catching headlines about re-nationalising transport, Wales remains on a track to be a nation of cold, leaky homes, car-dependent communities, importing most of its food and creating too much waste.

But even if the Welsh Government's ambitions are woefully inadequate, we can use those as the seeds of a truly just climate transition in an independent Wales.

The British state is joined at the hip with the fossil fuel industry. When Norway discovered oil, the profits of the state-owned industry went into the nation's pension fund. Thatcher gave huge tax breaks to BP, Shell and other multinationals. Today, the Tories would rather force half the population into poverty than cap the profits of oil and gas companies. Rishi



Sunak's answer to the war in Ukraine is to grant new licences to drill, not an injection of money for wind, wave and solar power.

Westminster's climate policies add up to climate denial in all but name. With the extreme wing of the Tories trying to turn net zero into a culture war, it is clear that we can't look to London for climate action.

For all our weaknesses in Wales, we do not have a political class embedded in the social circles of fossil fuel executives. Their lobbyists have not found the need to get to know our ministers. We can build a progressive, just consensus with this happy advantage.

But we face longer term crises past the immediate 2030 emissions goals: biodiversity collapse, soil fertility, global water supplies, microplastic pollution and other contaminants.

Saving the planet requires a real break with capitalism. With political opportunities coming out of independence and the unsettling of oligarchic interest, Wales could do more than even the more progressive small nations can, if the political groundwork is done to bring the public alongside on the same journey.

Sam Coates is a political activist campaigning for Welsh independence and tenants' rights.



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





Y PATRW M TESSA MARSHALL

Mae'n anodd osgoi anobaith wrth edrych i ddyfodol ansicr yr unfed ganrif ar hugain. Newid hinsawdd, tlodi, rhyfela, aifiechyd byd-eang, a symudiadau asgell dde yn tanseilio hawliau dynol sy'n achosi'r anobaith yma.

I fi, mae Cymru annibynnol yn gyfle i greu gobaith am fydd mwy cyfiawn a theg i'r bobl: gallwn ni ddinistrio grym cyfalafol a chreu gwlad gyfiawn.

Mae'r amser yma yn hanfodol, oherwydd yr argyfwng hinsawdd, argyfwng hawliau dynol, argyfwng tlodi, ac argyfwng mewn triniaeth feddygol, a lles a gofal cymdeithasol.

I greu annibyniaeth gadarnhaol, mae'n angenrheidiol gweithio gyda'n cymunedau i greu polisiau all leddfu a dod â'r argyfyngau i ben, gan feddwl sut allwn atal yr argyfwng rhag ailadrodd. Gall Cymru annibynnol greu dyfodol sydd wir yn well i bobl – ond mae angen iddi hi gael ei chreu gan y bob ac i'r bobl.

Yn 2022, mae gennym Senedd sydd ag egwyddorion democratiaeth ryddfrydol, ar wahân i ond ynglwm â llywodraeth bwerus yr Ymerodraeth Brydeinig adain dde. Arweinwyr ein llywodraeth yw blaid sy'n honni polisiau sosialaidd. Ond mae 1 o bob 3 plentyn yng Nghymru yn byw mewn tlodi. Mae 1 o bob 5 person yn aros am driniaeth ysbty, a gwyllyn y Gwasanaeth Iechyd Genedlaethol yn datgymalu. Gwelwn y diffyg atebolrwydd yn cael ei ymrwymo i'n cyfreithiau, gyda pholisiau rhyddfrydol sy'n edrych yn dda ar bapur ond sydd â chanlyniadau tymor hir amheus. Mae'r pŵer yn sicrhau mwyafri i un blaids yn y Senedd, a



gadael i'r Llywodraeth osgoi'r llysoedd amgylcheddol, a gweithio gyda chwmniâu preifat â moesau diddorol. Mae ardaloedd poblog o'n gwlad yn gweld risg effeithiau newid hinsawdd, ac mae trais ac anghyfiawnder strwythurol a phersonol yn effeithio ar ein cymunedau lleiafrifol ac ar ein dosbarth gweithiol.

Serch hyn, mae'r meddwl am Gymru annibynnol yn ddiddychymyg. Y canfyddiad yw y bydd Cymru yn dod yn genedl-wladwriaeth, ac eistedd wrth lywodraethau'r dwyrain. Ond mae'r weledigaeth o Gymru fel cenedl-wladwriaeth yn chwarae'n syth mewn i fagl a grëwyd gan ein cymydog gwpwl o ganrifoedd yn ôl. Byddai Gymru annibynnol yn eistedd o fewn system fyd-eang sy'n mynnu cyfalafiaeth ac imperialaeth. Ni all y system yma ddarparu'r newid sydd ei angen i ymladd yn ôl yn erbyn argyfyngau strwythurol.

Yr hen ddadl draddodiadol yng Nghymru yw mai gwraidd yr holl broblem yw San Steffan. Yn anffodus, mae'r problemau yn ddyfnach na dylanwad un blaid neu un lywodraeth.

Edrychwn i fudiadau annibyniaeth hanesyddol fyd-eang, a gwelwn yr un fath o batrwm.

Mae cymunedau yn profi tlodi, anghyfiawnder a gormes yn nwyo ymerodraeth dramor. Dros bob cyfandir, gwêl cymunedau brodorol trais, artaith, ormes, rhyfel, a hil-laddiad o dan ymerodwyr, sy'n defnyddio'r tir a llafur y bobl i

greu elw i wlad arall, yn aml trwy gaethwasiaeth. Mae'r gwahanol ymerodraethau yn adeiladu system fyd-eang gyfalafol, ymherodrol, er mwyn crynhoi'r elw a pŵer dros ganrifoedd. Maent yn cydweithio i greu cyfraith ryngwladol. Mae hyn yn atal mudiadau dosbarth gweithiol, atal mudiadau gwrth-gaethwasiaeth, ac yn chwalu mudiadau annibyniaeth - ac yn raddol, mae Cymru yn elwa o hyn.

Ar ôl canrifoedd o wrthsefyll, mae annibyniaeth yn dod. Er rhyfela, er cyfraith ryngwladol ymherodrol a phŵer yr ymerodraeth(au), mae'r bobl yn ennill. Mae dechrau newydd i'r bobl mewn gwladwriaeth genedlaethol. Ac mae'r dechrau newydd yn dod gyda sefydlu llywodraeth newydd. Mae bron i bob un o'r gwladwriaethau cenedlaethol yn ymuno â'r gymuned fyd-eang o wladwriaethau cenedlaethol a ddywedodd eu bod yn gyfartal â llywodraethau'r hen ymerodraethau. Mae ond un neu ddwy system ryngwladol allai rhoi pŵer, arian, a (thrwy hynny) diogelwch i'r llywodraethau newydd. Adeiladwyd y system wleidyddiaeth orllewinol drwy ecsbloetio, canoli pŵer ac elw yn y gorllewin, ac nid yw hyn yn newid.

Mae rhesymeg y system a adeiladwyd, sef cyfalafiaeth fyd-eang, yn golygu, i fwydor' plant, i greu swyddi, ac i dal arno pŵer, bod ar lywodraethau gwladwriaethau cenedlaethol angen gwerthu adnoddau naturiol a llafur y bobl.



Er ymdrechu dros annibyniaeth, mae'r llywodraethau newydd yn efelychu dealltwriaeth bod tlodi, anghyfiawnder a gormes yn allweddol i bŵer cyfalafol, ac yn allweddol iddynt aros mewn pŵer. Gwelai nifer y patrwm treisgar yma a cheisio'i atal, a chollodd nifer ohonynt hwy eu bywydau yn ceisio ymladd yn ôl.

Mae angen inni ddysgu o'r patrwm.

Er hanes byd-eang treisgar, mae i sŵwrs annibyniaeth angen sicrhau trafod sut byddwn yn edrych ar ôl y bobl sy'n dioddef heddiw, a sut gallwn wrthwynebu grym enfawr cyfalafiaeth, y system ryngwladol, a pŵer San Steffan er mwyn creu gwlad gyfawn.

Os ydym yn parhau i beidio trafod hyn, byddwn yn dilyn yr un patrwm.

Mae Tessa yn wirfoddolwr cymunedol 26 mlwydd oed, sydd wedi bod yn rhan o gymuned gweithredwyr lleol yng Nghaerdydd ers 10 mlynedd. Yn ddiweddar, mae Tessa wedi cefnogi mudiad Achub y Dolydd Gogleddol, arwain tîm clymbleidiol i ysgrifennu maniffesto'r ymgyrch Tir Cyffredin, a sefyll fel ymgeisydd etholiadau lleol 2022 yn ardal yr Eglwys Newydd a Thongwynlais.



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





C Y F L O G A U A M W A I T H D O M E S T I G **C A T R I N A S H T O N**

Wrth ystyried sut i ail-drefnu ein cymdeithas, yr hyn rwyf fwyaf argyhoedddegig yn ei gylch yw'r angen inni drefnu popeth er budd bywyd, a'r gofal a rown i'r bywyd hwnnw. Gofal er mwyn i bawb allu profi bywyd yn ei holl gymhlethdod a'i holl brydferthwch o seiliau cadarn, llawn cariad. Byddai angen inni fel cymdeithas dderbyn mai'r sail i bob un ohonom allu byw ein potensial a mynegi gorfoedd a hyfrydwch y bywyd hwn yw'r gofal a dderbyniwn gan y bobl a'r gymuned o'n cwmpas - a'r gofal a rown ninnau i eraill, ac i'n cymuned yn ein tro. Mae'r gofal hwn yn ymestyn, wrth gwrs, at ofal am ein tiroedd, ein dyfroedd, yr aer a anadlwn ac yn cynnwys gofalu am yr holl fathau o fywyd a'r rhywogaethau rydym yn cyd-fyw â hwy. Ond yn y darn hwn rwyf am ganolbwytio'n benodol ar bolisi a fabwysiadwyd yn ddiweddar gan y Blaid Gomiwnyddol - yn gyntaf yng Nghymru - ac yna drwy gydol Prydain, sef Cyflog i Rieni a Gofalwyr.

Mynnâ'r polisi bod unrhyw berson nad yw'n gweithio am ei bod adref yn gofalu am berson arall yn derbyn cyflog llawn, da am y gwaith hwn. Nid budd-daliadau ond cyflog mohono. Cyflog sy'n cydnabod rhywbeth hanfodol, sef pa mor werthfawr a pha mor angenrheidiol yw'r holl waith gofal sy'n cael ei wneud - yn aml am ddim, neu am y nesaf peth i ddim - gan bawb sydd yn ei wneud, ac sydd wedî'i wneud, gwaith gofal ar draws y byd. Oherwydd mewn cymdeithas lle mae angen cyflog i fyw, cyflog yw'r offeryn sydd gennym i fynnu ein hawliau gan mai dyna sy'n gydnabyddiaeth o'n rôl a'n llafur. Mae cydnabyddiaeth heb



y cyflog (er enghraifft drwy glapiro), mewn cymdeithas lle mae cyflog yn hanfodol i fedru goroesi a byw, yn wrthddywediad.

Dilyna'r galw am gyflog hanes rhynghwladol o alw am gyflog i famau. Yn y 1970au, bu ymgyrch ddwys gan y mudiad *Wages for Housework*, ond roedd eu gofynion hwythau yn ddilyniant o waith Mudiad Hawliau Sifil yr Unol Daleithiau. Roedd y mamau duon, a oedd bellach yn rhan o'r ymgyrch *Wages for Housework* – drwy'r grŵp *Black Women for Wages for Housework* – wedi brwydro am yr un syniadau gyda'u mamau hwythau yn y 1960au. Fel rhan o'u safiad yn erbyn hiliaeth sefydliadol, buont hefyd yn ymgyrchu dros yr egwyddor o fynnu budd-daliadau plant i bob mam. Diolch i rag-weledigaeth y Mudiad Hawliau Sifil, roedd cysnail, felly, i ofynion y 1970au ac mae'n gosod cysnail hefyd i'n gofynion ninnau heddiw.

Yn ei hysgrif '*Race, Sex and Class*' ysgrifenna Selma James, '*The least powerful in our society are our children, also unwaged in wage labour society*'. Mae'r plant hynny sy'n cael eu magu mewn teuluoedd tlawd, heb incwm digonol a mynediad i adnoddau yn y gymuned, yn fwy agored i niwed. Mae ymchwil a sawl arolwg yn dangos effeithiau gwanychol budd-daliadau. Mae cyfngiadau'r cynlluniau hyn yn ei gwneud hi bron yn amhosib i deuluoedd fodoli'n ddibryder ac i blant fedru ffynnu ar gyn lleied o arian (gw. '*The Impact of Benefit Changes*' yn y *Child and Family*

Poverty Survey Report, Gorffennaf 2020 gan y sefydliad Plant yng Nghymru). Fel dywedodd aelod o'r grŵp ymgyrchu Welfare Mothers yn yr Unol Daleithiau, *'If the government was smart it would start calling the Aid to Families with Dependent Children 'Day and Night Care', create a new agency, pay us a decent wage for the service work we are doing now and say that the welfare crisis has been solved, because welfare mothers have been put to work.'* [Sex Race and Class, Selma James 2012].

Er mwyn i famau o gefndiroedd mwy cyfforddus ddychwelyd i'r gwaith, mae cyfuniad o neiniau, gofalwyr plant a glanhawyr yn camu i'r adwy ac yn gwneud y gwaith gofal ar eu rhan, am ddim neu am y nesaf peth i ddim – ac ar y cyfan, menywod ydynt.

Oherwydd, er ei bod hi'n wir bod mwy o fenywod yn mynd allan i weithio heddiw, i fenywod o gefndiroedd llai breintiedig mae'r gwaith gofalu yn dueddol o fod yn estyniad o waith tŷ, a'r cyflog a geir amdano yn gyfwerth â statws y gwaith hwnnw. Pa fath o ffeminyddiaeth yw hyn? I'r sawl sydd heb arian, i'r sawl sydd yn dlawd, cyflog digonol yw'r hyn fyddai'n newid bywyd, yn dangos cydnabyddiaeth ohonynt. Ymateb adweithiol i'n sefyllfa yw gofyn am gydnabyddiaeth heb gyflog – neu hyd yn oed gofyn am gyflog cyfartal, neu fynediad cyfartal i waith heb, yn y lle cyntaf, sicrhau cyflog i rieni a gofalwyr sy'n aros gartref i ofalu am eu plant neu eu teuluoedd.



Mae'n anodd trafod gofal plant heb hefyd sôn am y gofal sydd ei angen arnom ar ddiwedd ein hoes. Cyn hynny, bydd nifer ohonom yn gofalu am rieni neu bartneriaid a fydd arnynt angen cymorth a gofal er mwyn gallu byw ag urddas ac mewn llawenydd.

Mae mynnu cyflog digonol i rieni a gofalwyr yn golygu mynnu pensiwn digonol fyddai'n galluogi henaint gwell i'r menywod - difreintiedig, yn amlach na pheidio - sydd wedi gweithio drwy gydol eu hoes yn gofalu am eraill. Mae'r menywod yma, o ganlyniad, mewn sefyllfa fregus erbyn diwedd eu hoes, heb ddigon o arian i fyw yn ddiogel, yn gysurus ac yn ddibryder. Mae hyn yn rhywbeth gallwn ni ei newid yng Nghymru ac mae'n rhywbeth mae eraill o'n blaenau, ac o wledydd eraill, wedi ei brofi'n beth sy'n werth brwydro drosto.

Byddai angen i bolisi o'r fath fodoli mewn cyd-destun o bolisiau gofal a chyflawnder ehangach, megis gofal iechyd am ddim i bawb, pensiynau da i'r henoed, addysg oes am ddim i bawb, mynediad at fannau gwyrdd, cyflogau da, digon o amser hamdden ac yn y blaen. Ond mae polisi sydd yn mynnu gosod gofal yn ganolbwyt i bob dim arall yn ffordd inni allu sicrhau ein bod yn adeiladu cymdeithas sydd wedi ei selio o amgylch yr egwyddor ganolog honno o ystyriaeth ddofn tuag at ffyniant a hapusrwydd eraill.

Mae Catrin Ashton yn awdur, ymgyrchydd ac aelod o bwyllogor Cymru'r Blaid Gomiwnyddol. Mae hi'n gyfrannwr rheolaidd i 'O'r Pedwar Gwynt' ac ymddangosodd darnau o'r erthygl hon yn rhifyn Gwanwyn 2021 y cylchgrawn.



D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L



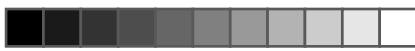


MEDIUM,
RARE
MIKE
PARKER

The Wales I want is a deeply ordinary country. It is not the biggest, the oldest, the boldest or the best, and though mostly lovely, only through the most partisan of gazes would it be described as the fairest of them all. Its mountains are modest – indeed, so modest that in some parts of the world they'd barely be noticed, and almost certainly not merit a name, let alone an extensive back catalogue of legends and poetry. The countryside ripples gently and barely ever breaks into a sweat. Its cities are hardly worthy of the title; the towns are moderation in stone and brick.

That all that could be so easily read as an insult is a marker of our problem. At the beginning of the third decade of the twenty-first century, we are sozzled on size and rank, and being rendered increasingly incontinent by our addiction. Size matters, for all the protestations to the contrary. It is more important, more powerful, louder, stronger. Big is better. Stridency equals status. This is the UK way, and Wales will never be at peace until we junk it.

(A note first on terminology, for you see that I say 'the UK way', not 'the British way', and deliberately so. Britain is an inalienable and lovely fact of geography, an offshore island of Europe, of great variety in its cultures and landscapes, and a great many shared characteristics too. The United Kingdom is a nation-state little more than two hundred years old; three hundred if you take Ireland out of the equation. Either



way, it was a construct to power the industrial, colonial and imperial ages, all of which are now over. It should be too. Muddying the distinction between 'Britain' and 'the UK' is a favourite shtick of those determined to preserve the innate inequality of the status quo; we do their work for them if we mix them up too.)

It is fifty years since Leopold Kohr published the book *Is Wales viable?* In 1971, his answer was a clear, ringing 'yes', and for myriad reasons. Above all else, his lifelong belief was in "the beauty of the small". "Whenever something is wrong, something is too big", he wrote in his groundbreaking first book, *The Breakdown of Nations* (1957). It was a philosophy far more complex than it sounds, and honed by his own experience. As his 1994 obituary in *The Independent* had it, Kohr "belonged to that Austrian-German Jewish emigration of genius during the later 1930s which changed the entire intellectual nature of the world outside Central Europe". Born and raised in Austria, he wrote alongside his friend George Orwell in the Spanish Civil War, and on escaping the Nazis in 1938, moved to the USA. He taught in Puerto Rico, Mexico and then Wales, living and working in Aberystwyth.

Although there are some perspectives that have not weathered the passage of time, it is startling how much of *Is Wales viable?* remains as urgent today as it was half a century ago. Take this for example: "the real cause enabling 'economically unviable'

small communities to overcome their 'shortages' in natural resources is not a set of special circumstances but the fact that they actually *abound* in the resources they are supposed to be lacking. For the economic concept of natural resources is very much wider than the physical concept which limits itself mainly to metal deposits and soil fertility." Professor Kohr proceeds to list some of the resources habitually ignored, including good air, clean water, natural beauty and "talent: the nature-given ability of man to use his physical, social and institutional environment for earning an income, be it by singing, sculpting, tilling, organising, trading or building palaces in lagoons." Today of course, we'd add energy provision, from tide, wind and water, even sun (Pembrokeshire is one of the optimum regions of Britain for solar power).

The central truth here, that we "actually *abound* in the resources [we] are supposed to be lacking" rings such a loud echo today. With the admitted exception of the palaces in lagoons, all of the things listed by Kohr have grown massively in importance since he wrote about them, and never more so than during 2020. The coronavirus pandemic has been a truth serum injected into the body politic. With crystal clarity, we have seen what matters: contact with nature, wild places, a lack of pollution, strong communities, kindness, creativity, sustainable localism, in food production especially, a human-scale



politics. With even greater clarity, we have seen that these are things in which Wales is rich, even if they cannot be quantified or shown on a traditional balance sheet.

Still we are told that Wales is inherently, irretrievably poor and can exist only on the largesse of London. UK Chancellor Rishi Sunak has been banging that drum as loudly as he can; on announcing the second furlough scheme in November 2020, he said that “an undeniable truth of this crisis is we have only been able to provide this level of economic support because we are a United Kingdom”. It’s a chorus not restricted to the right. In the same week, former Swansea Labour MP Siân James said on Radio Cymru, “mae rhaid fi ddweud, ble byddwn ni wedi bod heblaw yr arian sy wedi dod lawr o San Steffan”?!

Expect the volume to rise even higher as increasing numbers see that for the empty shell of an argument that it is. Even that does not call it out sufficiently: blaming Wales for its own marginalisation, an entirely political choice engineered by centuries of wilful degradation, is a lie, a form of gaslighting on a gargantuan scale. Such tactics are ten-a-penny in the age of Trump and Johnson, Bannon and Cummings, dangerous narcissists who have bullied and betrayed their way to the top, but it’s no new phenomenon. Leopold Kohr nailed it as ‘the power theory of aggression’, and the ‘size theory of social misery’ in *The*

Breakdown of Nations: “what is the critical magnitude leading to abuse? The answer is not too difficult. It is the volume of power that ensures immunity from retaliation.”

A *volume* of power is not just about empirical size, but its concentration. It is no coincidence that an over-centralised nation-state is often one with a bellicose imperial past: think France, Russia and yes, the UK. For such countries, the capital city is lauded and gilded to such an extent that it becomes a force all of its own, a dark star consuming ever greater resources to feed its insatiable sense of self. Over two decades of devolution has shown the inescapable truth of this being the case in the UK. Our political machinery, including the media and commentariat that lubricates it so generously, is incapable of self-reform, of any sort of genuine rebalancing, and worse, sees no real reason why it should. Indeed, when – as now – the going gets tough, siren voices swell that it would be far better for us to abolish the ‘outlying’ legislatures and have everything emanating from London once again. They’ve snuffed out Brussels, and now Cardiff sits twitching in their crosshairs.

The dependence is as psychological as it is political. “Moscow! Going back to Moscow!” sigh the eponymous three sisters in Chekhov’s 1901 play; the capital represents everything they want, and everything they cannot have in their small provincial town. To the eldest, the city represents



her lost youth; to the middle one intellectual and social stimulus; for the youngest, potential love. All that is worth having can only be found in the capital.

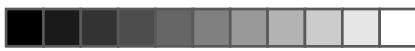
Here, the late, great Jan Morris perfectly caught our version of this in describing the first leg of a drive across Europe in the early 1980s, from her home in Llanystumdwy, in the crook of the Llŷn peninsula, towards Dover:

"It is as though the British Isles are tilted permanently to one corner – the southeast corner, bottom right, where London stands seething upon the Thames. Everything slithers and tumbles down there, all the talent, all the money, and when I got on to the M4 motorway that morning I felt that I was being swept away helter-skelter, willy-nilly across the breadth of England. Around me all the energies of the place seemed to be heading in a single direction...London! London! shouted the direction signs. London! screamed the blue and white train, streaking eastwards beside the road."

What then is, or should be, the Welsh response to this agelong chauvinism? In two decades of devolution, it has often been just a watered-down version of the same, where the money and the talent slithers down to our own southeast corner, accompanied by the evergreen promise that a summit in Newport, or a match in Cardiff will be "good for the whole of Wales". It rarely is.

I return to my starting point, that our response should spring from the principle of ordinariness, from a place that's contented with its mid-table ranking – notwithstanding of course, the occasional thrills and heartbreaks of a sporadic race to the top (e.g. Euro 2016) or bottom (pretty much all the other tournaments). The UK way has always been to assume a natural superiority, even when all evidence points the other way. Sometimes that can be farcical and harmless enough, but often it tips into something very much darker. I write this on the day that Covid-19 fatalities in the UK passed the 100,000 mark; all of those vainglorious assertions that our response to the pandemic was "world-beating" proved to be true only in terms of excess deaths. It's grim, exhausting stuff.

Wales does itself no favours when it apes this Bullingdon braggadocio. And sadly, we do ape it, far too often. A too-thin skin means that we sometimes wildly overstate our case, and only sound defensive. Even apparently innocuous boasts rarely stand scrutiny. The Welsh didn't 'discover' America, we don't have 'the most castles in Europe' or 'the oldest flag in the world'. *Cymraeg* is not 'the oldest language in Europe', and nor is the Eisteddfod the continent's 'largest music and poetry festival'. Cardiff was never 'Europe's youngest capital' (a nonsense of a title when it was first coined in the 1980s, but positively offensive when it was still being used years after the sometimes bloody



emergence of *real* capitals of *real* countries in the 1990s and 2000s².

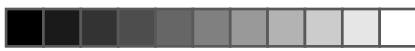
The antidote to British exceptionalism is not Welsh exceptionalism.

These hoary old chestnuts – *anything you can do, I can do better*, in the words of the old Irving Berlin number – are a feeble leitmotif of Welsh life, passed down the generations like priceless heirlooms, when really they're just cheap old tat. Neither is it only the boasts – the oldest that, the largest this and so on – that are so painfully empty, tinged as they are with a desolate air of neediness. So too are the UK-lite versions of things that litter Welsh life for no other reason than they had them across the border first, so now we must have them too. Take the Nightingale field hospital built on the pitch of Cardiff's Millennium Stadium in the first wave of Covid. Never was it asked whether there was clinical need or capacity in terms of staff and resources, nor whether such a solution fitted the different model of health provision in Wales. The big English cities had them; so must we. The only debate was – inevitably – what name we were going to give it. In its three month existence, the 1500-bed hospital treated 46 patients. We need to aim higher than as a replica, flatpack nation (on the subject of which, when a certain Swedish furniture warehouse arrived in Cardiff to major hullabaloo, Siôn Jobbins drily noted³ that “the opening of the twelfth Ikea department store

in the UK was celebrated as a badge of statehood”. Same old same old).

Here's the thing, possibly the only thing that will shake us out of this dismal mindset: *acting this way is hopelessly, irretrievably British* (in the sense that British really means UKish, which in turn really means a kind of Greater Englishness applied, whether we like it or not, to us all). The very qualities that we rail against are, if we're not careful, the ones we end up mimicking most faithfully. Raymond Williams, that great Gwent writer and thinker, caught it best in the words that he gave his *alter ego* in that lustrous novel *Border Country*: “You won't find me in any little Welsh gang, thanking God for my Welshness. Pure latter-day Welshness has only one real talent: cant. They might even have caught it from the English, and worked it up from a stiff upper lip mumble to full male voice choir.”

If this is the Wales that I don't want, then what of the one that I do? Let me return to someone already conjured up herein, someone we lost only recently: Jan Morris. Her death wasn't unexpected; she was after all 94, and had been ill for a while, but it still seems almost impossible that the irrepressible life force is no more. And in the *bwrlwm* of emotions and thoughts – the skimble-skamble or helter-skelter, as she might have put it – in the wake of the sad news, there has been one clear, piping, exultant note that has sounded throughout in my head. Jan Morris's Wales is the one worth fighting for, the one I



would most like to bang the drum for here.

Jan was pluralism made manifest. She grew up in Clevedon on the Bristol Channel, with a Welsh father and English mother, looking at the Somerset hills in one direction, the mountains of south Wales in the other. A *Boys Own* story hero (wartime soldier, foreign correspondent, Everest conqueror) turned transgender pioneer; pillar of the British establishment yet a red-hot Welsh republican. Even her writing defies genre. She loathed being called a 'travel writer', yet it was travel that inspired almost all of her work; she fused fact and fiction, poetry and prose in ways that delighted many, but bewildered and even angered a few. She straddled borders and divides, of time, place and identity.

She once told me that the only one of her forty or so books that had elicited not a single reader's letter (of either praise or fury) was her 1993 work, *A Machynlleth Triad*. Almost three decades late, let me offer a sincere fan letter to Jan for the book, and encourage you too to source a copy and to read it, for there is no finer manifesto for Wales. In the book, Jan evokes the town at three distinct moments past, present and future. The past is the year 1402, when at the zenith of his powers Owain Glyndŵr holds his parliament at Machynlleth, where he is crowned Prince of Wales. The present is a fond yet sometimes spiky portrait of the town as it

appeared to her thirty years ago. The future is some unspecified time "well into the twenty-first century", when the small grey huddle on the banks of the Dyfi has become the charmingly self-assured capital of an independent Welsh republic.

How I ached for that future! Re-reading it now, I still do (and can only surmise that it was a significant factor in my moving to Machynlleth twenty years ago). I was stirred beyond words by the portrait of a nation that was fuelled not by bluster and bullshit but instead radiated a quiet confidence, at ease with itself, its neighbours and the world, whose every decision was weighed against a founding precept, the Principle of Simplicity, *Egwyddor Symrwydd*. A *Machynlleth Triad* is of course unashamedly romantic, but in this bleak, technocratic age, running hard and cold on a currency of cruelty and humiliation, might I suggest that a touch of swaggering romance is just what we need right now?

"Wales is essentially a centrifugal state, in the Celtic tradition" writes Jan in her portrait of future Machynlleth, and that appealed too. In her parallel Wales, the former "pseudo-capital of Wales", Cardiff, is still the centre for much of the finance and media sectors, but on independence, it had been decided that the fulcrum of the country, geographical, cultural and spiritual, lay further north. The capital should be where Wales' ancient kingdoms, now its regions and counties, all converged; where the mountains of the north met the



rolling hills of the south, and the hill farms of the east overlooked the sunset sea of the west. As Glyndŵr had understood over six centuries earlier, Machynlleth was the natural meeting point for all of Wales.

In lectures and stand-up shows, I used to talk up Jan Morris' vision of Machynlleth, the modern Welsh capital, as a bit of a joke. It was how she wrote it, after all, with a wink to the gallery at the comic unlikeliness of this small market town aspiring so high. The more I've thought about it though, the less ho-ho-ho it seems, for within it are some diamond hard truths we really need to hear. Dictating that the largest settlement must be the capital is another UK habit we could well do with breaking. There are around forty independent nations worldwide where the capital is not the largest city, including the US, Canada, Australia, India, Brazil, Switzerland, Nigeria – and coming very soon, Scotland. Machynlleth – or Aberystwyth, Swansea, Caernarfon or Carmarthen – as capital would clearly spell out that Wales is breaking the mould. It would show the kind of country we aspire to be: decentralised, democratic, open, small-scale, modest.

That said, I don't want the take-away from this piece to be about where we place a parliament building or a few embassies. All too often in our increasingly ditzy, Twitter-addled political discourse, we get waylaid by the fripperies of an issue. Opinion polls, parliamentary seat projections and their maps absorb some people

just as wholly as actual votes. Furious arguments about the wallpaper of nationhood – the flags and stamps, borders, passports and coins, capital cities, national anthems, Eurovision entries and all the rest of it – can rage for days, while discussions about the environment, the economy, education, our wealth or health whistle by almost unnoticed. Despite my partisan localism, I want people to read *A Machynlleth Triad* not for what it says about Machynlleth, but what it says about Wales, and its place – actual and potential – in the world beyond.

There is of course a coda, as you'd expect to a work that's nearly three turbulent decades old. The book came at what appears to be the high point of Jan's Welsh nationalism. It was a self-description she was happy to use (in an early 1980s essay in *The Times* about Aberdeen, she'd written about the city that "the excitements of Scottish nationalism have scarcely disturbed its orthodoxy – the only nationalist emblems I saw in town were the Welsh ones I flaunt on my own car.") Within a few years, she was actively disassociating herself from the word, preferring to describe herself as a Welsh culturalist, far more concerned about the erosion of *Cymraeg* culture in her beloved Caernarfonshire than the machinery of state or electoral politics. It was a clear and deliberate shift.

It was clear too what had changed. In the mid 1990s, shortly after launching the warm optimism of



A Machynlleth Triad on to the world, Jan returned to Yugoslavia. It had been the destination of her exuberant drive across Europe that I quoted from earlier in this piece. Yugoslavia, she wrote then, was a country that “suits me. I like its mean between simplicity and sophistication, between communism and capitalism, between the local and the national.” A decade later, in the mid-90s, as the ink is drying on the Dayton Accord that brokered an uneasy truce in Bosnia, she was back, zooming not along “the sexiest of coasts” in a convertible, but instead tiptoeing through the debris of brutal conflict.

“These were not the usual ruins of war”, she wrote, but “a particular and personal hatred. It seemed such a spiteful sort of destruction. Bosnia had been ravaged, it appeared, not by ignorant conscript armies clashing, but by groups of citizens expressing their true emotions.” Her thoughts turned to home, just a short and exhilarating drive away only ten years earlier. “In Wales we have a bridge not unlike the one at Mostar. It is a single-arch, pack-horse bridge over the Taf at Pontypridd, an old favourite of water-colour artists. We have our ethnic prejudices too, and our mountain villages, and even our religious zealots. I had no difficulty imagining, as we plodded on through the darkness that night, that the miseries of Yugoslavia had befallen Wales – the lovely old Taf bridge collapsed into the river below, the villages of Gwynedd and Meirionnydd

wrecked, all our old bigotries, so long suppressed, rampantly in the open.”

When Jan Morris died, we lost not just one of the most brilliant voices of the last century, but also one of the last of the generation that had faced the Second World War as adults. Unlike the Brexit generation, convinced that they are war veterans because they remember stuffing their sticky little faces when sweet rationing ended, their elders – Jan and her contemporaries – had looked fascism square in the face, and fought it to the death. They knew what it smelt like, and recognised all too well its recent resurgence. They knew too – it was a conversation I remember having with Jan – that rampant nostalgia and fake history were its handmaiden.

At the end of her Bosnian journey, travelling all night in a battered old minibus because the airports and railways were still bombed out of use, she ponders the major question: “Would we be very different, I wondered, if it had all happened to us?” Would we indeed? That is our challenge today, sharper and more urgent than ever.



IMAGINING AN INDEPENDENT WALES

NOTES

- [1] "I have to say, where would we have been without the money that has come down from Westminster?"
- [2] I spotted it in use just the other day, in January 2021!
- [3] in his essay collection *The Phenomenon of Welshness*

This chapter was originally published in the book *'Welsh Plural'*.



Mike Parker is a writer and broadcaster based in mid Wales whose travel writing has taken him all over Europe.





D Y C H M Y G U C Y M R U A N N I B Y N N O L





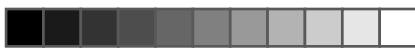
Y LLE GORAU I DYFU LAN MIRAIN OWEN

Breuddwyd iaf am newid. Newid angenrheidiol er mwyn gwneud Cymru yn wlad, yn wlad hapus. Yn wlad rydd, yn lle i feddyliau ifanc gael datblygu a gwella eu hunain, lle gall pobl o bob oed gael byw yn hapus a lle y cynorthwya cymunedau drwy gefnogi y mwyaf bregus yn ein cymdeithas. Gwlad economaidd lewyrchus drwy gydweithio a'r adnoddau naturiol. Yn wlad, lle mae pobl yn ymfalchiö i fod yn Gymry. Dyna all Cymru fod.

Rhannaf weledigaeth Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg ar gyfer Cymru, sef Cymru rydd, Cymru werdd, Cymru Gymraeg.

Golyga "Cymru Rydd" fwy nag annibyniaeth. Golyga fyw mewn stad o ryddid. Rhyddid ar bob lefel, i fodoli yn y ffordd sydd ei heisiau arnom ni. Nid cystadleuaeth ydyw, nid ras i weld pa wlad yw'r orau, ond cyfle i fanteisio ar yr hyn sy'n iawn i Gymru, yr hyn all rymuso pobl Cymru, a'r hyn all alluogi cymunedau goddefol lle mae lle i bawb, ac yn fwy na hynny, lle rhoddir croeso i bawb. Ond wrth gwrs, ni ellir sicrhau hyn heb seiliau cadarn gwladrwaeth annibynnol Cymru, lle gwneir penderfyniadau am Gymru ac am y Cymry yng Nghymru gan Gymry. Lle nad anfonir milwyr Cymreig i ladd neu farw mewn rhifeloaedd ymerodraethol dibwynt fyth eto.

Yr ail weledigaeth yw Cymru Werdd. Cymru all sefyll ar ei dwy droed ei hun drwy gydweithio gyda natur, drwy ddefnyddio dulliau creu



a harneisio egni naturiol y ddaear, yr haul, y môr a'r gwynt. Gwlad lle gall pobl wneud bywoliaeth drwy fyw gyda'r ddaear a nid arni. Gwlad lle mae modd cynnal bywyd gwylt a byd natur sy'n cyd-fynd gydag anghenion cyfoes dynoliaeth. Gwlad o ailgylchu, cynaladwyedd, lle y gallwn ymfalchïo yn ein cymdogaethau a'n cynefinoedd unigryw.

Craidd ein gwahaniaeth yw ein hiaith. Hoffwn fyw mewn gwlad lle gall y Gymraeg fyw a ffynnu. Nid fel ystadegau ar siaradwyr mewn adroddiadau meithion, ond iaith fyw ein cymdeithas. Gwlad sy'n galluogi pob person mewn addysg Gymraeg i gipio'r iaith, ei chadw hi ac i ymfalchïo ynddi. Gwlad sydd yn darparu ysgolion cynradd ac uwchradd Cymraeg i bob plentyn. Gwlad lle mae gwersi Cymraeg am ddim i bawb. Cred Cymdeithas yr Iaith yn uchelgais 'Mwy na Miliwn'. Yr uchelgais obeithiol a chadarnhaol bod angen miliwn o siaradwyr Cymraeg fel isafswm. Credaf fod Cymru llwyr Gymraeg a Chymreig yn bosib. Mae'r Gymraeg yn eiddo i bawb. Perchnogwn hi a'i rhannu.

Nid iaith yn unig yw iaith, wrth gwrs. Daw diwylliant yn ei sgîl, o sesiynau gwerin at farndoniaeth, o ddawnsio at ganu, o deisennau cri a bara lawr at eisteddfodau. Ein diwylliant ni, ein halawon ni, a'n canu ni. Nid o achos ein bod yn well nag unrhyw wlad neu genedl arall, ond oherwydd ein bod yn wahanol ac mae angen holl liwiau'r enfys ar y byd i bawb gael ei werthfawrogi. Nid

byd du a gwyn, ond byd amryliw a Chymru a'r Gymraeg yno yn gyfartal â gwledydd a chenhedloedd y byd.

Dim ond drwy arddel a mwynhau ein hiaith y daw ei thwf. Ni all pwylgora ennill iaith i lawer, a ni all strategaethau gweinyddol o lywodraethau canolog sicrhau ei dyfodol ychwaith. Daw yfory ein hiaith drwy ei siarad, drwy chwarae ynddi, canu ynddi, caru ynddi, ennill a cholli ynddi. Ac felly gwerthfawrogwn waith y rhai fu'n flaengar ar hyd y blynyddoedd yn hyrwyddo diwylliant cyfoes; y rhai a fu'n ymladd dros yr hawlau a gymerwn ni yn ganiataol erbyn hyn; a'r rhai hynny sy'n gweithio yn y dirgel, yn aml yn ddiddiolch yn ein cymunedau yn sicrhau fod y Gymraeg ar gael i bawb drwy bapurau bro, gigs, clybiau chwaraeon a thimau cenedlaethol!

Ceir elfen o chwithdod ymysg pobl Cymru weithiau am ein hunaniaeth a'n traddodiadau. Rhyw emaras nad ydyw ein hiaith yn cwl fel iaith yr Amerig, nad yw ein dawnsio a'n clocsio am ei gwneud hi ar TikTok, ac nad yw ein diwylliannau traddodiadol yn haeddu eu lle tu hwnt i faes Eisteddfod. Profais hyn oll, fe'i gwelaf yn feunyddiol mewn dinas sydd yn gartref imi, lle y dywed rhai ar goedd nad oes angen siarad Cymraeg ragor gan nad yw'r athro wrth law, gan fychanu ein hiaith a'r rhai sydd am ei harddel. Bum yng Ngŵyl Werin y Fleadh yn Iwerddon, ac yno gwelais yr hyder oedd gan bobl o bob oedran yn eu diwylliannau a'r pethau unigryw a gwahanol sydd gan y Gwyddelod. Yr



IMAGINING AN INDEPENDENT WALES

hwyl a'r chwerthin yn eu grymuso heb unrhyw fwriad ond mwynhau.

Ym mwynhad Cymraeg a Chymreig i'r Cymry mae dyfodol ein hiaith.

Nid breuddwyd yw Cymru Rydd, Cymru Werdd, Cymru Gymraeg. Cynhyrfwn y dyfroedd! Mynnwn hi!

Disgybl chweched dosbarth yn Ysgol Gyfun Gymraeg Bryn Tawe, Abertawe, yw Mirain Owen. Mae'n weithgar gyda Chymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg ac yn aelod o Senedd y Gymdeithas. Yn gerddor gwerin a chloçswraig bu'n canu mewn grwp gwerin yn Abertawe.



AM Y FELIN DRAFOD

MAE ANNIBYNAETH YN GWESTIWN SY’N MYND I’N HWYNEBU FEL CENEDL YN YSTOD Y BLYNYDDOEDD I DDOD.

Ni yw'r unig felin drafod sy'n edrych ar y llwybr at, a'r cwestiynau polisi sy'n codi yn sgil, annibynaeth i Gymru.

Mae ein melin drafod yn cefnogi, hwyluso ac yn gyfaill beirniadol i'r mudiad annibynaeth ar lawr gwlad.

Nid yw'r Felin Drafod yn perthyn i'r un blaid wleidyddol. Rydym yn canolbwytio ar roi sylw manwl i'r cwestiynau sy'n codi'n sgil y gefnogaeth gynyddol i annibynaeth.

Sut i hwyluso annibynaeth flaengar, nid annibynaeth er lles annibynaeth yn unig, yw ein blaenoriaeth. Rydym yn trin a thrafod datrysiau i argyfyngau mawr ein hoes – o newid hinsawdd a lleiafrifoli ieithoedd i warth tlodi a hiliaeth – yma ac o amgylch y byd.

Mae gwir angen paratoi'n drylwyr ar gyfer Cymru annibynnol. Bydd y cwestiwn yn ein hwynebu'n hwyr neu'n hwyrach, ac mae Melin Drafod yma i barato'i'r ffordd.

AELODAU'R PWYLLGOR
CENEDLAETHOL MELIN
DRAFOD, 2021-22

- Steve Blundell
- Mererid Boswell (Ysgrifennydd)
- Sam Coates
- Talat Chaudhri (Cadeirydd)
- Osian Elias (Trysorydd)
- Llywelyn ap Gwilym
- Elin Hywel
- Sion Jobbins
- Colin Nosworthy
- Harriet Protheroe-Soltani



ABOUT MELIN DRAFOD

INDEPENDENCE IS A QUESTION WHICH IS GOING TO FACE US AS A NATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

Melin Drafod is the only think tank which is looking at the path, and the policy questions related, to independence for Wales.

Our think tank supports, facilitates and is a critical friend of the grassroots independence movement.

Melin Drafod is not affiliated to any political parties. We concentrate on giving detailed attention to the questions raised by the rising support for independence.

Our priority is promoting progressive independence, not independence for its own sake. We discuss solutions to the major crises of our age - from climate change and language minoritisation to the scourges of poverty and racism - both here and around the world.

There is a real need to thoroughly prepare for Welsh independence. Sooner or later the question will face us, and Melin Drafod is here to prepare the way.

MELIN DRAFOD NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 2021-22

- Steve Blundell
- Mererid Boswell (Secretary)
- Sam Coates
- Talat Chaudhri (Chair)
- Osian Elias (Treasurer)
- Llywelyn ap Gwilym
- Elin Hywel
- Sion Jobbins
- Colin Nosworthy
- Harriet Protheroe-Soltani

