

INDEPENDENCE
IN YOUR POCKET



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Thanks to all members and supporters who have contributed to producing and editing the content and to those who have helped to translate this booklet. Thanks to Rhys Aneirin for the cover design and thanks to Y Lolfa for all their support.

We do not claim to have all of the answers, but this booklet offers an important, positive starting point for future discussion. We hope YesCymru can fundamentally change the tone and content of the debate. This is the first edition of Independence in Your Pocket. There will be new editions as the discussion develops. The most recent version of this booklet will be available at yes.cymru/independence.

Introduction

The booklet you are holding needed to be written. The United Kingdom is leaving the European Union. Scotland is readying itself for a second referendum on independence. The peaceful reunification of Ireland is on the agenda. The United Kingdom is changing radically, and Wales must not be left behind.

In the following pages *YesCymru* will respond to some of the most pressing questions regarding independence. How might a small nation like Wales survive and thrive in the modern world? What resources do we have to call upon? How would independence impact upon our economy and society? And what will our new relationship be with our fellow countries, whether near or far?

Anyone who has long advocated Welsh independence will be all too familiar with these questions being thrown back at us by sympathisers

and sceptics alike. This booklet welcomes such important questions as an invitation to engage in rational debate. We hope that some of the content that follows supplies Welsh citizens with the information needed to counter the weak, dispiriting arguments launched against us by defenders of the status quo and empower us to set the agenda for Welsh independence by framing the questions that have so far gone unasked.

Welsh patriotism runs deep. We see it at every international sporting event, in all its modern, complex, inclusive variety and passion. But Welshness isn't something that we feel only on match days. It is something we all encounter in our daily lives, in our interactions with our neighbours and co-workers, our families and friends.

We also know that pride in being Welsh doesn't automatically translate into support for independence. This booklet is not only for those of us who already support the cause, members of campaign groups and political parties – but also, importantly, for those who have their doubts; whose hearts are persuaded, but not their heads. The 'Indy-curious'.

This publication also introduces you to a new and influential player on the Welsh political stage. *YesCymru* was created in Wales, in the summer of 2014, by a small group hoping to help the campaign for Scottish independence in the run-up to their referendum. The hope and anticipation was that the creative energy experienced that summer would be carried over into the Welsh political debate. Since then *YesCymru* has grown rapidly, with members and branches across Wales – and beyond, in London, New York and Patagonia.

In 2014, Scotland narrowly voted to remain part of the UK. Post-Brexit, their place looks far less certain. The question therefore remains: what possible destiny could there be for Wales? Subsumed within some shrunken and reactionary ‘union’ or an independent nation amongst nations?

YesCymru is campaigning positively for an independent Wales. The next time Scotland goes to the polls, *YesCymru* will have a nation-wide structure in place and a membership of thousands.

Welsh independence is our birthright; the sovereignty of nations forms the very basis of

international law. This booklet puts the case for our ability to govern our own affairs. Faced with the arguments presented here, coupled with the fast-changing constitutional landscape, we ask: How can the issue of Welsh independence be ignored any longer and what possible case is there for the status quo?

Why independence?

This booklet aims to answer your questions about Welsh independence in a simple, honest and concise way. It is aimed at those who are curious, doubtful or even sceptical. Our aim in this guide is to be ‘straight-talking’, to be clear about the facts. It will give you the information that you need to be more confident about an independent Wales – and about influencing others.

We believe the time has come for a full debate on independence for Wales. Why?

Why not?

You might think that Wales is too small to be independent, but some of the most prosperous, most equal, and happiest countries in the world are small nations. What makes the people of Wales any different from the Slovaks, Danes or the Irish? Isn't it simple common sense that

decisions about Wales should be made in Wales? Not some of the decisions, but all of them. Wales isn't perfect, and there are plenty of problems that need to be tackled. But wouldn't it be easier to tackle these problems if our government was a Welsh one, totally focused on Welsh needs? At the moment we are regarded by Westminster as a minor part; Westminster's policies are built around the needs of others. It stands to reason that Westminster's policies are not put in place to benefit Wales. If an institution has historically failed to treat your needs adequately, surely the natural step is to form your own institution and take hold of your own fate. Independence is an opportunity to build a better Wales.

Wales is different

Many times we've heard people say: "Wales? Isn't that just part of England?". Wales has a lot in common with the rest of the UK, but we also know that there is much that makes us different. Wales has its own distinct politics, values and worldview; its own culture, history and language. Yet all too often Wales is treated as a region of England. Independence isn't about creating division; it's

about celebrating our unique place in the world and becoming a proper part of the international family of nations.

Get the government that you vote for

Welsh MPs make up 6 per cent of the House of Commons. In general elections, no matter how Wales votes, we get the Westminster government that England wants. Since 1945 the vote of the people of Wales at UK general elections only influenced the political map of the UK for two years, between 1964 and 1966.

Wales' voice in Westminster is a small one, and getting smaller. At the general election in June 2017, the people of Wales sent 40 MPs to Westminster. By the next general election, the number of Welsh MPs is likely to fall to 29. The UK is, and will always be, an unequal union. The people of Wales need to take control of our own destiny.

No more excuses from Cardiff Bay

Since 1999, we have had devolution in Wales. Whilst progress has been made in some areas, Wales remains the poorest of the UK Nations, and

improvements in devolved areas of Government such as health and education have been frustratingly slow. There is an argument to be made that genuine, sustainable change can only be made by a Welsh Government that has all the levers of power at its disposal. How can you have a truly joined-up approach to health and social care for instance, if welfare spending and taxation are not within your jurisdiction? A Welsh Government empowered to think of itself as such, rather than perpetuating the ‘devolved administration’ mindset, would be free to be more ambitious for Wales. Independence gives Wales the tools to turn our fortunes around, but it also means that we can hold our own politicians accountable and force them to be more ambitious for our nation’s future.

It’s a risk, but the rewards are great

Lots of people say that independence is a nice idea, but Wales could never afford it. And yes, becoming an independent nation would come with risks. Nothing in life is risk-free, especially things worth having; but people take the plunge because they want a better life for themselves. An increasing number of people are starting to

see that the debate about independence focuses too much on the risk, and not on the rewards. This is a subtle change of perspective, but the result is empowering. Wales is rich in resources, but we don't make the most of those resources. Independence would open new doors for Wales, allowing the people of Wales to build an economy based on Welsh priorities, not British ones. We need to acknowledge the risks, without talking down Wales' potential. Given our powerlessness under the present system, we might ask whether the worst risk of all is to allow things to remain as they are.

A new beginning

Since the early 1980s, and the loss of our heavy industries, Wales has been in a state of depression. No matter who is in power in Westminster, things have gone backwards in Wales. Our economy is failing the majority, our declining educational institutions reflect wider challenges in society and a lack of political accountability. Too many of our young people are facing a future bereft of genuine hope and ambition. We can't rely on others to turn this situation around. It's time for the people of

Wales to take the initiative, and work together to create a new nation. No one else will do it for us. It is up to us to write the next chapter of Welsh history.

Why isn't devolution enough, and what difference would independence make?

Since 1999, some powers have been devolved to Wales. The Welsh government has been given responsibility for some areas of public policy, such as health, education, local government, economic development and the Welsh language. So why do we need independence? Can't we just work with the system that we've got?

While devolution was a huge step forward for Wales, the present system is flawed. The Welsh government gets to make decisions about some things, but the UK government often limits what Wales is able to do. A clear example of this is the new financial settlement that is to be enacted from April 2019 onwards. Wales is promised the power

to vary income taxes, but only with the agreement of the UK government. How much Wales can vary taxes will be restricted, and it will have to be done within a fiscal framework that is agreed between government ministers in Cardiff and our larger “partner” in London.

There is a long list of areas where Wales has no power at all, in Wales! For instance, we can't legislate on criminal law, and don't control our courts or our prison and probation services. The Westminster government is proposing to give Greater Manchester power over its police force, but not Wales. At the same time, there is an inherent contradiction in the devolution story in Wales. Despite the dominant narrative being that further devolution is a better option than full independence, when given the option to vote for more powers, many Welsh MPs do not do so. This was the case with the 2016 Wales Bill, where many Welsh MPs abstained in votes that would have devolved policing and other powers to Wales.

Also, decisions about energy generation are made outside Wales, because the UK government doesn't think that we can be trusted to make these

decisions for ourselves. Under the latest devolution settlement, any energy generation development bigger than 350MW has to be approved by the government in Westminster. This is just one example of the way in which Westminster retains power over key areas, denying the Welsh government an opportunity to transform our economy.

Wales is forced into wars, including illegal ones like Iraq, against our will.

When it comes to broadcasting, we rarely see Welsh life on our own TV screens. While in Scotland there will be a new channel for their nation, Wales is forced to accept crumbs from Westminster's table. Who can justify MPs from England deciding on the fate of S4C, or denying us more Welsh programming for BBC Wales?

The current system limits the powers of the Welsh government, and it's also muddled and confusing. Who is responsible for making decisions, and about what, is unclear even to the experts. For example, in 2012, when the Welsh government decided to create an opt-out system for organ

donations, this was challenged by the UK government. They argued that Wales didn't have the legal powers to pass such a law, and the case was referred to the Supreme Court in London. If the politicians themselves cannot be clear about Wales' powers, how is the ordinary voter meant to know? The people of Wales should be able to hold politicians accountable for their actions, but unless we know who has responsibility for what, then this becomes impossible. The present system undermines several basic tenets of democracy.

What does devolution mean in practice?

The British system of government is highly centralised, with power ultimately residing with the parliament in Westminster. Under devolution, Westminster delegates powers to Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland – but it never fully surrenders those powers. The UK parliament retains ultimate authority over the whole of the UK; any powers that it gives to the constituent nations can be taken away on a whim.

Despite the best intentions of the devolution project, the way it has been designed has limited Wales' ability to run its own affairs. We could work

to improve the current system, devolving more powers to Wales, while trying to limit the UK's ability to veto Welsh initiatives, but is that enough? Independence means a clean slate for Wales. *YesCymru* believes that the best way forward is in working together to build a democracy that is clear, transparent, and accountable to the people.

Making Wales wealthier

One of the reasons we advocate independence is because we believe it can be a way of kick-starting the Welsh economy and expanding the tax base, in order to improve the quality of life of people in Wales. At present, we're forced to decide between cutting spending, or raising taxes.

YesCymru believes that independence will help change Wales' economy so it can be in a position to fulfil its potential, become more vibrant, more diverse and more agile, and fit for the future challenges that Wales will face.

Too small

A familiar refrain is that Wales is 'too small' to be independent. However, if we look at the continent of Europe alone we see that there are a total of 18 independent nations with a smaller population than Wales! What these countries share, and what distinguishes them from Wales, is not their size, or

the ability and talents of their people, but the fact that they are sovereign powers with control over all of the tools required to shape and develop their economy.

We need only think of one of our nearest neighbours in this regard: the Republic of Ireland, with a GDP/head of €50,000, is doing so much better than Wales and Northern Ireland with a GDP/head of around €23,000.

Moreover, rather than proving a hindrance, being small can provide added opportunities. Adam Price and Ben Levigen's essay *The Flotilla Effect* identified a number of advantages small nations have over larger nations when it comes to economics: they're generally more open to trade; they tend to have greater social cohesion and improved democratic decision-making; and they find it easier to adapt to economic shocks.

Look, for instance, at how quickly the economies of the Republic of Ireland and Iceland have recovered since the financial crash of 2008. Both economies were hit hard by the Great Recession, and – like the UK, USA and much of Europe – went through

a period of harsh austerity. But by 2014, the economy of the Republic of Ireland was growing at a rate faster than that of China and India, with unemployment and the government deficit being slashed. Iceland – a tiny nation of some 300,000 people – is doing even better, and its economy has now returned to its pre-2008 size.

When the Iron Curtain came down in the early 1990s, many smaller nations than Wales emerged from the old Eastern Bloc. They have proved to be nimble, effective, outward-looking players on the world stage. The Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have proved particularly successful. Despite the parlous state of their economies when they came out of Communism, they have grown to be world leaders, out-performing many parts of Western Europe. What might Wales look like today if we'd won our independence in 1990? *The Flotilla Effect* considered this in detail, and concluded that had that happened, the Welsh economy would be 39 per cent larger than it is today.

Control over our economy

Of course, independence wouldn't automatically

make Wales wealthier. But what it would do is give the Welsh government a set of economic tools that it doesn't have at the moment. Currently, the Welsh government has minimal powers over taxation and borrowing. The powers it does have are, however, hamstrung in ways that ensure England is not disadvantaged. For the most part, the British government simply hands Cardiff Bay an annual grant, which the Welsh Government uses to pay for Welsh services. This effectively means that Welsh economic policy is made in Westminster, and driven by the needs of the UK as a whole.

Independence would give Wales full control over economic policy. Not only would we be able to set our own level of taxes: we'd have control over how they're collected. No more letting the super-rich dodge their taxes while ordinary people pay theirs. The tax code could be simplified, taking out many of the loopholes that multinational companies currently exploit. The UK tax code is currently 17,000 pages long, while Hong Kong's is under 300 pages. Some countries, such as Norway, publish all tax returns, so that the system is totally transparent. None of these things are possible

under devolution, but they'd all be on the table if Wales was independent.

Likewise, after independence, Wales would be responsible for regulating its own financial sector. When the banks went bust in 2008, the UK government decided to bail them out. While this had a massive impact on the economy, and on the lives of ordinary people, not a single banker was held to account for gambling with and losing our money. Compare this, again, with what has happened in Iceland. Their government decided to bail out ordinary people, writing off parts of mortgages and small-business loans that had been forced up by the crash. Twenty-six bankers, who had been gambling recklessly with their economy, were jailed. An independent Wales could set up its own system of regulation, designed to protect everyone, not just the banks.

Indeed, an independent Wales would have the freedom to implement, very swiftly, many of those ideas that are recognized as essential to our prosperity, such as a development bank that could provide loans for those small and medium-size businesses that are lifeblood of our economy.

The possibilities are endless, from infrastructure investment in broadband and transport, to the rapid development of large energy projects, and putting ourselves at the front of the queue in order to attract high-tech manufacturing industries. All these policies can be embedded within other aspects of development that we value as a country, such as respect for the environment, social justice, and ensuring prosperity and a decent quality of life across all parts of Wales.

Can Wales afford independence?

I ndependence might sound like an appealing idea, but will it work in practice? Can Wales afford to stand on its own two feet?

One argument that is mentioned regularly is that although Wales has a trade surplus of around £5 billion a year, it is currently running a fiscal deficit.

However, the important point to make is that this fiscal deficit is not inevitable. Wales is currently running a fiscal deficit *as part of the UK*. It is not pre-ordained that Wales must suffer from a shortfall in revenue, and there are no obstacles in terms of our abilities, education system, or our place in the world that would render us unable to address the issue as an independent nation.

Moreover, simply by looking at the estimated fiscal balance over the last two decades, we see that

this figure has fluctuated significantly from a low in 1999/00 to a high in 2009/10 following the global financial crisis. The fiscal deficit of the UK as a whole was as high as £167.4bn in 2009/10. It is far from ideal, but it isn't uncommon for independent nations to periodically run with a fiscal deficit. In fact all of the OECD countries at present and for the last eight years have on average run budget deficits of between 3 and 8 per cent. At the peak of the financial crisis Ireland ran a budget deficit of 30 per cent, from which it has now recovered with careful management of its economy.

As an independent nation, in the mid to the long term, we can look to exploit all of our advantages and free ourselves from Westminster-imposed restrictions on the economy and taxation. Locked in the UK, we are suffering from the effects of a classic exploitative, extractive economy. By becoming independent, we can reshape the system.

The current situation

Despite being able to recognize the potential

of Wales and the options open to us as a small independent nation, it is important to recognize the situation as it stands and understand the task facing us – especially with respect to Wales’ position in terms of relative wealth and public spending today. However, there is a large caveat attached to any such considerations, namely that there is a certain amount of guesswork attached to many of the figures that are used as indicators. For example, although we do know what our exports outside of the UK are to the EU, USA and other trade partners, we do not know what the internal UK exports from Wales are. GDP should therefore be described as an estimate only, with no known error margin for that estimate either.

With respect to the fiscal balance, in April 2016, Cardiff University’s Wales Governance Centre published one of the most comprehensive reports ever produced on public spending in Wales. This report is to be particularly welcomed given the absence of information regarding Wales’ fiscal affairs (an equivalent report has been carried out by the Scottish Government and Northern Irish executive for some years). It found that while

some £23.3bn in taxes was raised in Wales in 2014-15, public expenditure was some £38bn.

Those opposed to independence argued that these figures put an end to any talk of independence. Wales has a fiscal gap of £14.7bn, and unless we can close that gap, independence means either massive tax hikes, or cuts in public services.

But is this really the case?

It is important to recognize that our deficit at the moment is about 23 per cent of GDP. However, this deficit is coming down, and it should be noted that £6.5 billion of the deficit is a result of pensions – reflecting the current imbalance in our ageing population. The figures included in the Wales Governance Centre report include money that is being spent in Wales, but they also include allocations for UK-wide spending that are arguably disproportionately high. Much of this money is spent in other parts of the UK, with Wales seeing none of the benefit.

Take, for instance, the HS2 high-speed rail link between London and Birmingham. Despite the fact that the entire project is based in England,

the UK government says that Welsh people will benefit from it, so they count part of the cost against Welsh public spending. Likewise, the UK government sets £1.75bn of defence spending against the Welsh budget (a figure that could also be greatly reduced in an independent Wales – see the section on Defence), and £517m of foreign affairs spending. There is talk of refurbishing the Houses of Parliament in London, at a cost of £7bn. If this happens, then a part of that cost will be counted against Welsh public expenditure. It seems there is potentially plenty we could cut from “Welsh” public expenditure without it making a significant difference to Wales.

When considering government expenditure and revenue in Wales it is also instructive to look to Scotland where reports, like the one produced by the Wales Governance Centre, have been produced for many years and there is some debate about how they should bear upon the debate about independence. Economists Jim and Margaret Cuthbert have studied GERS (*Government Expenditure and Revenue in Scotland*) over a number of years and provided criticism that has

driven the evolution of the report, and in one of their more recent publications it has been argued that despite improvements these reports can only provide a partial view of the situation regarding finances. In particular we should consider that they cannot include information on capital and investment flows that inform the annual ‘Pink Book’ published by the Office of National Statistics for the UK economy – and that this data can potentially make a very significant difference to the overall picture.

There are also outstanding questions about the limits and shortcomings of the data that is used for these reports, including the fact that numerous sums must be estimated from UK expenditure as Westminster effectively refuses to provide the more accurate data that is required. Richard Murphy from the University of London is one economist who has taken up these questions recently to challenge some of the underlying assumptions in the debate.

‘England and Wales’ means no Welsh data

Moreover, in Wales at present, all companies here are registered in England & Wales, as we have

a single legal jurisdiction. As a consequence, companies that often have more than one factory or office site will register in England and all taxes are collated in the English Headquarters with no clear distinction of what taxes (especially corporation tax) are being raised in the Wales site. The Office of National Statistics simply does not have this information.

The key point is that the total of expenditure in GERS says very little about the total public expenditure a Welsh government might deploy if it were making the decisions itself. With respect to revenue, GERS describes the status quo and the consequences of tax decisions made at Westminster. In itself, the GERS revenue figures give some sense of the challenge in the short term, but they say relatively little about the tax revenues which could be available to a Welsh government under the different circumstances brought about through independence.

Pound, Euro or Punt?

During the Scottish referendum debate in 2014, we heard a lot of discussion of what would happen to monetary policy. The Scots, of course, already issue their own banknotes, but these are ultimately backed by the Bank of England. Issuing Welsh money would be a new development in Wales, but it's an area where independence would allow us to make the choice that's right for our own economic circumstances.

There are at least five currency options, each with their own pros and cons:

Keep the pound in a formal currency union

This would cause minimal disruption, but it would mean retaining the Bank of England as the lender of last resort and Bank of England interest rates. As it would require a fiscal union with England, questions would be raised on whether Wales were truly independent.

Keep the pound (or another currency) as a substitute currency

Nations can legally use whatever currency they want without being in a currency union. In these circumstances, a substitute currency is used instead of, or in parallel with, a local currency. At present, nobody uses the pound as a substitute; the main currency substitute is the American dollar (though some European countries like Montenegro use the euro without being in the eurozone or EU).

A Welsh currency pegged to the pound (or another currency)

Wales would have its own currency – the punt – with a 1:1/equal value to the pound. It would require Wales to establish its own central bank (and issue its own coins and notes) with pound sterling remaining legal currency. However, it would mean that the value of the Welsh currency would rise and fall in line with another currency regardless of its impact on the Welsh economy.

This is in line with what Ireland did for many years and then over time let their currency free-float with sterling until Ireland finally joined the Euro.

A Welsh currency with its own exchange rate

This would mean Wales having complete control over monetary and fiscal policy, setting interest rates and controlling the money supply. Switzerland, though a member of the Single Market via its bilateral trade agreements, has its own currency which is largely pegged to the Euro to avoid large increases in the valuation of its currency and is seen as a safe haven for money during financial difficulties in Europe. Wales could do something similar to this with Sterling to avoid an overheated currency which could bring difficulties to exports and tourism.

Join the euro

This would be an option only if Wales decided to re-join the EU, and it would still require a Welsh currency in the interim period, with controls on public spending deficits and voluntary membership of the ERM II for two years. It would, however, make it easier to trade with the EU and could boost foreign tourism; but it could also mean being dragged into a European fiscal union and highly-charged referendums on Wales both re-joining the EU and the euro itself.

At the end of day, this would be a matter for us all to decide, as part of independence negotiations. Making the right choice would be about choosing what best suits our economic circumstances at that time. But the point is that there are plenty of options available. There's no need to listen to scaremongering about Wales being forced to adopt an unsuitable currency against our will. Independence is about using the tools we have to help us choose the option that works best for Wales.

What about the monarchy?

Y*esCymru* believes that the two issues of independence and the monarchy are best kept separate. Some who support Welsh Independence, or are indy-curious, may be in favour of keeping the monarchy, whilst others are staunch republicans.

One proposal is that the monarchy could be maintained after independence through adopting 'Dominion' status, following the historical precedent of countries such as Australia and Canada (where the Queen remains the head of state). If we did retain the monarchy, even temporarily, the relationship between Wales and the crown would be different, post-independence. Welsh land that is currently owned by the royal family – the Crown Estate – would transfer to the control of the Welsh Government. In 2015-16, the Crown Estate in Wales had property assets of

£91.6million and revenues of £10.5million. There's no massive windfall from the Crown Estate, but the money could be re-invested however a Welsh Government saw fit, with the land held in trust.

For those who are not in favour of keeping the monarchy, it is worth remembering that it took Ireland fifteen years (from the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty) to become a republic. This question would be best put to the people in a separate referendum as a constitutional amendment.

A constitution for Wales

In 1997, the people of Wales voted, in a referendum, to support devolution. Two years later, the Welsh Assembly was established. In 2011, the people of Wales voted in another referendum, this time to increase the powers of the Assembly. In 2017, many of these powers were clawed back by the government in Westminster through the new Wales Act: no referendum, just a decision by a British government to undermine devolution in Wales.

Devolved power is temporary, and can easily be taken away. Independence would allow us to establish Welsh democracy on a permanent footing.

The Wales Act of 2017, which undermined our democratic rights in Wales, was possible because the UK doesn't have a written constitution. The Welsh Assembly was created by passing a law in

London, and its powers were reduced by another law in London.

The UK is one of the few nations of the world that doesn't have its own written constitution. Instead, the UK's "constitution" is shaped by decisions of English lawmakers and English court judgements, sometimes going back generations, even centuries.

When a nation gains its independence, one of its first collective acts is to write a constitution, setting out how that nation will be governed. It places responsibilities and limits upon the government. And it confers permanent, inalienable rights upon the citizens of that nation. Many modern democracies use their constitutions to guarantee universal human rights. They protect the individual, and guarantee citizens their freedom of speech and of thought, freedom of assembly, religious freedom, their right to privacy and a family life. Constitutions can also guarantee fair treatment through the criminal justice system, and the right to democratic participation.

Independence means a clean slate, and an opportunity to create and shape a new Wales,

working to rules we choose to set ourselves. Many nations have adopted constitutions that go beyond guaranteeing basic liberal rights. A Welsh constitution could guarantee a right to free healthcare and education, for instance. Citizens could have the right to a decent home, placing a responsibility on all future governments to eliminate homelessness.

The constitution of Wales could also take its lead from that of Finland, which protects its citizens from discrimination on the basis of language, whilst placing a permanent legal duty on future governments to protect and foster the Welsh language.

The process of drafting a Welsh Constitution would begin as soon as possible following a successful independence referendum, taking place during the period of negotiation between the Welsh and UK governments. There are a number of ways Wales could do it: we could either leave it to politicians, form an independent panel specifically set up to write a constitution, or even “crowd-source” a constitution by opening the process up to the public.

Once agreed, constitutions tend to be difficult to change. In some nations, the constitution can only be changed by referendum. Other nations demand that a supermajority vote in parliament – usually two thirds of the members, in both houses. In the USA, amendments usually have to be proposed by two thirds of Congress, and then ratified by three quarters of the states. The precise process for amending the Welsh constitution would have to be decided while writing the constitution itself. But the fundamental importance is that a written constitution would place Welsh democracy on a permanent footing. Our rights would be guaranteed, and only the Welsh people themselves would be able to make changes to our own constitutional rights.

Wales and the world

Wales currently has little influence on global affairs. On the world stage, the Westminster government speaks for the whole of the UK. Because England makes up 84 per cent of the UK's population, it is the needs of England that drive our negotiations with other countries. We have seen this already during the Brexit negotiations: in January 2017 it was revealed that the British government considers the steel industry a low priority in future trade talks. It doesn't matter to England, so it's sent to the back of the queue.

Wales and Brexit

Whatever your view on the EU, independence is the best way of guaranteeing Wales' future post-Brexit. If we have to negotiate new trade deals, then these deals need to be ones that favour Wales. The British government can't be trusted to put the Welsh economy first. Their priority is to

protect banking and financial services, based in the south-east of England. Welsh industries won't be anywhere near the top of London's list when it comes to trade talks.

An independent Wales would be able to do its own deals, meaning that it could fight for a fair settlement on the parts of the economy that matter to us.

We could follow the example of Switzerland or Norway and pay only a membership fee to access the single market (either within or outside the European Free Trade Association). We could also negotiate our own free trade agreement with the EU. An independent Wales could even hold another referendum on EU membership. If the result was different to 2016, we could apply to rejoin, applying via Article 49 of the Lisbon Treaty. The process wouldn't be an easy one, but the fact remains that an independent Wales would make its own decisions on its place in the world.

Whichever way you voted in the EU referendum, the fact of the matter is that Welsh interests would be best served by having Welsh negotiators at the

global table, arguing Wales' case. Recent events have shown us, perhaps more clearly than ever, that rather than being "stronger together" in the UK, Wales' voice is lost entirely when it comes to negotiating the relationship with the EU and other countries.

Defence

One of the most important functions of government is to defend its citizens. Defence means much more than fighter jets and aircraft carriers. It also means protecting us from harm, in whatever form that harm comes – whether military, man-made disasters or natural disasters. So the first question to ask is what does Wales need defending from?

Wales is in, arguably, one of the safest parts of the world, and the chances of Wales being attacked or invaded by a foreign country are slim. UK foreign policy and our association with it represents the biggest security risk to Wales – independence would make us safer. Other security risks facing Wales post-independence would include climate-related issues like flooding and extreme weather events.

The military also has a role in supporting foreign

policy. That includes a combat role, but is just as likely to include peacekeeping missions, disaster relief efforts, search and rescue operations, routine patrols to meet fisheries policy obligations, as well as counter-smuggling and counter-terrorism missions. A “Peace Academy” modelled on those in Flanders and Catalonia has been mooted for Wales before; we could also follow Ireland’s example in becoming a centre of excellence for training military personnel for humanitarian and peacekeeping operations.

It is, of course, entirely possible for a nation to go without an army. Costa Rica, a nation of some 4.5 million people, hasn’t had a standing military since 1949. But assuming that Wales does choose to have an army, what might it look like, and how much might it cost?

If we decided to follow the Irish example and establish ‘Welsh Defence Forces’, it would likely have a single command structure and be made up of army, naval and airborne services, with the emphasis on land-based forces. These would be supported by reservists, and ‘Welsh Defence Forces’ would likely be between 5,000-7,000 strong.

It's important to remember that the UK ranks eighth in the world for military spending per head. Despite the fact that not a single regiment is actually based in Wales, the UK government claims that it spends £1.7bn per year on the military in Wales. This is almost as much as we spend on the school system every year (£1.86 billion). It's almost five times as much as the total amount spent on the police in Wales (£355 million). By comparison, Ireland spends the equivalent of £140-per-head on defence. If Wales spent a similar amount per head, it would add up to some £430 million a year – much lower than £1.7 billion.

The decision to send troops into combat is the most serious responsibility any politician bears. In the UK, however, the Prime Minister has broad-ranging powers to wage war without parliamentary approval. An independent Wales could place constitutional limits on politicians' ability to deploy troops.

In terms of internal security, the UK currently subjects its population to greater surveillance than almost any other state. British citizens live their lives in view of more CCTV cameras than any other

country in Europe. The Investigatory Powers Act 2016 – the so-called ‘Snooper’s Charter’ – gives the government broad-ranging powers to access our online activities. An independent Wales would be able to write a right to privacy into its constitution, limiting the ability of future governments to intrude into people’s private lives.

Immigration & Nationality

As an independent nation, Wales would decide who could cross our borders. We could choose a hard border, but this is not the only option, and independence would not necessitate guard posts on the Severn Bridge.

Ireland has been independent since 1922, but when you get off the ferry at Dublin or Rosslare you don't need to show anyone your passport. This is because the UK and the Republic of Ireland have agreed a Common Travel Area (CTA) that allows citizens of the two countries to come and go as they please. This situation may well change post-Brexit, but both the British and Irish governments have said that they want to keep the open border between the two nation states. An independent Wales, like an independent Scotland, would likely be offered the same deal as the Irish.

At the end of the day, immigration would be

a matter for the Welsh government, making decisions that are right for the people of Wales. This could mean doing a deal with the rest of the UK, and agreeing a common immigration policy. Or it could also mean forming independent agreements with the rest of the world with respect to who can live and work in Wales.

The key point is that visitation, immigration and citizenship, like everything else, would be a decision for the people of Wales, based on Welsh needs.

But what about.....?

Many people will find the idea of independence appealing, but will worry about throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Building a new democracy might sound exciting, but most people want to know that their daily lives won't be turned upside down overnight.

Would I still have access to the same TV and radio programmes?

As the name suggests, the BBC is a British corporation. Your licence fee is collected by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in London, and then handed over to the BBC to fund its programmes. How that money is then divided between the different nations and regions is decided in London, by the BBC's unitary board. Thirteen directors sit on this board, with only one of them representing Wales.

If Wales became independent, the BBC could

decide to stop providing services to Welsh viewers and listeners. If this happened, then the Welsh government would have to decide what should take its place – potentially deciding to set up a Welsh Broadcasting Service. But if the BBC didn't provide a Welsh service, then it would lose the revenue from Welsh licence fee-payers. A much more likely outcome is that the BBC would be reformed along federal lines. BBC Wales would become a separate legal entity, working alongside BBC England, BBC Scotland and possibly BBC Northern Ireland to provide a service that reflects the different demands of the four nations.

The responsibility for S4C would transfer from the British government to the Welsh government. Commercial television would barely be affected. Sky is available in the Republic of Ireland, as are Virgin Media and YouView. BT's TV services are also available via Ireland's Setanta service. There's no practical reason why any of these services (or future services) wouldn't be available in an independent Wales. There would also be the opportunity to develop more community-based and not-for-profit media.

What would happen to Welsh sports teams?

Wales is already “independent” in many sports – notably football and rugby – while we also have a strong boxing and cycling heritage. Independence would ensure Welsh Olympic and Paralympic teams, meaning Welsh athletes who are currently denied the chance of competing at the Olympics and Paralympics (because they have to fight for places in Team GB) can realise their dreams.

The most popular sport where Wales doesn't compete in its own right at the highest level is cricket. It's actually our own cricket body – Cricket Wales – that is blocking a Welsh cricket team, despite the boost that taking part in the one day and T20 competitions would bring.

As Wales is already “independent” in football, there is no reason why Swansea City, Cardiff City and the other Welsh clubs could not continue to participate in the English pyramid after independence if they so choose.

What would happen to major UK public sector employers in Wales like the DVLA in Swansea, Office for National Statistics

(ONS) in Newport and HM Revenue & Customs?

Some jobs might be lost as departments downsize, but Wales would need an equivalent of the DVLA, ONS and HMRC etc. Public sector workers could be redeployed to new departments, such as a Welsh equivalent of the Ministry of Defence or Foreign Office. It is likely enough jobs would be created in new public departments to replace any lost in downsized UK departments.

Could I still use English hospitals?

If you've ever been taken ill while on holiday in Europe, you'll know that you're able to use the same doctors and hospitals that the locals use. The hospital takes your details, and passes the bill for your care on to the government at home. Post-independence, we could set up a similar system to cover the British Isles. Those travelling back and forth between England and Wales, as well as those living on the border, would be guaranteed easy access to healthcare wherever they happened to be when they fell ill.

What about my local council?

An independent Wales could create a system of meaningful local democracy. Councils could be given constitutional protection, to guard against meddling by central government. They could be allowed to raise their own revenues, and spend local taxes on local priorities. Boundaries could be fixed, with no more pointless re-organisation. Independence is a chance to reinvent Welsh democracy.

The road to independence

Wales can only become independent if the people of Wales wish it. A majority of Welsh voters would have to support independence, in a referendum recognised both by the Welsh government, and the British government.

The first step is to elect a pro-independence Welsh Government. This could be made up of one majority party, or a coalition of parties that support independence. One of the main things that we need to do is try to persuade our political parties that this is an idea worth fighting for. At the moment, there is only one major political party that supports Welsh independence, but there's no reason why this should be so. There are *YesCymru* supporters representing a wide range of political parties and there is scope for members to influence the policies of these parties.

Welsh independence is an opportunity to build a better, more efficient, more accountable modern democracy. This is a cause that politicians of every party should support. There's every reason why members from many political parties should support independence. It's about creating a democracy that works for the Welsh people, a new Wales that's fit for the 21st Century: a cause that we should all be able to get behind.

Once the arguments are presented clearly and openly for debate, we can start to plan for independence.

The most obvious way to achieve independence would be via a referendum. However, Wales alone doesn't have the power to call an independence referendum. Westminster would have to give its consent, and pass legislation to authorise a referendum. But if a majority of Welsh Assembly members passed a motion calling for a referendum, it would be very difficult for the British government to say no.

Talks between the Welsh and UK governments would lead to a referendum bill being

introduced in Westminster. Details such as the wording of the question, how the campaign was to be run, and who could vote would be overseen by the Electoral Commission. The people of Wales would vote, deciding whether to remain part of the UK or not.

If there's a vote in favour of independence in a referendum, then Wales wouldn't become independent instantly. A constitutional convention would have to be arranged. The two governments would have to enter into negotiations. The Welsh government would need to decide what kind of relationship it would have with the rest of the UK, and also the rest of the world. All in all, it might take a few years before the process is completed. In 2013 the Scottish Government estimated that it would take some two years to complete the process of independence, and Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty allows for two years for Britain to negotiate the terms of its exit from the EU.

When all of the discussions had been completed, Wales would need to hold elections. A new government would be elected, under the terms

of the new constitution, and Wales would finally take its place among the other free nations of the world.

How can I help to make it happen?

YesCymru's aim is to gain independence for Wales in order to improve the way our country is governed. We believe in an inclusive citizenship, which embraces and celebrates the fact that everyone who chooses to make Wales their home – regardless of their background – are full citizens of the new Wales. If you support our aim:

- Share this booklet with others. A free pdf copy is available online at – yes.cymru/independence
- Join YesCymru! You can easily join our movement online – yes.cymru/join
- Follow us on Twitter – @YesCymru, and on Facebook – facebook.com/YesCymru
- Join one of the increasing number of local YesCymru groups. If there isn't one in your local area, why not start one?

- Share leaflets with people in your community, arrange street stalls and organise public meetings. For further information contact us.
- Speak to your elected representatives, and if you are a member of a political party, lobby them.
- Most importantly, discuss independence with your friends, family members and work colleagues. Together, we can make a difference.

Get in touch:

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