DELUDED AND DANGEROUS

Boris Johnson plans to increase the UK’s nuclear arsenal at this time of global insecurity, showing his contempt for international law. Jingoism, inflated rhetoric, war games and futile dreams of a long lost empire don’t mix well with a global pandemic and a climate crisis.
Ban the bombast, ban the bombs... just pay the nurses, please!
FORTY YEARS ON...KEEP UP THE PRESSURE

Happy birthday to us! It’s 40 years since CND Cymru was set up as an autonomous national organisation. On 27 August we also celebrate the 40th anniversary of the march by Women for Life on Earth from Cardiff to Greenham Common. CND Cymru Chair JILL EVANS was on that march and she commemorates both events on p4-5.

The right to protest

The Greenham women endured vilification by Margaret Thatcher and the populist press. Today another Conservative government seeks to curtail the right to protest with the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill. Protest and non-violent direct action have been at the heart of CND activity from the start and must be defended as strongly today as they were at Greenham. See Kill the Bill! protests in Wales: p12

There is some good news, however. On 25 June the Supreme Court quashed the conviction of four protestors at the 2017 DSEI London arms fair: the right to protest, even when disruptive, has been upheld in law.

A Manifesto for Peace

During the lead-up to the Senedd election on 6 May, the Fellowship for Reconciliation in Wales published a Manifesto for Peace, which provides a useful framework for our ongoing actions and priorities. It is presented by Jane Harries on p10.

Johnson’s extra warheads

Johnson’s contempt for international law, even when it is of his own making, is positively Trumpian. His decision to increase the number of UK warheads flouts the aims of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is particularly shameful at a time when overseas aid is being slashed. See Brian Jones’s report on p3.

COP26 and beyond

COP26 approaches. The UK has ambitious climate targets, but is not hitting the ground running. On p6-7 Linda Rogers explains why nuclear greenwashing cannot solve the climate crisis. Might cutting-edge new technologies save the day? Not if it’s nuclear fusion, writes Dr Ian Fairlie on p8-9. Pembrokeshire and Vale of Glamorgan Councils, please take note.

Détente, not Cold War II

After the Trump nightmare, Joe Biden’s foreign policies are reverting to US factory settings – with a focus on NATO and a new Cold War with China. China’s appalling human rights record is of great concern, but hardball rhetoric risks being counter-productive. Trump’s withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal (JCPOA) handed the Iranian election in June 2021 to the hardliners, If you call out your opponents for abuses of human and civil rights, you have to occupy the moral high ground yourselves – or else the response is, ‘and Guantanamo?’...

PHILIP STEELE

PAPER OR DIGITAL?

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Aberystwyth protests against policing bill.
The Westminster government’s Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy proposes increasing the maximum number of British nuclear warheads to 260, and threatening to use them against non-nuclear weapon states.

The policy of successive UK governments since 1970 has been to maintain Britain’s nuclear weapons but to gradually reduce the number of nuclear warheads. Britain was set to reduce the number of warheads to 180 by the mid-2020s; instead the plan is to have more nuclear warheads, going back to 1990s numbers.

The UK now “reserves the right” to use nuclear weapons not only against nuclear weapon states, but against enemies possessing chemical or biological weapons, or “emerging technologies that could have a comparable impact”, or states that are “heading in the direction of acquiring nuclear weapons.”

Breach of international law
The legality of Britain’s changed policy was rapidly called into question. The Office of UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said the UK decision was contrary to its obligations under Article VI of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) — in other words, it is illegal under international law.

Article VI specifies that signatories undertake to “pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures” towards disarmament. The NPT is actually very simple – it requires countries that have nuclear weapons to disarm, and those that don’t have them not to get them.

Britain’s decision to increase its nuclear arsenal is unacceptable. It is both illegal and immoral – and just think what could be done with the over £8,300 that the UK spends on nuclear weapons every minute!

BRIAN JONES

The policy of successive UK governments since 1970 has been to maintain Britain’s nuclear weapons but to gradually reduce the number of nuclear warheads. Britain was set to reduce the number of warheads to 180 by the mid-2020s; instead the plan is to have more nuclear warheads, going back to 1990s numbers.

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40 YEARS SINCE THE GREENHAM MARCH

CND Cymru Chair JILL EVANS celebrates two important anniversaries...

The year 1981 was momentous for the peace movement in Wales. Local CND groups were springing up all over the country and organising marches, public meetings and petitions. *Protect and Survive*, the UK Government guide on how to make our homes and families “as safe as possible under nuclear attack” had been published the previous year. It suggested we could survive by sheltering under the stairs! It was quickly followed by the excellent CND pamphlet *Protest and Survive* by the historian and peace campaigner EP Thompson, which exposed the reality of nuclear war and the cruel deception of civil defence.

**Women for Life on Earth**

There was real fear of imminent nuclear war. People protested in their hundreds of thousands. The announcement that 96 American Cruise Missiles were to be deployed at the Greenham Common air base in Berkshire was the catalyst for another march and the creation of a peace camp that became a global symbol.

Under the Women for Life on Earth banner, women, children and some men set out from Cardiff on a hot August day to walk in stages to Greenham – myself amongst them. Forty years on we can thank all the women involved in this remarkable, brave and inspirational protest that succeeded eventually in ridding the Common of its hideous nuclear weapons and restoring the land to the people.

The peace movement in Wales is community-based and therein lies its strength. There were Greenham women in every town and village. Some had never been to the camp but could be part of the protest at a local level.
CND CYMRU IS FOUNDED

CND Cymru was formally constituted in Newtown in September 1981. The existing and very active local CND groups across Wales came together to form a national body to coordinate and strengthen their work.

It was created because it was needed. There was no greater demonstration of its success than the landmark Nuclear Free Wales declaration in 1982, supported by each of the eight County Councils at the time (see next issue of Heddwch).

CND Cymru was everywhere, just as the Greenham women were everywhere. Our distinctive banners with the daffodil symbol became a beacon for those campaigning for peace, justice and a sustainable future.

In the 40 years since then we have loved and lost many people who give truth to Wales’s claims to be a peace-loving nation.

As someone who has served as Chair of CND Cymru twice during that time, I never cease to be amazed by the commitment, passion and courage of our activists.

In celebrating our birthday, our only regret should be that we still need to exist – that nuclear disarmament is not yet a reality. So – we are not going to go away!

heddwch>action:
40TH ANNIVERSARY WALK FROM CARDIFF TO GREENHAM

Women of Wales, please support! Greenham Women Everywhere are celebrating the 40 years since women first marched from Wales to set up a peace camp outside RAF Greenham Common. Their anniversary celebrations will culminate in a momentous re-creation of this march, leaving Cardiff on Thursday 26 August 2021 and arriving at Greenham on Friday 3 September for a weekend of festivities!

There will also be a two-day cycle ride, on Thursday 2 September and Friday 3 September. For more information, see https://buff.ly/3fyLe7h. For Facebook go to https://www.facebook.com/110205519001766/posts/4215299261825684/

(For press pack, see: https://docs.google.com/document/d/1kqRfwhd7U35TxibgpGZD2bRbKmgjHWYeMQGMJtVa_6E/edit?ts=60847ecc#)

“We are Covid-proofing and activities will go ahead online if needs be – but we are hoping to march, women, march!”

Côr Cochion protests at NATO’s Wales summit, 2014
At the Paris Climate Agreement of 2015, the sum of $100bn per year was pledged by rich nations to help developing countries tackle climate change. By 2018, only $79 billion of that sum had been achieved. Moreover, most of the increase over the previous four years had been in the form of loans. Loans risk further indebted developing countries, especially in the context of the economic crises now resulting from the Covid-19 pandemic. Governments tend to treat action on climate change as a tool for influence and self-interest.

Prior to the G7 summit in Cornwall in June 2021, the call went out from UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres for countries to meet their obligations. He also stated that we risk an “unforgivable lost opportunity” by not emerging from the Covid-19 pandemic with newly green economics to address the climate crisis.

**Time is running out**

The UK government has set out ambitious plans for a green economy, targeting net zero carbon by 2050. However Meg Hillier, Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, has claimed that the government has little grasp of how to achieve these aims and has no coherent plan. On 24 June 2021 these concerns were echoed by Chris Stark, Chief Executive of the Climate Change Committee, who warned of a gulf between the government’s commitments and action on the ground.

**Civil and military nuclear links**

But what do we mean by “green energy”? The UK government has spent much energy and £18 billion of tax-payers’ money on the promotion of Small Modular Nuclear Reactors (SMNRs), claiming that these as yet non-existent plants can produce energy more cheaply and safely than conventional nuclear power plants, and can mitigate against climate change.

A recent report by Jonathon Porritt, former Chief Executive of Friends of the Earth and of the Sustainable Development Commission, discounts these claims. Jonathon Porritt expresses bafflement in his report as to why the larger political parties, with the support of the trade unions, continue to support nuclear power. He does, however, note the ongoing link between nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

This same link is highlighted in the work of a University of Sussex report: *Shining a Light on the UK’s Nuclear deterrent*. Andy Stirling, Professor of Science and Technology Policy, and Research Fellow Dr Phil Johnstone, note that as nuclear power declines worldwide, it is striking how many countries that continue to expend costly support are either existing or aspiring nuclear weapons states.

From early working-paper findings to presenting evidence
to the Public Accounts Committee in the House of Commons, their research has raised important questions about accountability, transparency and the future role of the nuclear industry in a changing world.

Whilst claiming that nuclear energy is necessary for ‘zero net carbon’, current nations with a nuclear arsenal still promote civil nuclear programmes in order to maintain a pool of nuclear expertise for military research and to defray the expenses of military programmes such as Trident replacement. The Rolls-Royce website has openly boasted that the company’s SMNR programme aims to benefit both the civil and the military sector.

**Why nuclear ‘greenwashing’ is wrong**

The arguments as to why nuclear energy is no solution to the climate crisis are many. For a start, it diverts investment from renewables. Uranium is not a renewable resource, and its mining is a toxic nightmare for many indigenous communities. The nuclear cycle as a whole, factoring in mining, transportation, construction and decommissioning, is far from being low-carbon. Nuclear construction is notoriously slow and prone to delays and soaring overspend. New-generation nuclear such as the SMNR programme is anyway too far behind in development to meet urgent targets. The ‘disposal’ of nuclear waste remains an environmental hazard for 10,000 years or more. The ‘greenwashing’ of nuclear energy is not the sole preserve of Westminster politicians but of Cardiff Bay as well. In February 2021 the Welsh government signed a memorandum of understanding committing £900 million to the supply chain for Sizewell C if it went ahead.

**What’s to be done?**

The proper work needed to support those industries best suited to mitigate climate change is undermined by Boris Johnson’s civil and military nuclear policies. We are not investing in saving the world, but in destroying it.

Leading up to COP26, we must call for open debates, citizens’ assemblies and talks with trade unions around these questions, joining with our international partners and NGOs.

“Nuclear-armed states spent an obscene amount of money on illegal weapons of mass destruction in 2020, while the majority of the world’s countries support a global nuclear weapons ban. But the story doesn’t stop there. Companies, lobbyists and think tanks are complicit and deserve to be held accountable for their role in building and shaping a world with more than 13,000 life-ending weapons. We need to call on them to cut it out.”

*ICAN report Complicit: 2020 Global Nuclear Weapons Spending*
**FUSION IS NOT THE ANSWER**

The UK Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA) is proposing to develop a new nuclear fusion reactor. Vale of Glamorgan council has backed the former Aberthaw power station near Barry as a candidate site. Pembrokeshire council has also put forward a site proposal, on the Haven Waterway.

**DR IAN FAIRLIE is unimpressed.**

The UK government is proposing a fusion reactor – the Spherical Tokamak for Energy Production (STEP) – for our energy needs. This would be a smaller version of the unsuccessful Tokamak prototype (JET) at Culham in Oxfordshire. Quite why the STEP project would be expected to work when its prototype has failed is unexplained in official documents. But the government is looking to develop an operational site for a STEP reactor. The plan is for the UK Business Secretary to choose a site for a prototype, following recommendations of UKAEA, by 2024 (https://ccfe.ukaea.uk/research/step/).

However the government’s new panacea has almost nothing to do with our energy needs and everything to do with Boris Johnson’s ill-considered techno-dreams. It will most likely join the long line of Boris’ flops after the Thames Gateway airport, the Emirates airline cable car, the bendy bus, the Thames Garden bridge, etc. But this time the taxpayer will have to pay billions rather than millions.

What is nuclear fusion?

Fusion is a dangerous process whereby radioactive hydrogen (tritium) is smashed into another form of hydrogen (deuterium) at massive temperatures and pressures inside a plasma, to release much radiation and some heat. The same process occurs in our Sun… but the Sun is safely located 150 million km away.

Formidable technical problems exist with fusion. First they have to get the deuterium-tritium reaction to work continuously: they’ve done this at the JET facility experimental at Culham…. for a few seconds. Then they have to get it to release more energy than used in producing the reaction: JET has never been close. Then they would have to capture the energy released. This has never successfully happened to date.

The plan is to surround the plasma chamber with molten lithium. But the engineering is really invidious: a high vacuum on one side, molten lithium on the other, and billions of high-energy neutrons bombarding the wall each second. They then have to run hot molten lithium through heat exchangers to raise steam for a turbine. Experience with such heat exchangers – molten sodium on one side, water on the other – has been disastrous all over the world. The problem is that lithium is extremely flammable,

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*The former Aberthaw site on the South Wales coast: from fossil fuel to nuclear fusion?*
The Sun offers nuclear fusion, but at a safe distance.

Indeed explosive in contact with water or air. And should it ever operate, vast amounts of radioactive gases and radioactive water vapour would be released to the local environment. The government’s mooted fusion reactor comes with the usual promises of cheap and clean energy to move to a zero-carbon economy, with little radioactive waste and no plutonium by-products for nuclear weapons. But this government has a bad track record with its promises … how valid are these claims? The reality is that a fusion reactor, if ever operated, would produce radioactive by-products that are far from harmless. In addition, most (around 80 percent) of the output energy would be in the form of high-energy neutrons which would lead to structural damage, large amounts of radioactive waste and the need for much biological shielding to protect operators and the public nearby.

Fusion plants can also be viewed as gigantic exercises in tritium recycling, and, if the plants were ever constructed, large amounts of radioactive tritium (~1018 becquerels per year) would be routinely released into the atmosphere and via the cooling water. This would contaminate all areas downwind and downstream. Some nuclear scientists think that tritium is a “weak” nuclide but the reality is the opposite.. If an explosion and/or fire occurred (tritium and deuterium are both flammable), the amounts of radioactivity released would be even greater and would constitute a nuclear disaster. Fusion reactors would also be subject to most of the major problems associated with fission reactors, including large-scale cooling demands, high construction and operational costs and lengthy construction times – stretching to decades. The structure, damaged by neutron bombardment, would need to be replaced regularly, resulting in large amounts of radioactive wastes for which there is no current solution in the UK.

What do experts say?
In the past, sceptical scientists have opposed nuclear fusion, including many US scientists. More recently, Dr Daniel Jassby who worked for 25 years on plasma physics and neutron production related to fusion energy at the Princeton Plasma Physics Laboratory, has written two informative articles on the myriad problems with nuclear fusion for the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (the US journal which gave us the ‘Doomsday Clock’). He concluded “When you consider we get solar and wind energy for free, to rely on fusion reaction would be foolish.”

In short, nuclear fusion would not provide cheap, clean, safe or healthy energy and would reduce the funding available for safer and cheaper renewable energies.

REFERENCES
“ITER is a showcase … for the drawbacks of fusion energy” – by Daniel Jassby, 14 February 2018: https://thebulletin.org/2018/02/iter-is-a-showcase-for-the-drawbacks-of-fusion-energy/

DR IAN FAIRLIE is Vice-President of CND UK. He has been a regular public speaker and adviser in the campaign to stop Wylfa B.
With this in mind, the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Wales launched a Manifesto for Peace leading up to the May elections in Wales, calling on the new Welsh Government to consider the role of peace in our society and setting out a series of demands. The Manifesto includes eight clear, positive steps that the Welsh Government could take to set the country on a path to a more peaceful and greener future for the benefit of Wales and the world. The eight points covered are:

1. Militarism in our schools – a call to prohibit recruiting young people under 18 into the armed forces in our schools;
2. The New Curriculum – a call to integrate peace education into the curriculum;
3. Promoting Peace – that the Welsh Government promote and fund non-violent conflict resolution in the workplace;
4. Diversification of the Arms industry – calling for investment in the creation of green jobs instead of arms production;
5. The Military Museum – calling on the Welsh Government to reject plans for a Military Medicine Museum in Cardiff Bay;
6. Wales and the World – asking for honesty about how arms production leads directly to suffering in other parts of the world and to ensure that peace is at the core of the Welsh Government’s international strategy;
7. Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons – asking the Welsh Government to support the UN Nuclear Arms Prohibition Treaty in principle; and
8. Demilitarising our land – a call to relocate the army from Welsh lands and to develop that land for other purposes.

Producing the Manifesto is of course only the first step. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is calling on those working for peace to support the Manifesto and to engage with Senedd members concerning its demands. A start was made on this process on 26 May when Quakers in Wales’ Peace and Peace Education Group held a webinar with the Manifesto as its focus, with 35 attending from across peace organisations in Wales. This will be just the first of a series of such webinars, which will enable people to come together, discuss key peace issues and decide on actions we can take together.


JANE HARRIES

WALES YOUNG PEACEMAKERS 2021

A huge congratulations to the 18 ‘Walk the Global Walk’ schools in Carmarthenshire who won the Wales Young Peacemakers trophy for their amazing work this year on Sustainable Development Goal 16 – Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions.

JANE HARRIES
Following the CND Cymru celebration of the TPNW Global Ban last January, the inspirational FRANKIE ARMSTRONG organised another streamed concert for 25 June. Ticket donations were shared between CND Cymru and Musicians for Peace and Disarmament.

The music was both joyous and sorrowful, evoking the hiraeth described in the first of Stacey Blythe’s fine Welsh folk songs, played on harp. The long history of Welsh culture was explored. Pais Dinogad, a 7th century mother’s song to her baby son, was performed by Bragod. Storyteller Michael Harvey regaled us with the ancient tale of the poet Taliesin and his magical incarnation.

For our own times, Laura Bradshaw presented a great video of song and dance from Cardiff, featuring the One World Choir, which works with the Oasis centre for asylum seekers and refugees.

All sorts of songs were performed by Frankie, Laura and Pauline Down, together known as Bread and Roses: we heard the stirring political song of the same name, a moving tribute to the late Rosie Waite, a sea shanty from Laura and her daughter, and Pauline’s song about Cwm George in the Vale of Glamorgan. Frankie sang of her Newport-born grandmother and spoke about the Women’s Peace Petition of 1923-24, as well as the 1981 march from Cardiff to Greenham. Many thanks to all who performed and all who logged on.

UNA and the TPNW
In an online meeting held in April by the United Nations Association (UNA) Cardiff branch, CND Cymru Chair Jill Evans gave an address about the TPNW global ban, its progress since being enacted and its future prospects. A wide-ranging discussion included topics such as proliferation and the atomic testing legacy worldwide.

Senedd hustings
CND Cymru in association with Cymdeithas y Cymod (the Fellowship for Reconciliation in Wales) organised an online Peace and Justice hustings prior to the Senedd elections on 6 May. It was chaired by Stephen Thomas. Mabon ap Gwynfor spoke for Plaid Cymru, Ken Barker for the Greens, Jackie Charlton for the Lib Dems and Mike Hedges for Welsh Labour. The Tories declined the invitation to participate.

Message from the Urdd
Every year since 1922 the Welsh youth movement, Urdd Gobaith Cymru, has sent a message of Peace and Goodwill to the world. This year the message was launched in video form, in association with Swansea University, and the theme focused on Equality for Women.
Alpha to Delta
As we go to press the debate is heated: abandonment of Covid restrictions as advocated by Westminster, or a more cautious approach likely to be adopted by Drakeford and Sturgeon?

The Delta variant is still on the rampage, however hospitalisation remains low. The only real ‘freedom day’ will be when the whole world, rich and poor, is vaccinated. The pandemic casts a long shadow still, but many thanks to the NHS frontline staff, to the carers and the vaccination volunteers across Wales. A truly remarkable achievement.

Kill the Bill
The Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill contains a draconian bid by the Westminster government to curtail political activism in Wales and in England. It plans to place limits upon the right to protest, on the start and finish times of demonstrations, on noise and inconvenience to the public.

Its deliberately vague wording would allow the police and the Home Secretary great latitude in interpreting the law as they deem fit. Coupled with laws to protect undercover state agents and to weaken the judicial review procedure, this bill is an assault on the democratic process.

Many protests have been held across Wales, in Aberystwyth (see p2), Haverfordwest, Newport and Cardiff. On 5 July the Commons approved the Bill after minimal debate and sent it back to the Lords with a majority of 100.

Palestine protests erupt across Wales
Peace and justice for the Palestinians seems a more distant prospect than ever following an escalation of the conflict with the Israeli government from 6 to 21 May.

It was sparked off by the threat of evictions of Palestinian families from their homes in East Jerusalem, by the storming of the al-Aqsa mosque compound and by provocation from the Israeli far right at the end of Ramadan. There were riots in Israeli cities, on the West Bank and in Gaza. Rockets were fired into Israel, and Gaza was yet again bombed into rubble.

Thirteen people were killed in Israel, whilst 256 Palestinians were killed.

The US response was too little and too late.

Protests were held in towns and cities across Wales – at Llandudno, Bangor, Machynlleth, Newtown, Presteigne, Aberystwyth, Haverfordwest, Swansea, Pontypridd, Cardiff, Barry and Newport. The turnouts were large and in many places recurrent. On 11 July Cardiff Stop the War organised a teach-in on Palestine in Bute Park.
**Extinction Rebellion is making waves**

Various groups of XR protesters made their way from Wales to Cornwall for the G7 summit, some of them being met with heavy-handed policing. Others took part in Wave Actions at coastal communities around Wales. Many of these coastlines – from Newport and Cardiff to Ynys Môn – could be under threat from rising sea levels due to the climate crisis before the end of this century. XR called on the G7 nations to prioritise action on climate change.

*For pictures of the Penmaenmawr protest see p6-7.*

**End to a futile war?**

Bangor and Ynys Môn Peace and Justice Group is 20 years old this October. Like many other Welsh peace groups it was founded in opposition to the war in Afghanistan. This July the troops of the USA and its allies have finally been withdrawn. Total fatalities including civilians numbered over 212,000; of whom 456 were British soldiers. The USA learned no lessons at all from the Vietnam War. The British learned nothing from their own imperial history. Bagram base became infamous for torture and prisoner abuse. The Taliban is now resurgent and occupying large areas of the country. Will a new drone war follow?

**Denbigh statue: a decade of protest**

At the centre of Denbigh is a statue of locally born explorer Henry Morton Stanley (born John Rowlands, 1841-1904). It is not a memorial erected at the time, but a modern statue erected in his honour. This has stirred up controversy as HM Stanley was agent for King Leopold II of Belgium, who ran the Congo Free State – a personal possession – with extraordinary cruelty. For 10 years the statue has undergone an annual ‘reveiling’ and ‘funeral’, political performance art by Wanda Zyborska. Historical context has been presented by Selwyn Williams, Howard Huws and Dr Salamatu Fada. Public consultation continues. The 2021 event will take place on Saturday 14 August: meet 15 minutes beforehand in the Factory Ward car park below the Town Hall.

**Remembering the Epynt evictions**

Just six weeks’ notice was given to the 54 families farming the Epynt mountain ranges to leave their homes.

In 1940 the future of the Epynt community was sacrificed to the cause of the Second World War, but the hope then and now is that, in the words of the poet Waldo Williams, *‘The Swallow will Return to her Nest’.*

Two hundred ceramic swallows are ready to fly to homes across Wales from the hands of Tanwen Wilkinson, a potter who lives near Epynt. Do you want to buy a swallow? Visit the Welsh Language Society online shop or call 01766 772788.

**The Swallow will Return to her Nest!**
Llew Smith was one of a handful of Labour MPs and MEPs who supported CND 100 percent for decades – including when our cause was out of favour.

As the MEP for South East Wales from 1984 he gave “carte blanche” to his “support staff” – Paul Flynn (later to become MP for Newport West) and Dr David Lowry – to campaign for nuclear disarmament: most notably creating a resource library of videos and other material for the use of CND and other peace campaign groups. This resource was invaluable for many campaigning groups in South East Wales during the heady days of peace and anti-nuclear campaigning of that era.

Later, when Llew became an MP, succeeding in 1984 CND founder-member Michael Foot as the MP for Blaenau Gwent (Ebbw Vale), his questioning on nuclear-related issues probed into the heart of government policies and, it was said, required more hours of research (and obfuscation) by civil servants to justify the government’s pro-nuclear policies than those from any other MP.

Along with Jeremy Corbyn (who spoke at his funeral), Llew tabled more questions on nuclear, peace and disarmament issues than any other MP, consistently opposing pro-nuclear and pro-war policies.

When I first met Llew, over 40 years ago now, he was a WEA tutor and steeped in labour movement history – especially that of the South Wales mining communities. He had the demeanour of an activist who was always present to support a progressive cause but who did not seek self-publicity. That remained to the end.

We didn’t agree on everything – he was never reconciled to devolution in any shape or form, believing as he did that national consciousness was a contributory cause – not a consequence – of conflict. But his wasn’t a modern-day Facebook-style nasty disagreement. He was always open to reasoned, good-tempered argument.

In its editorial following the news of his death, the South Wales Argus (not always a fan), commented “there are honourable folk in politics who stand up for what they believe in and who work hard for the people they are there to represent.” “Llew Smith was one such politician”.

He and his wife Pam shared a love of jazz – I last met her at a Pontypool Jazz Festival when the star attraction was Humphrey Lyttelton. After Pam’s death, Llew collated another of their joint loves into an exhibition “Politics, Protest and the Christmas Card” – which he later published in a book, Glad Tidings of Struggle and Strife (2012). It is simple, warm and to the point – and typical of him.

JOHN COX
Pauline Cutress
1929 - 2020

Pauline was a lifelong socialist and pacifist who was born in Bristol and became politically active whilst at university there. She was a member of CND from its inception – but missed the first Aldermaston march due to being heavily pregnant, marching however in 1959, complete with pushchair! Throughout her life Pauline was involved in many political, campaigning and fundraising activities: within the Labour Party, CND and Amnesty International, supporting the miners in 1984, running a Pensioners’ Action Group in Hinckley, and latterly working with the People’s Assembly Against Austerity in Rhyl. Already in her 80s, Pauline’s relentless energy and enthusiasm for justice and peace made her one of the key organisers of the Rhyl PA’s Peace Festivals, which featured speakers such as Bruce Kent and attracted audiences from all over North Wales. In between campaigning, Pauline managed to marry Joe, whom she had met at uni. They had three children, Paul, Anne and Roger. Sadly she lost Joe and Roger too early, due to their losing their struggles with mental illness. Pauline is survived by Paul and Anne and their children, who are very proud of her legacy and have wonderful (and whimsical) memories of her, as do many of her comrades in peace.

ANNE CUTRESS

BOOK REVIEW

COFIO’R WYLFA
Emlyn Richards
Gwasg Carreg Gwalch 2021
ISBN 978-1-845277001
Paperback, 150pp. £8.50
[Welsh language]

In tracing the history of the Wylfa area, Emlyn Richards, the author of Cofio’r Wylfa (‘Remembering Wylfa’), reminds us of the strong community and special environment which characterised this coastal district of northern Anglesey until the middle of the last century. After the government and the CEGB (Central Electricity Generating Board) went ahead with developing the ‘biggest nuclear power station in the world’ in January 1964, everything changed forever. A section of the population, along with the politicians, took pride in the development, and it was the same story with bids to develop Wylfa B this century, even though this entailed devastating the site before any investment materialised or planning permission was granted. The mere promise of jobs overcame any misgivings and attracted support.

This book provides an interesting introduction to the characters who shaped this close-knit community – smallholders, gentlemen farmers, close friends of Queen Victoria who created the splendid Cestyill garden, and Rosina Buckman, an opera singer from New Zealand. She lived in Galan Ddu and was buried on what became the Wylfa site. When a ‘ghost’ appeared, scaring six Irish labourers and halting work on one of the tunnels, the belief locally was that it was because the family’s burial place had been disturbed!

A number of houses, big and small, were demolished, but neither the destruction of the community nor the environment went without challenge. Movements such as PAWB (People Against Wylfa B), the stand taken by the Jones family from Caerdegog farm and the visit by Naoto Kan, former Prime Minister of Japan, all proposed alternative and fair employment policies for the community. The author ends by mentioning WYLFA NI’s request for Hitachi to return its 700 acres to the community and for the island to decide upon the next chapter in the history of Wylfa Head. History demonstrates the importance of the relationship between people and place. According to Emlyn Richards there is no way to restore nature to a pristine state once it has been desecrated.

It was ever thus.

CARL CLOWES
CND CYMRU

CND Cymru campaigns alongside organisations in Wales and internationally for peace, environmental and social justice, and to rid Britain and the world of all weapons of mass destruction.

website: www.cndcymru.org
e-mail: heddwch@cndcymru.org
twitter: @cndcymru
instagram: @cndcymru
facebook: https://www.facebook.com/cndcymru/

CONTACTS:

CHAIR: Jill Evans [Rhondda]
jillrhondda@yahoo.co.uk
07803 902 401

NATIONAL SECRETARY:
Bethan Siân [Aberystwyth]
bsj11@outlook.com
07933 791 207

TREASURER AND MEMBERSHIP:
Michael Freeman
michael.freeman9@btinternet.com
CND Cymru,
9 Primrose Hill, Llanbadarn Fawr,
Aberystwyth SY23 3SE

John Cox [Abersychan]
drjohncox121@gmail.com
01495 773 495

Brian Jones [Pontardawe]
brian.jones@phonecoop.coop
01792 830 330

Duncan Rees [Deeside]
Duncan.rees01@gmail.com
07534 975 461

Philip Steele [Ynys Môn]
phil_steele@btinternet.com
01248 490 715

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