



**Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru**  
**(Y Cofnod Swyddogol)**

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Yn y golofn chwith, cofnodwyd y trafodion yn yr iaith y llefarwyd hwy ynnddi yn y Siambr.  
Yn y golofn dde, cynhwyswyd cyfieithiad o'r areithiau hynny.

*In the left-hand column, the proceedings are recorded in the language in which they were spoken in the Chamber. In the right-hand column, a translation of those speeches has been included.*

*Cyfarfu'r Cynulliad am 2 p.m. gyda'r Llywydd yn y Gadair  
The Assembly met at 2 p.m. with the Presiding Officer in the Chair*

## **Cwestiynau i'r Prif Ysgrifennydd Questions to the First Secretary**

### **Effaith Dirywiad Amgylcheddol ar y Tlawd Impact of Environmental Degradation on the Poor**

**Q1 Phil Williams:** Has the First Secretary had any discussions with the Secretary with responsibility for social inclusion with regard to the impact of environmental degradation on the poor? (OAQ4506)

**The First Secretary (Rhodri Morgan):** This is a constant subject of discussion between myself, Edwina Hart and other Cabinet colleagues who have a peripheral interest in it. Edwina Hart takes the lead interest, as Phil will know from the changes that I made to portfolios on becoming First Secretary.

**Phil Williams:** I am sure that Rhodri is as conscious as I am of the effects of contamination on health, quality of life and, above all, economic prospects in the vicinity of Nantygwyddon and Trecatti landfill sites for example. What measures and resources will the Assembly bear to help those locked in contaminated communities?

**The First Secretary:** Phil will be aware that Sue Essex has agreed to hold an inquiry on the Nantygwyddon site. Trecatti is also an issue, although I am told that it is not a particularly deprived location. Perhaps Phil could tell me more if he believes that it is. Pollutants such as heavy industry or poor air quality in a neighbourhood of large industrial plants have been part of our inheritance in Wales for 240 years, from the first wave of the industrial revolution which started at Dowlais in 1760. We associate those two things. People say that it would be terrible if a pall of smoke from a coke oven or a sinter plant was not there any more as all the jobs would be lost, even though the trees would grow better in Port Talbot or wherever. It is a price that you will remember from the old

**C1 Phil Williams:** A yw'r Prif Ysgrifennydd wedi cael trafodaethau gyda'r Ysgrifennydd sydd â chyfrifoldeb dros gynhwysiant cymdeithasol am effaith dirywiad amgylcheddol ar y tlawd? (OAQ4506)

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd (Rhodri Morgan):** Mae hyn yn destun trafod cyson rhyngof fi, Edwina Hart a chyd-Aelodau eraill yn y Cabinet sydd â diddordeb ymylol ynddo. Edwina Hart a gymer y diddordeb arweiniol, fel y bydd Phil yn gwybod o'r newidiadau a wneuthum mewn portffolios wrth ddod yn Brif Ysgrifennydd.

**Phil Williams:** Yr wyf yn sicr bod Rhodri mor ymwybodol â minnau o effeithiau difwyno ar iechyd, ansawdd bywyd ac, uwchlaw popeth, rhagolygon economaidd yng nghyffiniau safleoedd tirlenwi Nantygwyddon a Trecatti, er enghraifft. Pa fesurau ac adnoddau y bydd y Cynulliad yn eu cyflwyno i helpu'r rhai a gaeir oddi mewn i gymunedau a ddifwynwyd?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Bydd Phil yn ymwybodol bod Sue Essex wedi cytuno i gynnal ymchwiliad i safle Nantygwyddon. Mae Trecatti yn destun trafod hefyd, er y dywedir wrthyf nad yw'n lleoliad arbennig o ddifreintiedig. Efallai y gallai Phil ddweud rhagor wrthyf os cred ei fod. Bu llygrwyr fel diwydiant trwm neu ansawdd aer gwael mewn cymdogaeth lle y ceir gweithfeydd diwydiannol mawr yn rhan o'n hetifeddiaeth yng Nghymru ers 240 mlynedd, ers ton gyntaf y chwyldro diwydiannol a ddechreuodd yn Nowlais yn 1760. Cysylltw'n y ddau beth hynny. Dywed pobl y byddai'n ofnadwy pe na bai gorchudd o fwg o ffwrn olog neu waith sinter yno mwyach gan y byddai'r holl swyddi wedi eu colli, er y byddai'r coed yn tyfu yn well ym Mhort

campaigns of 'bread not beauty' in Blaenau Ffestiniog 20 or 30 years ago. The Llywydd may have led a demonstration with a sign saying 'bread not beauty'. You cannot eat beauty, as they used to say in Blaenau Ffestiniog and in Milford Haven when the Esso refinery began operating there in 1960. It is a constant issue. These days, the nature of industry has changed. Therefore, the dramatic difference between having a job in a smokestack company and not having a job, but possibly your children having fewer worries about health, will no longer be with us in the more knowledge-related economy of the future.

**David Melding:** The use of new technologies, however, can dramatically improve air quality, even in quite traditional industries. This is important, as bad air quality can have much effect on the vulnerable, the old and the young. We need to stop that to get maximal health gain.

**The First Secretary:** I agree with David. As someone who has suffered persistent asthma for the past 35 years, I am conscious of air quality and its effects on children in particular. I am also conscious of the rising number of children suffering from asthma. That is not always related to air quality. Some people say that it is related to the use of central heating and fitted carpets. These are two theories that have equal currency in the medical profession. Air quality probably has much to do with the poor health of the people of Wales in general. However, you cannot wish away our industrial past. No one would want to stand up in front of this Assembly and say that they wanted to close down every smokestack industry in Wales. We could not cope with that.

**Mick Bates:** Does the First Secretary support, for example, the proposal for a wood-fuelled power station at Newbridge on Wye, which would vastly reduce the lorry journeys whose emissions affect air quality in mid Wales? Will the First Secretary take such

Talbot neu ym mha le bynnag. Mae'n bris y byddwch yn ei gofio o'r hen ymgyrchoedd 'bara nid harddwch' ym Mlaenau Ffestiniog 20 neu 30 mlynedd yn ôl. Mae'n bosibl bod y Llywydd wedi arwain gwrthdystiad ag arwydd yn dweud 'bara nid harddwch'. Ni allwch fwyta harddwch, fel yr arferent ddweud ym Mlaenau Ffestiniog ac yn Aberdaugleddau pan ddechreuodd y burfa Esso weithredu yno yn 1960. Mae'n fater sydd yn codi'n gyson. Y dyddiau hyn, mae natur diwydiant wedi newid. Felly, ni fydd y gwahaniaeth dramatig rhwng bod â swydd mewn gwaith sydd yn difwyno a pheidio â bod â swydd, ond bod eich plant o bosibl yn profi llai o bryderon ynghylch iechyd, gyda ni mwyach yn economi'r dyfodol a fydd yn fwy cysylltiedig â gwybodaeth.

**David Melding:** Fodd bynnag, gall y defnydd o dechnolegau newydd wella ansawdd aer yn sylweddol, hyd yn oed mewn diwydiannau eithaf traddodiadol. Mae hyn yn bwysig, gan fod ansawdd aer gwael yn gallu effeithio'n ddirfawr ar rai sydd yn agored i niwed, yr hen a'r ifanc. Rhaid inni atal hynny er mwyn cael y gwelliant mwyaf posibl mewn iechyd.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Cytunaf â David. Fel un a ddioddefodd gan asthma parhaus am y 35 mlynedd diwethaf, yr wyf yn ymwybodol o ansawdd aer a'i effeithiau ar blant yn arbennig. Yr wyf hefyd yn ymwybodol o'r nifer cynyddol o blant sydd yn dioddef o asthma. Nid yw hyn yn gysylltiedig ag ansawdd aer bob amser. Dywed rhai ei fod yn gysylltiedig â'r defnydd o wres canolog a charpedi gosod. Mae'r rhain yn ddwy ddamcaniaeth sydd yr un mor gyffredin ymysg meddygon. Mae'n debygol fod cryn gysylltiad rhwng ansawdd aer a iechyd gwael pobl Cymru'n gyffredinol. Fodd bynnag, ni allwch anwybyddu bodolaeth ein gorffennol diwydiannol. Ni fyddai neb yn dymuno sefyll gerbron y Cynulliad hwn a dweud ei fod am gau pob diwydiant sydd yn difwyno yng Nghymru. Ni allem ddygymod â hynny.

**Mick Bates:** A yw'r Prif Ysgrifennydd, er enghraifft, yn cefnogi'r cynllun ar gyfer gorsaf bŵer sydd yn llosgi coed yn y Bontnewydd ar Wy, a fyddai'n byrhau'n ddirfawr deithiau'r lorïau y mae eu gollyngiadau'n effeithio ar ansawdd aer yng

action?

nghanolbarth Cymru? A wnaiff y Prif Ysgrifennydd gymryd camau o'r fath?

**The First Secretary:** I do not think that I can commit myself to take any action on a matter that could involve the appellate functions of the Assembly. Whatever I may think about the desirability of a sustainable development orientated proposal, I cannot give my support to an individual proposal that has been involved in planning controversy in the past. I do not know whether the same level of controversy will surround the latest, reworked proposal. If there is any chance of controversy and objectors to the proposal, I must step back from it due to the appellate role of the Assembly in determining any planning appeals.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni chredaf y gallaf ymrwymo i gymryd camau ar fater a allai ymwneud â swyddogaethau apeliadol y Cynulliad. Beth bynnag yw fy marn am ddymunoldeb cynllun sydd â gogwydd at ddatblygu cynaliadwy, ni allaf gefnogi cynllun unigol a fu'n gysylltiedig â dadl cynllunio yn y gorffennol. Ni wn a fydd yr un lefel o ddadlau ynghylch y cynllun diweddaraf, ailwampiedig. Os oes unrhyw debygolrwydd o ddadlau a gwrthwynebwyd i'r cynllun, rhaid imi gamu'n ôl oddi wrtho oherwydd rôl apeliadol y Cynulliad wrth benderfynu ar apeliadau cynllunio.

2:08 p.m.

### **Cronfa Adfywio Meysydd Glo Coalfields Regeneration Fund**

**Q2 Brian Hancock:** What steps has the First Secretary taken to obtain a fair distribution from the coalfields regeneration fund for Wales? (OAQ4483)

**C2 Brian Hancock:** Pa gamau a gymerodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd i sicrhau cyfran deg i Gymru o'r gronfa adfywio meysydd glo? (OAQ4483)

**The First Secretary:** The budget of £3.462 million that is available for the coalfields regeneration fund for Wales over the present three years is in proportion to Scotland and England's contributions and receipt of funds and is ringfenced for expenditure in Wales. We believe that it is fair. If Brian does not believe so, I would be glad if he could tell me why.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae'r gyllideb o £3.462 miliwn sydd ar gael i'r gronfa adfywio meysydd glo ar gyfer Cymru dros y tair blynedd hyn yn gymesur â'r arian a gyfrennir ac a dderbynnir gan yr Alban a Lloegr ac fe'i neilltuwyd i'w wario yng Nghymru. Credwn fod hynny'n deg. Os nad yw Brian yn credu felly, byddwn yn falch os gallai ddweud wrthyf y rheswm am hynny.

**Brian Hancock:** I am sure that you know about the £10 million that was taken from the miners' pension scheme by the UK Labour Government for funding the Coalfield Regeneration Trust. At the same time, the same Government is taking £250 million a year from the miners' pensions scheme. The Energy Minister will reportedly raid the same fund to pay the miners' compensation. Do you think that the allocation of funds should be based on the distribution of miners living in Wales, which would provide nearly double the present 6 per cent?

**Brian Hancock:** Yr wyf yn siŵr y gwyddoch am y £10 miliwn a gymerwyd o gynllun pensiynau'r glowyr gan Lywodraeth Lafur y DU i ariannu'r Ymddiriedolaeth Adfywio Meysydd Glo. Ar yr un pryd, mae'r un Lywodraeth yn cymryd £250 miliwn y flwyddyn o gynllun pensiynau'r glowyr. Deellir y bydd y Gweinidog Ynni'n ysbeilio'r un gronfa i dalu iawndal y glowyr. A gredwch y dylid seilio'r dyraniad o arian ar ddosbarthiad y glowyr sydd yn byw yng Nghymru, a ddarparai bron ddwbl y 6 y cant presennol?

**The First Secretary:** You are confusing two issues. There is an issue about whether any

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr ydych yn cymysgu rhwng dau fater. Mae cwestiwn ynghylch a

money at all should have been taken from the surplus in the miners' pension fund or whether the surplus should have been declared. That was not the question that you asked. It was about the distribution of the money from the miners' pension fund and the contributions that were made by the Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions and the Assembly. I assume that you still want a reply to the second half of the question about how the calculation was made. It was made in two parts, one of which is the Barnett formula. The Assembly's money relates to the normal Barnett formula between us and the DETR in terms of the alleged miners' pension fund surplus. That was done in proportion to the contribution made by miners in Wales compared with miners in Scotland and England. That is a hybrid but fair formula.

**Alun Cairns:** There are concerns over the miners' regeneration fund. What actions are you taking to ensure these communities obtain these moneys that were made available before 1997 in order to build on the regeneration from the Land Authority for Wales and the Welsh Development Agency?

**The First Secretary:** I take it that you are referring to the Coalfield Regeneration Trust which, as we have always said, is for additional costs and does not replace expenditure that would be undertaken on derelict land clearance, the construction of new business premises or on schools or health centres. It is not a substitute for normal Government expenditure. That is a fundamental principle. It is for additional things that coalfield communities—because they are ex-coalfield communities—might need because of problems in moving from dependence on one employer and an expectation of life down the pit into a more diverse future. These communities have additional needs compared with other communities that have lost their stable employment. That is how these funds are being distributed and accessed and we are trying to promote that. I helped to promote its launch in Wales and, as far as I know, applications are coming into the full-time office that has been established. If you have

ddylai unrhyw arian o gwbl fod wedi ei gymryd o'r gwarged yng nghronfa pensiynau'r glowyr ynteu a ddylai'r gwarged fod wedi ei ddatgan. Nid hwnnw oedd y cwestiwn a ofynasoch. Yr oedd yn ymwneud â dosbarthu'r arian o gronfa pensiynau'r glowyr a'r cyfraniadau a wnaethpwyd gan Adran yr Amgylchedd, Trafnidiaeth a'r Rhanbarthau a'r Cynulliad. Tybiaf eich bod yn dal i ddymuno cael ateb i ail hanner y cwestiwn ynghylch y modd y gwnaethpwyd y cyfrifiad. Fe'i gwnaethpwyd mewn dwy ran, ac un ohonynt yw fformwla Barnett. Mae arian y Cynulliad yn gysylltiedig â'r fformwla Barnett arferol rhyngom ni ac Adran yr Amgylchedd, Trafnidiaeth a'r Rhanbarthau o ran y gwarged honedig yng nghronfa pensiynau'r glowyr. Gwnaethpwyd hynny mewn cyfrannedd â'r cyfraniad a wnaethpwyd gan lowyr yng Nghymru o'i gymharu â glowyr yn yr Alban a Lloegr. Mae honno'n fformwla groesryw ond yn un deg.

**Alun Cairns:** Mae pryderon ynghylch cronfa adfywio'r glowyr. Pa gamau yr ydych yn eu cymryd i sicrhau y caiff y cymunedau hyn yr arian a ddarparwyd cyn 1997 er mwyn adeiladu ar yr adfywio gan Awdurdod Tir Cymru ac Awdurdod Datblygu Cymru?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Cymeraf eich bod yn cyfeirio at yr Ymddiriedolaeth Adfywio Meysydd Glo sydd ar gyfer costau ychwanegol, fel y dywedasom erioed, ac nid yw'n cymryd lle gwariant a gyflawnid ar glirio tir diffaith, codi adeiladau busnes newydd neu ar ysgolion neu ganolfannau iechyd. Nid yw'n cymryd lle gwariant arferol y Llywodraeth. Mae hynny'n egwyddor sylfaenol. Mae ar gyfer pethau ychwanegol y gallai fod ar gymunedau meysydd glo eu hangen—am eu bod yn gyn-gymunedau meysydd glo—oherwydd problemau wrth symud o ddibynnu ar un cyflogwr a disgwyliad o dreulio oes yn y pwll i ddyfodol mwy amrywiol. Mae anghenion ychwanegol gan y cymunedau hyn o'u cymharu â chymunedau eraill a gollodd eu cyflogaeth sefydlog. Dyna sut y caiff yr arian hwn ei ddosbarthu a'i ddefnyddio ac yr ydym yn ceisio hybu hynny. Rhoddais gymorth i hybu ei lansio yng Nghymru a, hyd y gwn i, mae ceisiadau'n dod i'r swyddfa amser llawn a sefydlwyd. Os oes gennych dystiolaeth nad

evidence that applications are not coming forward, we will be happy to try to contribute to redoubling publicity. I am not aware of any problems at this stage.

yw ceisiadau'n dod ymlaen, byddwn yn falch o geisio cyfrannu at ddyblu cyhoeddusrwydd. Nid wyf yn ymwybodol o broblemau ar hyn o bryd.

**Cyrff Cyhoeddus a Noddir gan y Cynulliad (Nifer a Swyddogaethau)**  
**Assembly Sponsored Public Bodies (Number and Functions)**

**Q3 Michael German:** What steps has the First Secretary taken to review the number and functions of Assembly sponsored public bodies? (OAQ4490)

**C3 Michael German:** Pa gamau a gymerodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd i adolygu nifer a swyddogaethau'r cyrff cyhoeddus a noddir gan y Cynulliad? (OAQ4490)

**The First Secretary:** Many changes have occurred in the three years since Labour's election, including during the last year since the Assembly election. The number of quangos in Wales, including quasi-quangos such as the training and enterprise councils, has been sharply reduced and will be reduced further over the next 12 months. The Finance Secretary will have more to say on the general principles of a review shortly.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae llawer o newidiadau wedi digwydd yn y tair blynedd ers ethol Llafur, gan gynnwys y flwyddyn ddiwethaf ers etholiad y Cynulliad. Cwtogwyd yn sylweddol ar nifer y cwangos yng Nghymru, gan gynnwys lled-gwangos megis y cynghorau hyfforddi a menter, ac fe'i cwtogir ymhellach dros y 12 mis nesaf. Bydd gan yr Ysgrifennydd Cyllid fwy i'w ddweud ar yr egwyddorion cyffredinol ar gyfer adolygiad yn fuan.

**Michael German:** I am sure that you are aware of the statement in last year's Labour Manifesto, 'The Labour Government has put an end to the Tory quango state in Wales.' Has that day arrived or are we still waiting?

**Michael German:** Yr wyf yn sicr eich bod yn ymwybodol o'r datganiad ym Maniffesto Llafur y llynedd, 'Mae'r Llywodraeth Lafur wedi rhoi terfyn ar y wladwriaeth gwango Dori'aidd yng Nghymru.' A yw'r diwrnod hwnnw wedi cyrraedd ynteu a ydym yn dal i'w ddisgwyl?

**The First Secretary:** We are making progress. The number of quangos is falling. This can be seen in health, as well as the Welsh Development Agency which has rolled up the functions of the Land Authority for Wales, the Development Board for Rural Wales, Welsh Food Promotions Limited and Cardiff Bay Development Corporation's development assets. One quango has replaced four in two halves, which is not bad. The TECs will disappear on 1 April 2001. There is a continuous reduction. Mike German may say that it should happen more quickly or that we led the electorate to believe that it was happening more quickly. We never specified a date on which we would have only five quangos in Wales. We said that there would be a drive to reduce the number of quangos in Wales and, therefore, eliminate the perception that Wales was run by quangos, whose members are appointed, as distinct from being run by Assembly Members, who

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr ydym yn gwneud cynnydd. Mae nifer y cwangos yn disgyn. Gellir gweld hyn mewn iechyd, yn ogystal ag Awdurdod Datblygu Cymru sydd wedi ymgymryd â swyddogaethau Awdurdod Tir Cymru, Bwrdd Datblygu Cymru Wledig, Hybu Bwyd Cymru Cyfyngedig ac asedau datblygu Corfforaeth Datblygu Bae Caerdydd. Mae un cwango wedi cymryd lle pedwar mewn dau hanner, ac nid yw hynny'n ddrwg. Bydd y cynghorau hyfforddi a menter yn diflannu ar 1 Ebrill 2001. Mae gostyngiad parhaus. Gallai Mike German ddweud y dylai ddigwydd yn gynt neu ein bod wedi arwain yr etholwyr i gredu ei fod yn digwydd yn gynt. Nid oeddem erioed wedi pennu dyddiad pan na fyddai gennym ond pum cwango yng Nghymru. Dywedasom y byddai ymgyrch i ostwng nifer y cwangos yng Nghymru ac, felly, ddileu'r canfyddiad bod Cymru'n cael ei rhedeg gan gwangos, y mae eu haelodau'n cael eu penodi, yn hytrach na chael ei rhedeg

are all elected.

**Elin Jones:** Beth yw corff cyhoeddus ymgynghorol a noddir gan y Cynulliad: *Advisory ASPB*? Mae'n debyg fod y Prif Ysgrifennydd wedi creu tasglu'r Fargen Newydd yn *Advisory ASPB* ar 13 Mawrth heb unrhyw drafodaeth ar hynny yn y Pwyllgor Addysg a Hyfforddiant Ôl-16. Ai ffordd slei o greu mwy o gwangos drwy'r drws cefn yw hyn?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid wyf yn sicr beth sydd y tu ôl i'r cwestiwn hwn oherwydd nid wyf yn gyfarwydd â'r tasglu neu'r cwango ymgynghorol hwn. Ceir nifer o gwangos ymgynghorol ac y mae llai o wrthwynebiad iddynt gan nad yw'r cynrychiolwyr sydd yn eistedd arnynt yn cael eu talu. Felly, nid ydynt yn mynd ag arian a allai gael ei wario ar wasanaethau ac nid ydynt yn ymyrryd â gwaith Ysgrifenyddion y Cynulliad. Yr Ysgrifenyddion sydd yn atebol am benderfyniadau. Yr wyf yn atebol am benderfyniadau ar faterion diwydiannol, er enghraifft dyfarnu grantiau, er fy mod yn derbyn cyngor gan Fwrdd Ymgynghorol Datblygu Diwydiannol Cymru. Nid yw'r cyrff ymgynghorol hyn yn ymyrryd â'r atebolrwydd i bobl Cymru am benderfyniadau ar wariant cyhoeddus a wneir gan Ysgrifenyddion y Cynulliad trwy'r cyrff hyn.

**William Graham:** When will you give us a firm undertaking that you will make these bodies more representative, more democratic and more answerable to this Assembly?

**The First Secretary:** I am not sure whether William picked up the full force of what I said in answer to Elin's question. The Assembly elections were fought on the fundamental issue of whether Wales, with a population of 3 million, had room for a host of quangos and a 60-Member Assembly. When William's party ran Wales for 18 years, the strong impression developed that Wales was run by quangos and that people who had failed in the electoral process were appointed as chairs to these boards. That is unacceptable.

gan Aelodau Cynulliad, yr etholir pob un ohonynt.

**Elin Jones:** What is an advisory Assembly sponsored public body, Advisory ASPB? It seems that the First Secretary created the New Deal taskforce as an ASPB on 13 March, without any discussion of this in the Post-16 Education and Training Committee. Is this a sly way of creating more quangos through the back door?

**The First Secretary:** I am not sure what is behind this question because I am not familiar with the details of this taskforce or advisory quango. There are many advisory quangos and there is less opposition to them because the representatives who sit on them are unpaid. Therefore, they do not take money that could be spent on services and they do not interfere with the Assembly Secretaries' work. It is Secretaries who are accountable for decisions. I am accountable for decisions on industrial issues, for example awarding grants, although I receive advice from the Welsh Industrial Development Advisory Board. These advisory bodies do not interfere with the democratic accountability to the people of Wales for decisions on public expenditure that are made by Assembly Secretaries through these bodies.

**William Graham:** Pa bryd yr ydych am roi ymrwymiad cadarn i ni y byddwch yn gwneud y cyrff hyn yn fwy cynrychioliadol, yn fwy democrataidd ac yn fwy atebol i'r Cynulliad hwn?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid wyf yn sicr a yw William wedi amgyffred holl ystyr yr hyn a ddywedais wrth ateb cwestiwn Elin. Ymladdwyd etholiadau'r Cynulliad ar y mater sylfaenol o ba un a oedd lle yng Nghymru, â phoblogaeth o 3 miliwn, i lu o gwangos a Chynulliad â 60 o Aelodau. Pan oedd plaid William yn rheoli Cymru am 18 mlynedd, tyfodd y syniad cryf bod Cymru'n cael ei rheoli gan gwangos a bod pobl a fethodd yn y broses etholiadol yn cael eu penodi'n gadeiryddion y byrddau hyn. Mae hynny'n annerbyniol.



Now we are reducing quangos, there is an Assembly in place and it is clear to the people of Wales that Wales is being run democratically. They can get rid of us but they cannot get rid of people who are appointed to quangos by a Government. They have no control over that process but they can control whether any of us return in three years' time.

Yn awr yr ydym yn lleihau nifer y cwangos, mae Cynulliad wedi ei sefydlu ac mae'n amlwg i bobl Cymru fod Cymru'n cael ei rheoli'n ddemocrataidd. Gallant gael gwared â ni ond ni allant gael gwared â phobl a benodir i gwangos gan Lywodraeth. Nid oes ganddynt reolaeth dros y broses honno ond gallant reoli pa rai ohonom a fydd yn dychwelyd ymhen tair blynedd.

### **Effaith y Gyllideb ar Gymru Impact of the Budget in Wales**

**C4 Gareth Jones:** Pa drafodaethau y mae'r Prif Ysgrifennydd wedi'u cael gydag Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru am effaith y gyllideb ar Gymru? (OAQ4507)

**Q4 Gareth Jones:** What discussions has the First Secretary had with the Secretary of State for Wales regarding the impact of the budget in Wales? (OAQ4507)

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr wyf yn cael trafodaethau gyda'r Ysgrifennydd Gwladol o leiaf unwaith yr wythnos. Dros y penwythnos, yr oedd yr Ysgrifennydd Gwladol a minnau yn Nulyn yn trafod y gyllideb: y gyllideb a sgoriodd y cais cyntaf dros Gymru brynhawn dydd Sadwrn a'r gyllideb arall a gyflwynodd Gordon Brown ddydd Mawrth diwethaf.

**The First Secretary:** I have discussions with the Secretary of State at least once a week. Over the weekend, the Secretary of State and myself were in Dublin discussing the budget: it was the budget that scored the first try for Wales on Saturday afternoon and the other budget that Gordon Brown presented last Tuesday.

Yr oedd y gyllideb yn un iachus i Gymru oherwydd ei bod wedi dod ag arian i'r Cynulliad, a thua £150 miliwn o'r arian hwnnw yn annisgwyl. Mae mesurau'r gyllideb yn galluogi'r economi i dyfu, sydd yn golygu bod y bobl sydd ar waelod y raddfa gymdeithasol yn elwa o'r newidiadau trethi a gyflwynodd Gordon Brown.

The budget was a healthy one for Wales because it brought money into the Assembly, around £150 million of which was unexpected. The budget's measures allow the economy to grow, which means that people who are at the bottom of the social scale benefit from the tax changes introduced by Gordon Brown.

**Gareth Jones:** Yr wyf yn falch eich bod wedi cael cyfle i drafod pethau pwysig yn Nulyn gyda'r Ysgrifennydd Gwladol. Yr wyf yn sicr eich bod wedi trafod addysg. Yn eich trafodaethau yn y dyfodol, a wnewch chi godi pwynt sydd yn achosi pryder i nifer o bobl a chyrrff o fewn y byd addysg, sef y diffyg dealltwriaeth amlwg rhwng yr Adran Addysg a Chyflogaeth yn Llundain a swyddfeydd addysg y Cynulliad ynglŷn ag amseru datganiadau? Yr enghraifft ddiweddaraf yw'r datganiad ar gynnig cyflogau a chymhellion eraill i raddedigion sydd yn hyfforddi i fod yn athrawon yng Nghymru. A ydych yn cytuno ei bod yn allweddol cael cysondeb rhwng yr adran berthnasol yn Llundain a'r Cynulliad ar y materion hyn?

**Gareth Jones:** I am glad that you had an opportunity to discuss important matters with the Secretary of State in Dublin. I am sure that you discussed education. In your future discussions, will you raise a point that is a matter of concern to many people and bodies in education, namely the obvious lack of understanding between the Department for Education and Employment in London and the Assembly's education offices on the timing of announcements? The latest example is the statement on pay and other incentives offered to graduates training to be teachers in Wales. Do you agree that it is crucial to secure consistency between the relevant department in London and the Assembly on these matters?

2:18 p.m.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae hynny'n rhan o'r broses o setlo lawr ar ôl datganoli. Nid yw pob adran yn y Llywodraeth yn Llundain mor ymwybodol ag y dylent fod o ddatganoli ac mae'r mae'r math hwn o beth yn digwydd o bryd i'w gilydd. Yr wyf yn sicr na fydd hyn yn digwydd mewn pum mlynedd ond yn ystod y broses o setlo yn y flwyddyn gyntaf bydd anghysondebau o dro i dro a bydd anghytundeb ynglŷn ag amseru datganiad o'r math hwn.

**Dafydd Wigley:** Yn eich trafodaethau gydag Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru, a wnewch chi grybwyll y ffaith fod y gyllideb wedi dangos ei bod hi'n bosib cael arian ychwanegol cyn yr arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant? Mae hyn yn groes i'r hyn yr arweiniwyd ni i gredu am yr arian Ewropeaidd sydd mor bwyisg i ni. A wnaeth yr Ysgrifennydd Gwladol ar gais y Prif Ysgrifennydd geisio cael arian ychwanegol ac, os felly, a gafodd ei wrthod? Sut y bydd y Cynulliad yn cael mewnbwn i'r arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant yn ystod yr wythnosau nesaf?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae Dafydd yn gywir ar un ystyr. Fodd bynnag, mae'n rhoi'r argraff fod yna lawer iawn o bynciau wedi'u gosod y tu allan i'r arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant sydd yn digwydd ar hyn o bryd ac a fydd yn dod i ben fis Gorffennaf. Yr wyf yn ymwybodol o un pwnc a gymerwyd y tu allan i'r arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant sef iechyd. Os oes eithriad, nid yw hynny'n golygu bod yr egwyddor wedi cael ei distrywio neu ei rhoi o'r neilltu. Mae'r egwyddor yn aros. Heblaw am iechyd, mae popeth arall yn y fantol nes ei fod yn dod allan o'r arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant yng Ngorffennaf.

Yr ydym wedi bod yn gwthio dros yr un egwyddor sef bod yr arian cyfatebol ar gyfer Amcan 1 yn cael ei gymryd y tu allan i fformwla Barnett. Dyna'r egwyddor bwysig yr ydym ni'n ymladd drosti. Yr ydym yn parhau i wasgu ar y Trysorlys yn uniongyrchol a thrwy Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru.

**Nick Bourne:** When you discuss these

**The First Secretary:** That is part of the process of settling down post devolution. Not all Government departments in London are as aware of devolution as they should be and this kind of thing happens from time to time. I am sure that it will not happen in five years time, but during this process of settling down in the first year there will be occasional inconsistencies and there will be disagreement about the timing of such an announcement.

**Dafydd Wigley:** In your discussions with the Secretary of State for Wales, will you mention the fact that the budget has shown that it is possible to secure additional funding before the comprehensive spending review? This is contrary to what we were led to believe about the European funding that is so important to us. At the First Secretary's request, did the Secretary of State for Wales try to secure additional funding and, if so, was he rejected? How will the Assembly have input into the CSR over the next weeks?

**The First Secretary:** Dafydd is correct in one respect. However, he gives the impression that many subjects have been set outside the CSR which is happening at the moment and will come to an end in July. I am aware of one subject that has been taken outside the CSR, namely health. If there is an exception, it does not mean that the principle has been ruined or set aside. The principle stands. With the exception of health, everything else is in the balance until it comes out in the CSR in July.

We have been pressing for the same principle namely that the match funding under Objective 1 be taken outside the Barnett formula. That is the important principle for which we are fighting. We continue to put pressure on the Treasury directly and through the Secretary of State for Wales.

**Nick Bourne:** Pan ydych yn trafod y

issues with the Secretary of State for Wales at rugby matches, we are entitled to ask if you have your eye on the right ball. If an exception has been made for health, that means that the principle has been set aside. It is important for Wales to get the match funding over and above the Barnett block. The principle has been established for health. The Welsh Conservative group have just returned from Brussels where this—and implementation—remain the key concerns. On implementation, Brussels has stated that the concern exists only with Wales and not with any other region throughout Europe. Do you wish to comment on those two key issues?

**The First Secretary:** We do not disagree with the view that the Treasury needs to move forward and take the Objective 1 matching money outside the Barnett formula. Could that have been done at the same time as health? Does opening up that avenue because health expenditure was announced in advance of the CSR mean that any other item of expenditure should also have been taken outside? That is an absurdity. An exception was made for one segment. As it happens, we—and I do not believe that any of us are unhappy about that—have an additional £99 million through the Barnett formula available for health expenditure, a further £50 million for education and £9 million for transport and the environment. We have chosen how to spend it and Edwina Hart has made an additional £11 million available from underspend on other areas to add to the £99 million.

What is Nick saying? Would he rather have not known about this or would he have preferred the money to be held back until the election next year? I presume that he would then say that we were holding back a war chest to spend it all during the election next year. That question does not make any sense. It is an arguable but desperately thin case to say that because health was taken outside the spending review, Objective 1 should also be taken outside. It would have been nice if that had happened but you cannot argue that case strongly. Only one subject was made an exception. If he thinks that is not popular with the people of Great Britain, he has not met any of them over the past few days.

materion hyn ag Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru mewn gemau rygbi, mae gennym hawl i ofyn a yw'ch llygad ar y bêl gywir. Os gwnaethpwyd eithriad o iechyd, golyga hynny fod yr egwyddor wedi ei rhoi i'r naill ochr. Mae'n bwysig i Gymru gael y cyllid cyfatebol ar ben bloc Barnett. Sefydlwyd yr egwyddor ar gyfer iechyd. Mae grŵp Ceidwadol Cymru newydd ddychwelyd o Frwsel lle y mae hyn—a gweithredu—yn parhau'n brif bryderon. Ynghylch gweithredu, dywedodd Brwsel nad yw'r pryder hwn ond yn bod gyda Chymru ac nid ag unrhyw ranbarth arall ledled Ewrop. A ddymunwch wneud sylw ar y ddau fater allweddol hynny?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid anghytunwn â'r farn bod angen i'r Trysorlys symud ymlaen a mynd ag arian cyfatebol Amcan 1 y tu allan i fformwla Barnett. A ellid bod wedi gwneud hynny ar yr un pryd â iechyd? A yw agor y ffordd honno drwy gyhoeddi'r gwariant ar iechyd cyn yr arolwg cynhwysfawr o wariant yn golygu y dylai rhyw eitem wariant arall fod wedi ei chymryd y tu allan hefyd? Hurtrwydd yw hynny. Gwnaethpwyd eithriad o un rhan. Fel y mae'n digwydd, mae gennym ni—ac ni chredaf fod yr un ohonom yn anfodlon ynghylch hynny—£99 miliwn yn ychwanegol drwy fformwla Barnett sydd ar gael i'w wario ar iechyd, £50 miliwn yn ychwanegol ar gyfer addysg a £9 miliwn ar gyfer trafnidiaeth a'r amgylchedd. Dewisasom sut i'w wario ac mae Edwina Hart wedi darparu £11 miliwn yn ychwanegol sydd ar gael o danwariant ar feysydd eraill i'w ychwanegu at y £99 miliwn.

Beth a ddywed Nick? A fuasai'n well ganddo beidio â gwybod am hyn ynteu a fuasai'n well ganddo pe bai'r arian wedi ei gadw'n ôl tan yr etholiad y flwyddyn nesaf? Tybiaf y byddai'n dweud wedyn ein bod yn cadw cist ryfel yn ôl i'w gwario i gyd yn ystod yr etholiad y flwyddyn nesaf. Nid yw'r cwestiwn hwnnw'n gwneud unrhyw synnwyr. Gellid dadlau, er ei bod yn ddadl dila ofnadwy, am fod iechyd wedi ei gymryd y tu allan i'r arolwg o wariant, y dylid bod wedi mynd ag Amcan 1 y tu allan hefyd. Buasai'n braf pe bai hynny wedi digwydd ond ni allwch ddadlau'r achos hwnnw'n gryf. Dim ond un pwnc y gwnaethpwyd eithriad ohono. Os cred nad yw hynny'n boblogaidd ymysg pobl Prydain

Fawr, ni chyfarfu â'r un ohonynt dros y dyddiau diwethaf hyn.

**Peter Black:** Will the First Secretary ask the Secretary of State for Wales to take up with the Cabinet the impact of interest rates on the Welsh economy, particularly Welsh industry and Welsh business, and should he be pressing the Chancellor to set his economic policy to take account of areas which are not overheating, unlike the south-east of England, and to get a lower rate of interest for Welsh business?

**The First Secretary:** On behalf of the Economic Development Committee, I made these points strongly to Gordon Brown in the run up to the budget. I agree that the impact of high interest rates, the high pound and the low euro are devastating in areas of Great Britain which have a high degree of dependency on manufacturing industries. The West Midlands and Wales are two prime examples of such areas.

**Brian Gibbons:** Although a week may be a long time in politics, a desperate tackle in the last five yards of a football field or the last five seconds of a rugby game can make a big difference to the result. Analysis of the recent budget shows that it had a 3 per cent redistributive effect on the poorest 20 per cent of the population. Over the four Labour budgets, the accumulative redistributive effect was 8 to 9 per cent. Does the First Secretary agree that this is clear evidence of the Labour Party taking practical steps to deal with inequality and poverty in society?

**The First Secretary:** I could not have put it better myself and I thought that that tackle in the last five seconds of the rugby match on Saturday was wonderful. All credit to the postman from Pen-coed, Gareth Thomas, for that tackle. As Brian knows, I am neutral—that is why I am wearing this Welsh-Irish Friendship Society badge today.

I agree with Brian's point. It shows Labour's commitment to correcting inequalities in society, which remains one of our biggest problems.

**Peter Black:** A wnaiff y Prif Ysgrifennydd ofyn i Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru godi gyda'r Cabinet effaith cyfraddau llog ar economi Cymru, yn enwedig ar ddiwydiant yng Nghymru a busnes yng Nghymru, ac a ddylai fod yn pwysu ar y Canghellor i osod ei bolisi economaidd er mwyn cymryd i ystyriaeth ardaloedd nad ydynt yn gorboethi, yn wahanol i dde-ddwyrain Lloegr, a chael cyfradd llog is ar gyfer busnes yng Nghymru?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ar ran y Pwyllgor Datblygu Economaidd, cyfleais y pwyntiau hyn yn gryf i Gordon Brown yn y cyfnod cyn y gyllideb. Cytunaf fod cyfraddau llog uchel, y bunt uchel a'r ewro isel yn cael effaith andwyol mewn ardaloedd o Brydain Fawr sydd yn dibynnu'n helaeth ar ddiwydiannau cynhyrchu. Mae gorllewin canolbarth Lloegr a Chymru'n ddwy enghraifft amlwg o ardaloedd o'r fath.

**Brian Gibbons:** Er y gallai wythnos fod yn amser hir mewn gwleidyddiaeth, gall tacl rhyfygus yn y pum llath olaf ar gae pêl droed neu ym mhym eiliad olaf gêm rygbi wneud byd o wahaniaeth i'r canlyniad. Mae dadansoddiad o'r gyllideb ddiweddar yn dangos iddi gael effaith aiddosbarthu o 3 y cant ar yr 20 y cant tlotaf o'r boblogaeth. Dros y pedair cyllideb Lafur, yr oedd yr effaith gronnol yn 8 i 9 y cant. A yw'r Prif Ysgrifennydd yn cytuno fod hyn yn dystiolaeth eglur bod y Blaid Lafur yn cymryd camau ymarferol i ymdrin ag anghydraddoldeb a thlodi mewn cymdeithas?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni allaswn ei gyfleu'n well fy hun a chredais fod y tacliad hwnnw ym mhym eiliad olaf y gêm rygbi ddydd Sadwrn yn ardderchog. Pob clod i'r postmon o Ben-coed, Gareth Thomas, am y tacl hwnnw. Fel y gŵyr Brian, yr wyf yn ddiuedd—dyna pam yr wyf yn gwisgo bathodyn Cymdeithas Cyfeillgarwch Cymru-Iwerddon heddiw.

Cytunaf â phwynt Brian. Dengys ymrwymiad Llafur i gywiro anghydraddoldebau mewn cymdeithas, sydd yn parhau i fod yn un o'n problemau mwyaf.

## **Integreiddio Trafnidiaeth yng Nghymru Integrated Transport in Wales**

**Q5 Jane Davidson:** What discussions has the First Secretary had with the UK Minister for Transport about integrated transport proposals in Wales? (OAQ4512)

**The First Secretary:** I am tempted to say that I met Gus Macdonald around the time of the Wales-Scotland match in the Millennium Stadium, but people might get the false impression that I only meet Government Ministers or the Secretary of State during rugby matches. However, I have discussed these matters with Gus Macdonald, and Sue Essex and I will meet him shortly. Gus Macdonald, as Minister for Transport, attends all Cabinet meetings although he is not a member of the Cabinet. Jane will be aware that we have made major strides on this issue but that there is a long way to go. We have issued a big increase in the bus grant, the all-Wales rail franchise looks promising and an additional train is being funded from Holyhead to Cardiff. If I was a rugby fan I would say that that was a good way to come back from a weekend in Dublin, but I will not mention that again.

**Jane Davidson:** I ask a supplementary question on behalf of pensioners in Efail Isaf who, prior to the new Assembly grant, saw their local authority cut the bus service summarily, without any consultation. The pensioners were left without public transport because there is no train in the area. Does Rhodri agree that when we look at integrated transport proposals in Wales and at recommendations to Sue Essex as Secretary for the Environment, Planning and Transport, we must ensure that people are consulted on the best times for buses in their locality, particularly where there are no trains in the area? Does he also agree that local authorities should be required not to reduce services to people in that category?

**The First Secretary:** I cannot give an undertaking that there will not be any withdrawal of bus routes during the life of

**C5 Jane Davidson:** Pa drafodaethau a gafodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd â Gweinidog Trafnidiaeth y DU ynghylch cynigion i integreiddio trafndiaeth yng Nghymru? (OAQ4512)

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Caf fy nhemtio i ddweud imi gyfarfod â Gus Macdonald tua adeg gêm Cymru a'r Alban yn Stadiwm y Mileniwm, ond gallai pobl gael y camargraff nad wyf ond yn cyfarfod â Gweinidogion y Llywodraeth neu'r Ysgrifennydd Gwladol yn ystod gemau rygbi. Fodd bynnag, trafodais y materion hyn â Gus Macdonald, a bydd Sue Essex a minnau'n cyfarfod ag ef yn fuan. Mae Gus Macdonald, fel Gweinidog Trafnidiaeth, yn mynychu holl gyfarfodydd y Cabinet er nad yw'n aelod o'r Cabinet. Bydd Jane yn ymwybodol hefyd inni gymryd camau breision ar y mater hwn ond bod ffordd bell o'n blaen. Rhoesom godiad mawr yn y grant bysiau, mae masnachfaint rheilffyrdd Cymru gyfan yn ymddangos yn addawol ac ariannir trên ychwanegol o Gaerdybi i Gaerdydd. Pe bawn yn gefnogwr rygbi dywedwn fod hynny'n ffordd dda i ddod yn ôl o benwythnos yn Nulyn, ond ni soniaf am hynny eto.

**Jane Davidson:** Gofynnaf gwestiwn atodol ar ran pensiynwyr yn Efail Isaf a welodd eu hawdurdod lleol, cyn grant newydd y Cynulliad, yn cwtogi'r gwasanaeth bysiau'n ddiseremoni, heb ymgynghori o gwbl. Gadawyd y pensiynwyr heb drafndiaeth gyhoeddus oherwydd nid oes trên yn yr ardal. A gytuna Rhodri fod rhaid inni, wrth edrych ar gynlluniau trafndiaeth integredig yng Nghymru ac ar argymhellion i Sue Essex fel Ysgrifennydd yr Amgylchedd, Cynllunio a Thrafnidiaeth, sicrhau yr ymgynghorir â phobl ynghylch yr amseroedd gorau ar gyfer bysiau yn eu hardal, yn enwedig lle nad oes trenau yn yr ardal honno? A yw hefyd yn cytuno y dylid mynnu na fydd awdurdodau lleol yn cwtogi ar wasanaethau i bobl yn y categori hwnnw?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni allaf wneud ymrwymiad na ddileir llwybrau bysiau yn ystod oes y weinyddiaeth hon yn y Cynulliad.

this administration in the Assembly. The Assembly takes a strong view on bus quality partnerships and we have to approve those partnerships. There is an increase in the resources available for bus grants—from £3 million last year to £5 million this year, I believe. Furthermore, there is an additional £8.2 million or so available through the Barnett formula for the coming year that was not in our budget. Pensioners' groups and people in various villages or community councils who are angry that a bus service has been withdrawn, and where there is no alternative railway service, can find out whether they can access the additional resources from the £5 million bus grant or from the additional £8.2 million. Although the £8.2 million may not be available for normal bus subsidies—it may be spent on safer routes to schools or whatever—people should now be making bids to the local authority and, perhaps, a bus operator.

2:28 p.m.

**Jocelyn Davies:** Rhodri, have you persuaded the Strategic Rail Authority that a Wales and the Marches franchise is the best option for Wales and its neighbouring counties and is the only effective way for the Assembly to deliver its promise of integrated transport for Wales?

**The First Secretary:** We have not managed that yet, but it looks reasonably promising. We want to progress further on issues such as the right to appoint a Welsh representative to the Strategic Rail Authority. We would also like the Assembly to have the power to set up passenger transport authorities should we choose to do so. We would also want to have the same power of direction over any potential single all-Wales franchise as the Scottish Parliament would have for Scotland. We have not got there yet, though there has been major progress since the early stages of the Transport Bill in securing the right to be consulted, and so forth. We are not there yet but it is looking promising.

**David Davies:** Do you accept that the current Government's transport strategy appears to be to pile tax after tax on motorists while forcing local authorities to

Mae gan y Cynulliad farn bendant ar bartneriaethau ansawdd bysiau a rhaid inni gymeradwyo'r partneriaethau hynny. Mae cynnydd yn yr adnoddau sydd ar gael ar gyfer grantiau bysiau—o £3 miliwn y llynedd i £5 miliwn eleni, yr wyf yn credu. Yn ogystal, mae tua £8.2 miliwn yn ychwanegol ar gael hefyd drwy fformwla Barnett ar gyfer y flwyddyn sydd i ddod nad oedd yn ein cyllideb. Gall grwpiau pensïynwyr a phobl mewn gwahanol bentrefi neu gynghorau cymuned sydd yn ddiog am fod gwasanaeth bysiau wedi ei dynnu'n ôl, a lle nad oes dewis o wasanaeth rheilffordd, ddarganfod a oes modd iddynt fynd at yr adnoddau ychwanegol o'r grant bysiau o £5 miliwn neu o'r £8.2 miliwn. Er na fydd yr £8.2 miliwn ar gael o bosibl ar gyfer cymorthdaliadau bysiau arferol—gellir ei wario ar lwybrau diogelach i'r ysgol neu beth bynnag—dylai pobl wneud ceisiadau'n awr i'r awdurdod lleol ac, efallai, i weithredwr bysiau.

**Jocelyn Davies:** Rhodri, a ydych wedi perswadio'r Awdurdod Rheilffyrdd Strategol mai masnachfaint i Gymru a'r Gororau yw'r dewis gorau i Gymru a'r siroedd cyfagos a'r unig ffordd effeithiol i'r Cynulliad gyflawni ei addewid o drafnidiaeth integredig i Gymru?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni lwyddasom i wneud hynny eto, ond mae'n ymddangos yn eithaf addawol. Yr ydym am fynd ymhellach ar faterion fel yr hawl i benodi cynrychiolydd o Gymru i'r Awdurdod Rheilffyrdd Strategol. Byddem hefyd yn dymuno i'r Cynulliad gael y pŵer i sefydlu awdurdodau trafnidiaeth teithwyr pe baem yn dewis gwneud hynny. Byddem hefyd yn dymuno cael yr un pŵer cyfarwyddo dros unrhyw fasnachfaint sengl bosibl i Gymru gyfan ag y byddai gan Senedd yr Alban ar gyfer yr Alban. Ni chyraeddasom yno eto, er y bu cynnydd mawr ers camau cyntaf y Mesur Trafnidiaeth wrth sicrhau'r hawl i fod â rhan mewn ymgynghoriadau, ac yn y blaen. Nid ydym wedi cyrraedd eto ond mae'n ymddangos yn addawol.

**David Davies:** A dderbyniwch ei bod yn ymddangos bod strategaeth trafnidiaeth y Llywodraeth bresennol yn pentyrru treth ar ôl treth ar fodurwyr ac ar yr un pryd yn gorfodi

bring further financial penalties on motorists such as congestion charging, tax on car parking spaces and even a tax on using roads through national parks, which will hit rural people? Do you agree that this does nothing to improve public transport in this country and is a shambolic way to organise transport?

**The First Secretary:** I know that David likes to rev up in his Range Rover when this subject arises and tries to be the Jeremy Clarkson of the Assembly. The question, however, was about integrated transport. I believe that we all agree that integrated transport requires some incentive to switch from private to public transport. It is not an easy thing to do. Nothing is simpler for opposition politicians—at any time when a move is made towards integrating public transport—than to say that you are anti-car, in the hope of picking up the pro-car owner vote, for want of any other ability to pick up votes at the next general election. If that is the line that he wants to take, so be it. I cannot write the Conservatives' manifesto for them for the next election.

You will never achieve integrated public transport by only saying that the private motorist must be given unrestricted right to the roads with no petrol duty or whatever. David must remember that his own Government, under Kenneth Clarke, took the initial steps in 1996 to having a fuel duty escalator above the rate of inflation as an extra tax on top of the normal duty on an inflationary basis. We had two years of it under the Conservatives and there have been two years under Labour. The fuel duty escalator was not implemented in this year's tax because the price of crude oil has increased so much. I believe that he is literally talking through his hat.

#### **Y Diwydiant Bancio yng Nghymru (Adroddiad Cruickshank) Banking Industry in Wales (Cruickshank Report)**

**C6 Gwenda Thomas:** Yng ngoleuni Adroddiad Cruickshank, a yw'r Prif Ysgrifennydd wedi cwrdd ag Ysgrifennydd

awdurdodau lleol i roi cosbau ariannol ychwanegol i fodurwyr megis codi tâl am dagfeydd, treth ar fannau parcio ceir a hyd yn oed treth ar ddefnyddio ffyrdd drwy barciau cenedlaethol, a fydd yn taro pobl yng nghefn gwlad? A gytunwch nad yw hyn yn gwneud dim i wella trafndiaeth gyhoeddus yn y wlad hon a'i bod yn ffordd flêr o drefnu trafndiaeth?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Gwn fod David yn hoffi sbarduno injan ei Range Rover pan fo'r pwnc hwn yn codi a'i fod yn ceisio bod yn Jeremy Clarkson y Cynulliad. Fodd bynnag, yr oedd y cwestiwn yn ymwneud â thrafnidiaeth integredig. Credaf ein bod oll yn cytuno bod angen rhyw anogaeth ar drafnidiaeth integredig er mwyn hybu newid o drafnidiaeth breifat i drafnidiaeth gyhoeddus. Nid yw'n beth hawdd ei wneud. Nid oes dim yn symlach i wleidyddion yr wrthblaid—ar unrhyw adeg pan wneir symudiad at integreiddio trafndiaeth gyhoeddus—na dweud eich bod yn wrth-geir, yn y gobaith o ennill pleidlais y rhai sydd yn bleidiol i berchnogion ceir, yn niffyg unrhyw allu arall i ennill pleidleisiau yn yr etholiad cyffredinol nesaf. Os mai hwnnw yw'r safbwynt y mae am ei arddel, boed felly. Ni allaf ysgrifennu maniffesto'r Ceidwadwyr ar eu rhan ar gyfer yr etholiad nesaf.

Ni fyddwch byth yn sicrhau trafndiaeth gyhoeddus integredig dim ond drwy ddweud bod rhaid i'r modurwr gael hawl di-rwystr i'r ffyrdd heb unrhyw dreth petrol neu beth bynnag. Rhaid i David gofio mai ei Lywodraeth ei hun, o dan Kenneth Clarke, a gymerodd y camau cyntaf yn 1996 i gael cymal codi treth tanwydd ar ben cyfradd chwyddiant fel treth ychwanegol ar ben y dreth arferol a oedd yn seiliedig ar chwyddiant. Cawsom ddwy flynedd o hynny o dan y Ceidwadwyr a chafwyd dwy flynedd o dan Lafur. Ni weithredwyd y cymal codi treth tanwydd yn y dreth eleni am fod pris olew crai wedi codi cymaint. Credaf ei fod yn llythrennol yn siarad drwy ei het.

**Q6 Gwenda Thomas:** In light of the Cruickshank Report, has the First Secretary had any meetings with the Secretary of State

Gwladol Cymru i drafod y diwydiant bancio yng Nghymru? (OAQ4496)

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ydwyf. Cododd y cwestiwn hwn yn ein trafodaethau dros y penwythnos. Cododd hefyd yn sgîl protestio mewn mannau fel Gwauncaegurwen a mannau yng nghefn gwlad yn erbyn banc Barclays, ac eraill, yn cau banciau tra'n hysbysebu eu bod yn cynnig gwasanaeth cant y cant i bobl Cymru—yng nghefn gwlad, yn y Cymoedd, ac yn y blaen. Mater i'r Trysorlys, ac nid i'r Cynulliad, yw'r cwestiwn o ba fath o wasanaeth y dylai banciau mawr fel Banc Barclays a Banc HSBC plc gynnig i bobl Cymru.

**Gwenda Thomas:** I agree with you but we cannot discuss the banking industry in Wales today without referring to Barclays Bank closures, which are due to take effect this Friday. This will happen despite the £15 million that has been spent on an advertising campaign featuring Sir Anthony Hopkins, a freeman of the borough of Neath Port Talbot. Fifteen million pounds would keep many branches open, even if they were working at a loss. The question must be asked of whether banks should co-operate to ensure that at least one of them remains within each community and whether banks that have lucrative contracts with the Assembly should support important Assembly cross-cutting policies, such as social inclusion and equal opportunities. Gwauncaegurwen is within the Objective 1 area. Does it not send out the wrong message to potential investors that the last bank is withdrawing from the area? The people of Gwauncaegurwen believe that Barclays is repaying loyalty with contempt.

**The First Secretary:** It is difficult when only one bank is left in a village where there may have been two or three banks before. It is a move from a competitive situation to a monopoly, and when the bank with the monopoly withdraws from the town or village, it creates a great deal of upset.

The Cruickshank Report also looked at the question of charges for the use of the automatic teller machines. The Cruickshank Report offered advice, which people have heeded, on what to do if the bank starts to

for Wales over the banking industry in Wales? (OAQ4496)

**The First Secretary:** Yes. This question arose during our discussions over the weekend. It also arose in light of protests in places such as Gwauncaegurwen and in rural areas against Barclays bank, and others, closing banks while advertising that they offer a one hundred per cent service to the people of Wales—in rural areas, in the Valleys, and so on. The question of what sort of service major banks such as Barclays Bank and HSBC Bank plc should offer Wales is a matter for the Treasury, and not for the Assembly.

**Gwenda Thomas:** Cytunaf â chi ond ni allwn drafod y diwydiant bancio yng Nghymru heddiw heb gyfeirio at y cau canghennau gan Fanc Barclays, sydd i fod i ddod i rym y dydd Gwener yma. Bydd hyn yn digwydd er gwaethaf y £15 miliwn a wariwyd ar ymgyrch hysbysebu sydd yn cynnwys Syr Anthony Hopkins, rhyddfreniwr o fwrdeistref Castell-nedd Port Talbot. Byddai £15 miliwn yn cadw llawer o ganghennau ar agor, hyd yn oed os oeddent yn gweithio ar golled. Rhaid gofyn a ddylai banciau gydweithredu er mwyn sicrhau bod o leiaf un ohonynt yn aros oddi mewn i bob cymuned ac a ddylai banciau sydd â chontractau proffidiol â'r Cynulliad gefnogi polisïau trawsbynciol pwysig y Cynulliad, megis cynhwysiant cymdeithasol a chyfle cyfartal. Mae Gwauncaegurwen oddi mewn i'r ardal Amcan 1. Onid yw'r ffaith bod y banc olaf yn tynnu allan o'r ardal yn anfon y neges anghywir i fuddsoddwyr posibl? Mae pobl Gwauncaegurwen o'r farn bod Barclays yn ad-dalu teyrngarwch â dirmyg.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae'n anodd pan nad oes ond un banc ar ôl mewn pentref lle'r oedd dau neu dri banc o'r blaen o bosibl. Mae'n symudiad o sefyllfa gystadleuol i fonopoli, a phan yw'r banc sydd â'r monopoli'n tynnu allan o'r dref neu'r pentref, mae'n peri llawer o siom.

Edrychodd Adroddiad Cruickshank hefyd ar fater taliadau am ddefnyddio'r peiriannau codi arian awtomatig. Cynigiodd Adroddiad Cruickshank gyngor, y mae pobl wedi gwrandao arno, ynghylch yr hyn y dylid ei



charge a couple of pounds for every transaction, as they have been doing, and start closing bank branches, which play a valuable social function, and then try to dress it up through massive advertising campaigns using local heroes like Sir Anthony Hopkins. The only answer recommended in the Cruickshank Report is that people should use the cashback facility with their card in the supermarket and ask for £50 back. The Cruickshank Report said that the maximum sum of £50 that you can get when you pay for your food in the local grocer or wherever should be raised to around £250. That would make the banks reconsider.

**Geraint Davies:** A yw'r Prif Ysgrifennydd yn cytuno ei fod yn hollol annerbyniol bod penaeithaid Banc Barclays yn derbyn codiad cyflog aruthrol a'r wythnos ganlynol cyhoeddant y bwriad i gau 171 o ganghennau, a fydd yn effeithio ar 500 o swyddi? A ydych yn croesawu'r ffaith fod y Comisiwn Cystadleuaeth yn edrych i mewn i fanciau a'u dull gweithredu? A ddywedwch y dylai'r banciau weithredu ar frys i sicrhau bod gwasanaeth yn dod yn gyntaf—gwasanaeth i'w cwsmeriaid a chymunedau—yn hytrach nag elw noeth?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mater i Fanc Barclays, ac nid i mi, yw'r cyflog y mae Barclays yn talu i'w uwch-gyfarwyddwyr, aelodau o'r bwrdd, cadeiryddion a phrif weithredwyr. Nid yw'r diwydiant yn gystadleuol iawn yn yr ystyr mai pedwar prif fanc sydd wedi bod mewn busnes ers chwarter canrif, sef Natwest, Barclays, HSBC Bank plc a Lloyds TSB. Y broblem yw nad yw'r banciau o hyd yn gystadleuol oherwydd mai un banc sydd â changen mewn ardal neu dref penodol.

Y cwestiwn i'w ofyn yw sut mae gwneud yr arferion yn y diwydiant bancio yn fwy cystadleuol ac ymatebol i'r newidiadau yn ein cymdeithas. Yn y lle cyntaf, yr ateb oedd y twll yn y wal a chael £50 ohono. Erbyn hyn, mae ffraeo ynglŷn â chodi pris am ddefnyddio'r twll yn y wal. Mae'r system *cashback* ar gael nawr, pan ewch i siop—efallai'n cynnwys siopau Geraint—a chael £50 allan ar ben yr arian yr ydych yn talu yn y groser neu siop arall pan dalwch eich bil

wneud os yw'r banc yn dechrau codi ychydig o bunnoedd am bob gweithrediad, fel y buont yn gwneud, ac yn dechrau cau canghennau banc, sydd yn cyflawni swyddogaeth gymdeithasol werthfawr, ac wedyn yn ceisio ei addurno drwy ymgyrchoedd hysbysebu enfawr gan ddefnyddio arwyr lleol megis Syr Anthony Hopkins. Yr unig ateb a argymhellir yn Adroddiad Cruickshank yw y dylai pobl ddefnyddio'r cyfleuster *cashback* gyda'u cerdyn yn yr archfarchnad a gofyn am £50 yn ôl. Dywedodd Adroddiad Cruickshank y dylid codi'r uchafswm y gallwch ei gael pan dalwch am eich bwyd yn y siop fwyd leol neu ble bynnag i tua £250. Byddai hynny'n gwneud i'r banciau ailystyried.

**Geraint Davies:** Does the First Secretary agree that it is totally unacceptable that the heads of Barclays Bank receive a massive pay rise and the following week they announce the intention to close 171 branches, which will affect 500 jobs? Do you welcome the fact that the Competition Commission is looking into banks and their working methods? Will you say that the banks should take urgent action to ensure that service comes first—service for their customers and communities—rather than sheer profit?

**The First Secretary:** The salary that Barclays Bank pays its senior directors, board members, chair persons and chief executives is a matter for Barclays Bank, and not for me. The industry is not very competitive in the sense that four major banks have been in business for almost a quarter of a century, namely Natwest, Barclays, HSBC plc and Lloyds TSB. The problem is that the banks are not always competitive because only one bank has a branch in a particular area or town.

The question is how to make practices in the banking industry more competitive and responsive to changes in our society. In the first instance, the answer was the cashpoint and getting £50 from it. By now, there is bickering about charging for using the cashpoint. The cashback facility is available now, when you go to a shop—perhaps including Geraint's shops—and receive £50 in addition to the money that you pay at the grocers or another shop when you pay your

bwyd. Mae'r gwasanaeth hwn wedi datblygu ac yn rhad ac am ddim ond gosodir uchafswm o £50. Gall hynny wasgu ar y banciau yn y diwedd achos byddant yn colli masnach os na ddihunant i'r agweddau o gystadleuaeth newydd sydd yn datblygu ac yn ymateb mewn ffyrdd eraill er mwyn newid y ffaith nad ydynt mor gystadleuol a gwasanethgar ag y dylent fod.

2:38 p.m.

**Huw Lewis:** I wrote a letter to you about this today, which will allow you time to give a considered response to some of the points I want to make. Please forgive me but I think this matter should be raised in Plenary. The Assembly conducts business with Barclays Bank worth £2.57 billion every day. The reason for Barclays having this contract has never been given. Do you agree that it would be a considerable incentive to Barclays and others if we were to negotiate on the basis that we wish to agree a moratorium on bank closures across Wales, which are affecting the financial exclusion of some of the most hard hit communities, including those in my constituency, Merthyr Tydfil and Rhymney? Will our partners in local authorities pressurise banks into talking to us about our concerns about protecting some of the poorest and most vulnerable people in Wales? Ethical banking has been a topic of discussion for a long time. We have a chance to do something about it soon.

**The First Secretary:** I do not remember how Barclays Bank won the contract to service the Assembly's financial requirements. It may be a follow-on contract from the previous Welsh Office, or a new contract that was won via competitive tendering after May or July 1999. When I receive your letter, I will be able to respond to that issue or I will pass it to Edwina, as it is more of her responsibility than mine. I can then explain the terms of the tender for provision of the Assembly's financial services, which Barclays won in open competition, before or after the Assembly was established. By Welsh standards, it is a big contract—not necessarily a juicy one. It may not be particularly big by Barclays's standards overall. I do not know. Either way, I assume

grocery bill. This service has developed and is free of charge but there is an upper limit of £50. This could pressurise the banks in the end because they will lose business if they do not wake up to the aspects of new competition that are developing and respond in other ways so as to change the fact that they are not as competitive or service conscious as they should be

**Huw Lewis:** Ysgrifennais lythyr atoch am hyn heddiw, a fydd yn caniatáu ichi roi ymateb ystyriol i rai o'r pwyntiau yr wyf am eu gwneud. Maddeuwch i mi, os gwelwch yn dda, oherwydd credaf y dylid codi'r mater hwn yn y Cyfarfod Llawn. Mae'r Cynulliad yn cyflawni busnes gyda Banc Barclays sydd yn werth £2.57 biliwn bob dydd. Ni roddwyd erioed y rheswm pam y mae'r contract hwn gan Barclays. A gytunwch y byddai'n gryn anogaeth i Barclays ac eraill pe baem yn negodi ar y sail ein bod yn dymuno cytuno ar foratoriwm ar gau banciau ledled Cymru, sydd yn effeithio ar allgáu ariannol ymysg rhai o'r cymunedau a fwriwyd waethaf, gan gynnwys y rhai yn fy etholaeth i, Merthyr Tudful a Rhymni? A yw ein partneriaid mewn awdurdodau lleol yn barod i bwysio ar fanciau i siarad â ni am ein pryderon ynghylch amddiffyn rhai o'r bobl dlotaf a mwyaf agored i niwed yng Nghymru? Mae bancio moesegol yn bwnc trafod ers amser maith. Bydd gennym gyfle i wneud rhywbeth yn ei gylch yn fuan.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni chofiaf sut yr enillodd Banc Barclays y contract i wasanaethu anghenion ariannol y Cynulliad. Gallai fod yn gontract sydd yn parhau o'r gyn-Swyddfa Gymreig, neu'n gontract newydd a enillwyd drwy dendro cystadleuol ar ôl Mai neu Orffennaf 1999. Pan dderbyniaf eich llythyr, byddaf yn gallu ymateb i'r mater hwnnw neu fe'i trosglwyddaf i Edwina, gan ei fod yn fwy o gyfrifoldeb iddi hi nag ydyw i mi. Gallaf wedyn egluro amodau'r tendr i ddarparu gwasanaethau ariannol y Cynulliad, a enillodd Barclays mewn cystadleuaeth agored, cyn neu ar ôl sefydlu'r Cynulliad. Yn ôl safonau Cymru, mae'n gontract mawr—nid o reidrwydd yn un blasus. Mae'n bosibl nad yw'n arbennig o fawr yn ôl safonau Barclays yn gyffredinol. Ni wn. Y naill

that it was won via competitive tender, and I imagine that it has not breached the terms of that tender, whatever it does to its branch network in Wales. However, in the light of Huw Lewis's comments, I am happy to consider whether there is any leverage in the proposals that have been made by all parts of the Assembly and Members here today, if it is near breaching the terms of its contract.

**Kirsty Williams:** I support Huw's request for you to reconsider the Assembly's decision to hold its bank account with Barclays and show this Assembly's contempt for its decision to close branches across Wales. Will you consider the implications of closing these branches on your Government's policies on paying pensions and benefits directly into bank accounts?

**The First Secretary:** That question has two parts. I think you will accept that, if Barclays has not breached its contract, it will be difficult to take the contract from them. I do not know the duration of the contract, but I do not expect that it is less than three years and I assume that it has a minimum of 18 months, maybe two years to run. If it is not in breach of the contract, I cannot tell Barclays not to close its branch in Gwauncaegurwen or it will lose business from the Assembly. I doubt whether provision of branch banking throughout Wales was a condition of Barclays winning the tender in—I assume—open competition, when the Assembly was established.

Government policy on the payment of pensions via post offices and local banks is a sensitive issue. It is a big issue for people who live in areas where the nearest market town is some distance away to ensure that they do not have to drive 40 miles to cash their giro cheques or pensions. We must consider this matter if it becomes a widespread pattern. The combined threat to post offices in rural areas, isolated valley towns or large villages, with the branch bank network being shrunk so quickly and severely, could become a real problem for the people of Wales.

ffordd neu'r llall, cymeraf ei fod wedi ei ennill drwy dendr cystadleuol, a thybiaf nad yw wedi torri amodau'r tendr hwnnw, beth bynnag a wna i'w rwydwaith o ganghennau yng Nghymru. Fodd bynnag, yng ngoleuni sylwadau Huw Lewis, yr wyf yn falch o ystyried a oes unrhyw le i ddylanwadu yn y cynigion a wnaethpwyd gan bob rhan o'r Cynulliad a'r Aelodau sydd yma heddiw, os yw'n agos at dorri amodau ei contract.

**Kirsty Williams:** Cefnogaf gais Huw ichi ailystyried penderfyniad y Cynulliad i gadw ei gyfrif banc gyda Barclays a dangos dirmyg y Cynulliad hwn at ei benderfyniad i gau canghennau ledled Cymru. A wnewch chi ystyried y goblygiadau o gau'r canghennau hyn ar bolisiâu eich Llywodraeth ar dalu pensiynau a budd-daliadau'n uniongyrchol i gyfrifon banc?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae dwy ran i'r cwestiwn hwnnw. Credaf y byddwch yn derbyn, os nad yw Barclays wedi torri ei contract, y bydd yn anodd cymryd y contract oddi arno. Ni wn am hyd y contract, ond ni ddisgwylwn iddo fod yn llai na thair blynedd a chymeraf fod o leiaf 18 mis, dwy flynedd efallai ohono ar ôl. Os na thorrodd y contract, ni allaf ddweud wrth Barclays am beidio â chau ei gangen yng Ngwauncaegurwen neu y bydd yn colli busnes o'r Cynulliad. Amheuaif a oedd darparu bancio mewn canghennau ledled Cymru yn amod ar ennill y tendr gan Barclays mewn cystadleuaeth agored—fel yr oedd, yr wyf yn cymryd—pan sefydlwyd y Cynulliad.

Mae polisi'r Llywodraeth ar dalu pensiynau drwy swyddfeydd post a banciau lleol yn fater sensitif. Mae'n fater o bwys i rai sydd yn byw mewn ardaloedd lle y mae'r dref farchnad agosaf yn eithaf pell sicrhau nad ydynt yn gorfod gyrru 40 milltir i newid eu sieciau *giro* neu eu pensiynau. Rhaid inni ystyried y mater hwn os daw'n batrwm cyffredin. Gallai'r bygythiad cyfunol i swyddfeydd post mewn ardaloedd gwledig, trefi anghysbell yn y cymoedd neu bentrefi mawr, wrth grebachu'r rhwydwaith o ganghennau banc mor gyflym a llym, ddod yn broblem wirioneddol i bobl Cymru.

## Datganiad Busnes Business Statement

**The Business Secretary (Andrew Davies):** This is the next three weeks' Plenary business statement. Business on Tuesday 11 April will include a motion to approve revisions to the Assembly's Code of Conduct in the Chamber. On Wednesday 12 April, business is as I reported last week. The Assembly will be in recess between 17 April and 5 May. Business on 9 and 10 May is as I reported last week. Business on Tuesday 16 May will include debates on climate change and the Home Energy Efficiency Scheme Regulations. On Wednesday 17 May, there will be a debate on film production in Wales. I will make arrangements after Plenary today to post this statement to the intranet and internet.

**Nick Bourne:** I wish to make a couple of comments. The first is a request that may involve you, Llywydd. The agenda does not always indicate the length of debates. That makes it difficult for groups to plan. We do not know how many speeches we will be able to make, how many main contributors and interventions we will be allowed and so on. Could we have indicative guidelines? I realise the need for flexibility on the length of debates. However, we are not sure how long today's education and building debates will last, for example. An indication would be welcome across the Chamber.

My second point relates to King Russell Goodway. The business statement does not allow for legislation to cap the allowances of Russell Goodway and his Labour colleagues in Cardiff to be brought forward before the Easter recess, as we were promised. I hope that this is not being kicked into the long grass. We were going to oppose the business statement but the other so-called opposition parties would not support us. However, we will do so in future if nothing is forthcoming. Russell Goodway cannot be blamed for 18 years of Conservatism; he is a result of three years of the Labour Party.

**Y Trefnydd (Andrew Davies):** Hwn yw datganiad busnes y Cyfarfod Llawn ar gyfer y tair wythnos nesaf. Bydd y busnes ddydd Mawrth 11 Ebrill yn cynnwys cynnig i gymeradwyo diwygiadau i God y Cynulliad ar gyfer Ymddygiad yn y Siambr. Ddydd Mercher 12 Ebrill, mae'r busnes fel yr adroddais yr wythnos diwethaf. Bydd y Cynulliad ar doriad rhwng 17 Ebrill a 5 Mai. Mae'r busnes ar 9 a 10 Mai fel yr adroddais yr wythnos diwethaf. Bydd y busnes ddydd Mawrth 16 Mai yn cynnwys dadleuon ar y newid yn yr hinsawdd a Rheoliadau'r Cynllun Effeithlonrwydd Ynni Cartref. Ddydd Mercher 17 Mai, bydd dadl ar gynhyrchu ffilmiau yng Nghymru. Gwnaf drefniadau ar ôl y Cyfarfod Llawn heddiw i osod y datganiad hwn ar y fewnwyd a'r rhyngwyd.

**Nick Bourne:** Dymunaf wneud ychydig o sylwadau. Mae'r cyntaf yn gais a allai'ch cynnwys chi, Lywydd. Nid yw'r agenda bob amser yn nodi hyd dadleuon. Mae hynny'n ei gwneud yn anodd i grwpiau gynllunio. Ni wyddom sawl araith y byddwn yn gallu eu gwneud, sawl prif gyfrannwr a sawl ymyriad a ganiateir ac yn y blaen. A allem gael canllawiau i ddynodi hynny? Sylweddolaf fod angen hyblygrwydd ynghylch hyd dadleuon. Fodd bynnag, nid ydym yn sicr ynghylch hyd y dadleuon heddiw ar addysg a'r adeilad, er enghraifft. Byddai croeso i ddynodiad o hynny ar draws y Siambr.

Mae'r ail bwynt sydd gennyf yn ymwneud â'r brenin Russell Goodway. Nid yw'r datganiad busnes yn caniatáu dod â deddfwriaeth gerbron i gapio lwfansau Russell Goodway a'i gydweithwyr Llafur yng Nghaerdydd cyn toriad y Pasg, fel yr addawyd inni. Gobeithiaf nad yw hyn yn cael ei fwrw o'r neilltu. Bwriadem wrthwynebu'r datganiad busnes ond nid oedd pleidiau eraill yr wrthblaid, fel y'u gelwir, yn barod i'n cefnogi. Fodd bynnag, byddwn yn gwneud hynny yn y dyfodol os na ddaw unrhyw beth. Ni ellir rhoi'r bai ar Russell Goodway am 18 mlynedd o Geidwadaeth; mae'n ganlyniad i dair blynedd o'r Blaid Lafur.

**Jenny Randerson:** To clarify, we have not been asked whether we wish to support Nick Bourne in opposing the business statement.

**Nick Bourne:** We did ask.

**Jenny Randerson:** No you did not.

**The Presiding Officer:** Order. I will take that as a comment on the business statement.

**Andrew Davies:** Nick Bourne used to be a professor, but he cannot count. He is only allowed to ask one question. Nevertheless, I will answer both. His colleague raised the first question in the Business Committee meeting this morning and was given a full answer. The reason for allowing questions on my business statement is to discuss issues that have not been raised in the Business Committee. We discussed this fully and said that we would discuss the timing of debates with you, Presiding Officer, and come back with guidance, with the full agreement of the political parties.

On statements on the leader of Cardiff City and County Council and allowances, my colleague, Peter Law, made it clear last week that he would discuss this issue with the Welsh Local Government Association and the leader of Cardiff council. He said that he would then consult and, if there was no progress, introduce regulations before the Assembly. He was clear about that. I refer you to the Record of Proceedings.

**The Presiding Officer:** Order. This is not an opportunity to extend debates or adopt the crude habit of the House of Commons of using business questions to extend issues that are of interest to Members. This is an opportunity to discuss the business statement.

### **Adroddiad Drafft y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 'Darpariaeth Blynyddoedd Cynnar ar gyfer Plant Teirblwydd'**

### **The Pre-16 Education Committee Draft Report 'Early Years Provision for Three Year Olds'**

**William Graham:** I propose that

**Jenny Randerson:** Er mwyn egluro, ni ofynnwyd i ni a oeddem yn dymuno cefnogi Nick Bourne wrth wrthwynebu'r datganiad busnes.

**Nick Bourne:** Gofynasom.

**Jenny Randerson:** Naddo, ni wnaethoch.

**Y Llywydd:** Trefn. Cymeraf hynny fel sylw ar y datganiad busnes.

**Andrew Davies:** Arferai Nick Bourne fod yn athro prifysgol, ond ni all gyfrif. Ni chaniateir iddo ofyn ond un cwestiwn. Er hynny, atebaf y ddau. Cododd ei gyd-Aelod y cwestiwn cyntaf yng nghyfarfod y Pwyllgor Busnes y bore yma a rhoddwyd ateb llawn iddo. Y rheswm dros ganiatáu cwestiynau ar fy natganiad busnes yw er mwyn trafod materion nas codwyd yn y Pwyllgor Busnes. Trafodasom hyn yn llawn a dweud y byddem yn trafod amseriad dadleuon gyda chi, Lywydd, a dod yn ôl ag arweiniad, gyda chytundeb llawn y pleidiau gwleidyddol.

Ynghylch datganiadau ar arweinydd Cyngor Dinas a Sir Caerdydd a lwfansau, rhoddodd fy nghyd-Aelod, Peter Law, ar ddeall yr wythnos diwethaf y trafodai'r mater hwn â Chymdeithas Llywodraeth Leol Cymru ac arweinydd cyngor Caerdydd. Dywedodd y byddai wedyn yn ymgynghori ac, os nad oedd cynnydd, yn rhoi rheoliadau gerbron y Cynulliad. Yr oedd yn bendant ynghylch hynny. Fe'ch cyfeiriaf at Gofnod y Trafodion.

**Y Llywydd:** Trefn. Nid yw hyn yn gyfle i ymestyn dadleuon neu fabwysiadu arfer aflednais Tŷ'r Cyffredin o ddefnyddio cwestiynau busnes i ymestyn materion sydd o ddiddordeb i'r Aelodau. Mae hyn yn gyfle i drafod y datganiad busnes.

**William Graham:** Cynigiaf fod

*the Assembly, in accordance with Standing Orders Nos 6.5 and 9.9, notes the interim report 'Early Years Provision for Three Year Olds' from the Pre-16 Education Committee, laid in the Table Office on 28 March 2000 and distributed in hard copy to Members.*

It gives me great pleasure to present the interim report of the Pre-16 Education Committee, 'Early Years Provision for Three Year Olds'. One of the first things that the Committee did after it was established was to agree on the framework principles that should underpin education policy in Wales. The Committee recognised that there had been significant improvements in education in recent years and that these achievements were won at great cost in schools. However, the Committee shared with practitioners in the education field the view that much remains to be done to ensure that the momentum for improvement is sustained, that the potential of all children is realised and that schools play their part in enhancing the status of Wales as a learning country.

2:48 p.m.

A number of specific serious problems and challenges were identified. In response, the Committee decided that the policy development issues it would consider should contribute to addressing these problems and challenges. It agreed that establishing a clear role for early years education in relation to other provision for that age group, such as childcare, was a way of ensuring that education is inclusive. This also complements the priority identified in [betterwales.com](http://betterwales.com) that there should be a fresh approach to provision for under fives throughout Wales. In taking forward this policy review, the Committee recognised that the Health and Social Services Committee also had an interest in this matter as it impacted upon childcare. Therefore, I sent a copy of the interim report to Kirsty Williams, Chair of the Health and Social Services Committee and to Jane Hutt, the Assembly Secretary.

In a meeting on 14 July, the Pre-16 Education Committee agreed the following remit for its

*y Cynulliad, yn unol â Rheolau Sefydlog Rhifau 6.5 a 9.9, yn nodi adroddiad interim 'Darpariaeth Blynyddoedd Cynnar ar gyfer Plant Teirblwydd' y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16, a osodwyd yn y Swyddfa Gyflwyno ar 28 Mawrth 2000 ac a ddosbarthwyd ar ffurf copi papur i Aelodau.*

Pleser mawr i mi yw cyflwyno adroddiad dros dro'r Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16, 'Darpariaeth Blynyddoedd Cynnar ar gyfer Plant Teirblwydd'. Un o'r pethau cyntaf a wnaeth y Pwyllgor ar ôl ei sefydlu oedd cytuno ar yr egwyddorion fframwaith a ddylai fod yn sail i bolisi addysg yng Nghymru. Cydnabu'r Pwyllgor fod gwelliannau sylweddol wedi bod mewn addysg mewn blynyddoedd diweddar a bod y cyflawniadau hyn wedi eu hennill ar gost fawr mewn ysgolion. Fodd bynnag, yr oedd y Pwyllgor yn unfarn â'r ymarferwyr ym maes addysg bod llawer ar ôl i'w wneud i sicrhau y cynhelir y momentwm er mwyn gwella, y cyflawnir potensial pob plentyn ac y bydd ysgolion yn chwarae eu rhan wrth hybu statws Cymru fel gwlad sydd yn dysgu.

Dynodwyd nifer o broblemau a heriau difrifol penodol. Mewn ymateb, penderfynodd y Pwyllgor y dylai'r materion datblygu polisi y byddai'n eu hystyried gyfrannu at ymdrin â'r problemau a'r heriau hyn. Cytunodd mai sefydlu rôl eglur ar gyfer addysg blynyddoedd cynnar mewn perthynas â darpariaeth arall ar gyfer y grŵp oedran hwnnw, fel gofal plant, oedd un modd i sicrhau bod addysg yn gynhwysol. Mae hyn hefyd yn cyflenwi'r flaenoriaeth a ddynodwyd yn [gwelcymru.com](http://gwelcymru.com) y dylid cael ymagwedd newydd at y ddarpariaeth i blant dan bum mlwydd ledled Cymru. Wrth fynd ymlaen â'r adolygiad polisi hwn, cydnabu'r Pwyllgor fod gan y Pwyllgor Iechyd a Gwasanaethau Cymdeithasol ddiddordeb yn y mater hwn hefyd gan ei fod yn effeithio ar ofal plant. Felly, anfonais gopi o'r adroddiad dros dro at Kirsty Williams, Cadeirydd y Pwyllgor Iechyd a Gwasanaethau Cymdeithasol ac at Jane Hutt, yr Ysgrifennydd Cynulliad.

Mewn cyfarfod ar 14 Gorffennaf, cytunodd y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 ar y cylch gwaith

policy development of early years provision for three-year-olds. First, to consider the current pattern of education provision for three-year-olds and to assess whether its expansion would be in the educational and developmental interests of such children. Secondly, to assess the cost of such expansion, which would place a new burden on local authorities and would need to be recognised in their funding. Thirdly, to assess the impact of expansion on the ability of playgroups and private providers to provide childcare to children below compulsory school age and, finally, to make recommendations to the Assembly Secretary for future policy.

By way of consultation, the Committee wrote to all local education authorities, to early years partnerships and to a number of organisations and individuals who either provided early years education and care or had in-depth knowledge of its provision and the learning and developmental needs of young children. The Committee was delighted by the number of responses it received and was impressed by the care that the respondents had taken in addressing the issues in an objective and constructive manner. We also heard submissions from a number of key organisations and academics in the field. The Committee carefully considered all the views expressed and agreed that there were a number of key issues that needed to be addressed.

These included the pattern of provision. There was an overwhelming consensus among those who responded that supported the view that the benefits of effective early education outweighed the disadvantages. This view was based on the research evidence available from a number of academic sources. The debate centred on the balance that should be achieved between play-orientated development and formal learning opportunities, along with the settings most beneficial to children. It would be true to say that there was a clear division between those who believed that the more formal learning environment provided by schools did not serve the best interests of the child and others who held the opposite view.

The Committee looked to examples of

canlynol ar gyfer datblygu polisi ganddo ar ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd cynnar ar gyfer plant teirblwydd. Yn gyntaf, ystyried patrwm presennol y ddarpariaeth addysg i blant teirblwydd ac asesu a fyddai ei hehangu er budd addysgol a datblygiadol plant o'r fath. Yn ail, asesu cost ehangu o'r fath, a fyddai'n rhoi baich newydd ar awdurdodau lleol ac y byddai angen ei gydnabod wrth eu hariannu. Yn drydydd, asesu effaith ehangu ar allu grwpiau chwarae a darparwyr preifat i ddarparu gofal plant i blant o dan yr oedran ysgol gorfodol ac, yn olaf, rhoi argymhellion i'r Ysgrifennydd Cynulliad ar gyfer polisi yn y dyfodol.

Er mwyn ymgynghori, ysgrifennodd y Pwyllgor at bob awdurdod addysg lleol, at bartneriaethau blynyddoedd cynnar ac at nifer o gyrff ac unigolion a oedd un ai'n darparu addysg neu ofal blynyddoedd cynnar neu'n meddu ar wybodaeth fanwl am ddarparu hynny ac am anghenion dysgu a datblygiadol plant ifanc. Yr oedd y Pwyllgor yn falch iawn o nifer yr ymatebion a dderbyniodd a chafodd argraff dda o'r gofal a gymerodd yr ymatebwyr wrth ymdrin â'r materion yn wrthrychol ac yn adeiladol. Gwrandawasom hefyd ar gyflwyniadau gan nifer o gyrff allweddol ac academwyr yn y maes. Rhoddodd y Pwyllgor ystyriaeth ofalus i bob barn a fynegwyd a chytunodd fod nifer o faterion allweddol y mae angen ymdrin â hwy.

Ymhlith y rhain yr oedd patrwm y ddarpariaeth. Yr oedd consensws aruthrol ymysg y rhai a ymatebodd a gefnogai'r farn bod manteision addysg gynnar effeithiol yn fwy na'r anfanteision. Seiliwyd y farn hon ar y dystiolaeth o ymchwil sydd ar gael o nifer o ffynonellau academaidd. Canolbwyntiodd y ddadl ar y cydbwysedd y dylid ei sicrhau rhwng datblygu â gogwydd at chwarae a chyfleoedd dysgu ffurfiol, ynghyd â'r lleoliadau a oedd fwyaf manteisiol i blant. Gwir fyddai dweud bod rhaniad pendant rhwng y rhai a gredai nad oedd yr amgylchedd dysgu mwy ffurfiol a ddarperid gan ysgolion er y budd mwyaf i'r plentyn ac eraill a gredai i'r gwrthwyneb.

Edrychodd y Pwyllgor ar enghreifftiau o

provision in other countries to have an informed debate on this key matter. We looked in particular at New Zealand, northern Italy and the Scandinavian countries. The Committee agreed that early years education should be part of the continuum with formal education and that the final strategy should be integrated with the Sure Start programme and the national childcare strategy. Evidence was presented to the Committee to demonstrate that the practice in the United Kingdom of starting formal education at the age of five did not result in better attainment by children by the age of eight. In fact, research showed that children who started their formal education at six or seven attained higher levels of learning by the time they were eight. In view of this evidence, the Committee agreed that the Assembly Secretary should ask Estyn to provide a report on the advantages and disadvantages of starting formal education at the age of six rather than the current statutory age of five. This report should be completed in time to inform the next review of the national curriculum in Wales.

Much evidence was presented about the best level of staff to child ratio, but there was lack of consensus. The Committee concluded that the quality of the staff was of paramount importance. The quality of the curriculum for these young children is the key and the Committee was delighted to note the work done by the maintained and non-maintained sectors towards a common standards benchmark. These were set out by the Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales—better known as ACCAC—in its framework document ‘Desirable Outcomes for Children’s Learning before Compulsory School Age’, published in 1996. The consensus among those who responded was that this framework is grounded in a set of principles and a value base that reflect best early years practice. This view was reinforced by Estyn, which attributes the improvement in the quality of educational provision to the provision of this guidance by ACCAC to a large extent.

In considering training, the Committee was astounded to hear that there are currently

ddarpariaeth mewn gwledydd eraill er mwyn cael dadl gytbwys ar y mater allweddol hwn. Edrychasom yn benodol ar Seland Newydd, gogledd yr Eidal a gwledydd Llychlyn. Cytunodd y Pwyllgor y dylai addysg blynnyddoedd cynnar fod yn rhan o’r dilyniant ag addysg ffurfiol ac y dylid integreiddio’r strategaeth derfynol â’r rhaglen Cychwyn Cadarn a’r strategaeth gofal plant genedlaethol. Cyflwynwyd tystiolaeth i’r Pwyllgor i ddangos nad oedd yr arfer yn y Deyrnas Unedig o ddechrau addysg ffurfiol yn bum mlwydd oed yn arwain at well cyrhaeddiad gan blant erbyn wyth mlwydd oed. Mewn gwirionedd, dangosodd ymchwil fod plant a ddechreuodd eu haddysg ffurfiol yn chwech neu saith mlwydd yn cyrraedd lefelau dysgu uwch erbyn cyrraedd wyth mlwydd oed. Yng ngolwg y dystiolaeth hon, cytunodd y Pwyllgor y dylai’r Ysgrifennydd Cynulliad ofyn i Estyn ddarparu adroddiad ar fanteision ac anfanteision dechrau addysg ffurfiol yn chwe blwydd oed yn hytrach nag yn yr oedran gorfodol presennol o bum mlwydd oed. Dylai’r adroddiad hwn fod wedi ei gwblhau mewn pryd i oleuo’r adolygiad nesaf ar y cwricwlwm cenedlaethol yng Nghymru.

Cyflwynwyd llawer o dystiolaeth am lefel orau’r gymhareb staff-plentyn, ond yr oedd diffyg consensws. Daeth y Pwyllgor i’r casgliad bod ansawdd y staff o’r pwys mwyaf. Ansawdd y cwricwlwm i’r plant ifanc hyn yw’r allwedd ac yr oedd y Pwyllgor yn falch iawn o nodi’r gwaith a gyflawnwyd gan y sectorau gwladol a phreifat er mwyn cyrraedd meincnod safonau gyffredin. Cyflwynwyd y rhain gan Awdurdod Cymwysterau, Cwricwlwm ac Aseu Cymru—a adwaenir yn well fel ACCAC—yn ei ddogfen fframwaith ‘Canlyniadau Dymunol i Ddysgu Plant cyn Oedran Addysg Orfodol’, a gyhoeddwyd yn 1996. Y consensws ymysg y rhai a ymatebodd oedd bod y fframwaith hwn wedi ei seilio ar set o egwyddorion a sylfaen werthoedd sydd yn adlewyrchu’r arfer blynnyddoedd cynnar gorau. Cadarnhawyd y farn hon gan Estyn, sydd yn priodoli’r gwelliant yn ansawdd y ddarpariaeth addysgol i raddau helaeth i’r ddarpariaeth o’r arweiniad hwn gan ACCAC.

Wrth ystyried hyfforddiant, syfrdanwyd y Pwyllgor o glywed bod mwy na 1,000 o



more than 1,000 different accreditation schemes for nursery nurses. Consequently, it was pleased to learn that ACCAC, along with its equivalent bodies in other parts of the United Kingdom, was working to rationalise these and to improve standards at the same time. The Committee firmly believes that whatever the final pattern of provision, it will be necessary to have good quality, trained staff to ensure that young children obtain the maximum benefit from such provision. The Committee looks forward to receiving ACCAC's report on accreditation in the autumn and has asked ACCAC to take account of the Committee's work in developing its policy on early years provision.

The Committee considers that it is essential that all children have equal access to early years services. That includes children at risk of being socially excluded because of their circumstances, children from different cultural backgrounds and those with special needs. To ensure equal access, the Committee is of the view that the current practice of centrally funding provision for four-year-olds should be extended to three-year-olds in principle, with no direct charge to parents. To impose charges on parents would mean taking into account parents' circumstances and localised cost provision. That could be costly and also administratively expensive.

On bilingualism, the success of Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin has been crucial in ensuring the future of the Welsh language and the Committee wishes to continue to promote bilingual provision to the highest standard. It will consider how that can be ensured in the pattern of provision finally agreed upon, including ensuring that staff are trained to the appropriate level in Welsh and English and by building partnerships where there is a mixed economy of provision. The Committee noted examples of the close working relationship that has developed between providers to ensure that the service provided was in the best interests of the child. Local early years development and childcare partnerships were established on the principle of co-operation and working together with shared aims and objectives. These partnership

wahanol gynlluniau achredu ar hyn o bryd ar gyfer nyrsys meithrin. O ganlyniad, yr oedd yn falch o glywed bod ACCAC, ynghyd â'r cyrff sydd yn cyfateb iddo mewn gwahanol rannau o'r Deyrnas Unedig, yn gweithio er mwyn rhesymoli'r rhain a gwella'r safonau yr un pryd. Beth bynnag fydd patrwm terfynol y ddarpariaeth, mae'r Pwyllgor yn credu'n gryf y bydd yn rhaid cael staff hyfforddedig, o ansawdd da i sicrhau bod plant ifanc yn cael y budd mwyaf posibl o ddarpariaeth o'r fath. Mae'r Pwyllgor yn edrych ymlaen at dderbyn adroddiad ACCAC ar achredu yn yr hydref a gofynnodd i ACCAC gymryd gwaith y Pwyllgor i ystyriaeth wrth ddatblygu ei bolisi ar ddarpariaeth blynnyddoedd cynnar.

Mae'r Pwyllgor o'r farn ei bod yn holl bwysig i bob plentyn gael mynediad cyfartal i wasanaethau blynnyddoedd cynnar. Mae hynny'n cynnwys plant sydd mewn perygl o gael eu hallgáu'n gymdeithasol oherwydd eu hamgylchiadau, plant o wahanol gefndiroedd diwylliannol a'r rhai ag anghenion arbennig. Er mwyn sicrhau mynediad cyfartal, mae'r Pwyllgor o'r farn y dylid estyn yr arfer presennol o ariannu'r ddarpariaeth i blant pedair blwydd yn ganolog i rai teirblwydd mewn egwyddor, heb godi tâl uniongyrchol ar rieni. Byddai gosod taliadau ar rieni'n golygu cymryd i ystyriaeth amgylchiadau'r rhieni a chost y ddarpariaeth ym mhob ardal. Gallai hynny fod yn gostus a hefyd yn ddrud i'w weinyddu.

Ynghylch dwyieithrwydd, bu llwyddiant Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin yn dyngedfennol wrth sicrhau dyfodol yr iaith Gymraeg ac mae'r Pwyllgor yn dymuno parhau i hybu darpariaeth ddwyieithog i'r safon uchaf. Bydd yn ystyried sut y gellir sicrhau hynny ym mhatrwm y ddarpariaeth y cytunir arno'n derfynol, gan gynnwys sicrhau y caiff staff eu hyfforddi i'r lefel briodol yn y Gymraeg a'r Saesneg a drwy adeiladu partneriaethau lle y mae economi cymysg yn y ddarpariaeth. Nododd y Pwyllgor enghreifftiau o'r berthynas waith glòs a ddatblygodd rhwng darparwyr er mwyn sicrhau bod y gwasanaeth a ddarperir er y budd gorau i'r plentyn. Sefydlwyd partneriaethau datblygiad blynnyddoedd cynnar a gofal plant lleol ar yr egwyddor o gydweithrediad a chydweithio gyda nodau ac amcanion cyffredin. Mae

ties need to be strengthened. The Committee will examine ways of doing this in its final proposals.

To summarise, the Committee has agreed a set of principles that will hopefully underpin the future pattern of provision. These include the provision of a sound foundation for future learning and achievement through an appropriate developmental curriculum in harmony with a child's needs and interests. It should achieve equal access of educational opportunity to allow all to reach their potential and take their place in society. It should provide wrap-around care by developing partnerships between parents, families, childminders, nurseries, playgroups and schools in the maintained and non-maintained sectors. It should ensure that the delivery of early education is guided and nurtured by suitably qualified early years educators, who care as well as educate.

The Committee agreed to appoint an expert adviser to assist in the task of evaluating the wealth of information that it has received and in considering its recommendations. I am delighted to inform the Assembly that, after open competition, the Committee has appointed Mrs Margaret Hanney as its expert adviser on early years provision. Today, the Committee presents its interim report to the Assembly, which sets out the Committee's considerations and conclusions to date. It also puts into the public domain the collated submissions that it has received. The next step is for the expert adviser to consider the submissions received and, with her own expert knowledge, to develop models of early provision for the Committee to consider, drawing on best practice from other countries. She will report to the Committee at the end of June and the Committee proposes to test the models thoroughly before coming to a conclusion in the autumn. I commend this report to the Assembly.

2:58 p.m.

**The Secretary for Education and Children Yr Ysgrifennydd Addysg a Phlant**

angen cryfhau'r cysylltiadau partneriaeth hyn. Bydd y Pwyllgor yn edrych ar ddulliau o wneud hynny yn ei gynigion terfynol.

I grynhoi, mae'r Pwyllgor wedi cytuno ar set o egwyddorion y gobeithir y byddant yn cynnal patrwm y ddarpariaeth yn y dyfodol. Ymhlith y rhain y mae darparu sylfaen gadarn ar gyfer dysgu a chyflawniad yn y dyfodol drwy gwricwlwm datblygiadol priodol sydd yn gyson ag anghenion a buddiannau'r plentyn. Dylai sicrhau mynediad cyfartal o ran cyfle addysgol fel y gall pob un gyflawni ei botensial a chymryd ei le mewn cymdeithas. Dylai ddarparu gofal cynhwysol drwy ddatblygu partneriaethau rhwng rhieni, teuluoedd, gofalyr plant, meithrinfeydd, grwpiau chwarae ac ysgolion yn y sectorau gwladol a phreifat. Dylai sicrhau y caiff y ddarpariaeth o addysg gynnar ei harwain a'i meithrin gan addysgwyr blynyddoedd cynnar sydd â chymwysterau priodol, sydd yn gofalu yn ogystal ag addysgu.

Cytunodd y Pwyllgor i benodi ymgynghorydd arbenigol i gynorthwyo yn y gorchwyl o werthuso'r toeth o wybodaeth a dderbyniodd ac yn y gwaith o ystyried ei argymhellion. Yr wyf yn falch iawn o hysbysu'r Cynulliad bod y Pwyllgor, ar ôl cystadleuaeth agored, wedi penodi Mrs Margaret Hanney yn ymgynghorydd arbenigol iddo ar ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd cynnar. Heddiw, cyflwyno'r Pwyllgor ei adroddiad dros dro i'r Cynulliad, sydd yn nodi ystyriaethau a chasgliadau'r Pwyllgor hyd yn hyn. Mae hefyd yn y rhoi yn y maes cyhoeddus y cyflwyniadau cymaredig a dderbyniodd. Y cam nesaf yw i'r ymgynghorydd arbenigol ystyried y cyflwyniadau a dderbyniwyd a, gyda'i gwybodaeth arbenigol ei hun, datblygu modelau o ddarpariaeth gynnar i'r Pwyllgor eu hystyried, gan gyfeirio at yr arfer gorau mewn gwledydd eraill. Bydd yn adrodd i'r Pwyllgor ddiwedd Mehefin ac mae'r Pwyllgor yn bwriadu profi'r modelau'n drwyadl cyn dod i gasgliad yn yr hydref. Cymeradwyaf yr adroddiad hwn i'r Cynulliad.

**(Rosemary Butler):** I am grateful to William and Pre-16 Education Committee members for their thoughtful and constructive contributions on this issue over the past months. The expert adviser appointed by the Committee will be made aware of the views expressed this afternoon so that she can take account of them in her assessment. The Committee's view is that this is an important issue that needs the most careful consideration in deciding the best way forward.

The objective must be for sustainable early learning arrangements that take account of the overall developmental needs of our young children in a Welsh context. Arrangements need to be made to ensure that we take full account of our bilingual society. We must not lose sight of that. The consultation exercise undertaken by the Committee in the initial stages of the review showed that there was a broad consensus on several issues underlying early learning. Common ground was the opinion that learning opportunities for the very young are beneficial. The Committee's interim report acknowledges that the debate is over the nature of those opportunities and the environment in which they are provided.

There was always agreement that early learning should be viewed as part of the lifelong learning spectrum and should excite and enthuse children and give them the motivation to learn throughout their academic life. William emphasised the importance of play. This came across strongly in the Committee's evidence-taking sessions and is recognised in ACCAC's report 'Desirable Outcomes for Children's Learning before Compulsory School Age'. A remark made during our evidence-taking sessions, which struck a chord with the Committee, was that the curriculum for the very young should be experienced and not delivered. That is the right approach.

There was also agreement on the importance of the early involvement of parents and carers in a child's development. Parental involvement gives parents a sense of purpose and provides children with a sense of continuity and security and makes a sound platform for their path through education. As William explained, consideration of the

**(Rosemary Butler):** Yr wyf yn ddiolchgar i William ac aelodau'r Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 am eu cyfraniadau ystyriol ac adeiladol ar y mater hwn dros y misoedd diwethaf. Bydd yr ymgynghorydd arbenigol a benodwyd gan y Pwyllgor yn cael ei hysbysu am y safbwyntiau a fynegir y prynhawn yma fel y gall roi ystyriaeth iddynt yn ei hasesiad. Barn y Pwyllgor yw bod hwn yn fater pwysig y mae angen ei ystyried yn hynod o ofalus wrth benderfynu ar y ffordd orau ymlaen.

Rhaid amcanu at drefniadau dysgu cynnar cynaliadwy sydd yn rhoi ystyriaeth i anghenion datblygiadol cyffredinol ein plant ifanc mewn cyd-destun Cymreig. Mae angen gwneud trefniadau i sicrhau ein bod yn rhoi ystyriaeth lawn i'n cymdeithas ddwyieithog. Rhaid inni beidio â cholli golwg ar hynny. Yr oedd yr ymgynghoriad a gyflawnodd y Pwyllgor yng nghyfnodau cyntaf yr adolygiad yn dangos bod consensws eang ar sawl mater sydd yn sail i ddysgu cynnar. Y tir cyffredin oedd y farn bod cyfleoedd dysgu i rai ifanc iawn yn llesol. Mae adroddiad dros dro'r Pwyllgor yn cydnabod bod y ddadl yn un am natur y cyfleoedd hynny a'r amgylchedd lle y'u darperir.

Mae cytundeb erioed y dylid edrych ar ddysgu cynnar fel rhan o'r sbectwm dysgu gydol oes ac y dylai gyffroi ac ennyn brwdfrydedd mewn plant a rhoi'r cymhelliant iddynt ddysgu gydol eu hoes academaidd. Rhoddodd William bwyslais ar bwysigrwydd chwarae. Cyflewyd hyn yn gryf yn sesiynau derbyn tystiolaeth y Pwyllgor ac fe'i cydnabyddir yn adroddiad ACCAC 'Canlyniadau Dymunol i Ddysgu Plant cyn Oedran Addysg Orfodol'. Un sylw a wnaethpwyd yn ystod ein sesiynau derbyn tystiolaeth, a drawodd dant gyda'r Pwyllgor, oedd y dylai'r cwricwlwm ar gyfer plant ifanc iawn gael ei brofi ac nid ei gyflenwi. Dyna'r ymagwedd gywir.

Yr oedd cytundeb hefyd ynghylch pwysigrwydd ymrwymiad cynnar gan rieni a gofalwyr yn natblygiad y plentyn. Mae ymrwymiad rhieni yn rhoi ymdeimlad o bwrpas i rieni ac yn rhoi ymdeimlad o barhad a diogelwch i blant ac yn creu llwyfan cadarn ar gyfer eu llwybr drwy addysg. Fel yr eglurodd William, mae ystyriaeth o fanteision

advantages and disadvantages of starting formal education at the age of six, rather than five, is for the longer term. The importance of the early years of a child's development cannot be underestimated. Every child is different and it is vital that their opportunities give them a positive attitude to learning. If children are alienated or disaffected by their early experiences—

**Jocelyn Davies:** You know of my interest in children with special needs. I am glad that you made the point that children are not all the same. Three-year-olds are certainly not all the same. Some schools have serious difficulties when a child who has special needs or difficulties turns up in the reception class and the school was not aware that such a child was coming there. Schools tell me that this often happens. The parents are then on the sad track of trying to get a statement of special needs, which can take several years in some cases.

That road to getting a statement is difficult for families who may have communication difficulties, as the poorest of families tend to do. A statement comes to the most sophisticated parents. Are there, or are you considering, strategies that may spot children with difficulties in their early years so that schools and those children get off to a good start and early intervention becomes a reality, not just a soundbite.

**Rosemary Butler:** We are already working on that. That is important. The earlier that we can discover the challenges, the earlier we can intervene and the better for the child and the family. I despair when I hear of cases where the first that parents hear of their children's being statemented is when they get a letter through the post. That is appalling. We are considering this and the special educational needs code of practice is being reviewed. It will come before the Committee in the next few months.

The importance of the early years of a child's development cannot be underestimated. As I said, every child is different. The experiences that we offer must give them personal and social confidence and an appetite to learn

ac anfanteision dechrau addysg ffurfiol yn chwe blwydd oed, yn hytrach na phump, yn rhywbeth i'r tymor hir. Ni ellir tanbrasio pwysigrwydd y blynyddoedd cynnar yn natblygiad plentyn. Mae pob plentyn yn wahanol ac mae'n holl bwysig bod eu cyfleoedd yn rhoi ymagwedd gadarnhaol iddynt at ddysgu. Os caiff plant eu pellhau neu eu dieithrio drwy eu profiadau cynnar—

**Jocelyn Davies:** Gwyddoch am fy niddordeb mewn plant ag anghenion arbennig. Yr wyf yn falch ichi wneud y pwynt nad yw pob plentyn yr un fath. Nid yw plant teirblwydd i gyd yr un fath yn sicr. Caiff rhai ysgolion drafferthion difrifol pan yw plentyn sydd ag anghenion neu anawsterau arbennig yn ymddangos yn y dosbarth derbyn a'r ysgol heb fod yn ymwybodol bod plentyn o'r fath yn dod yno. Dywed ysgolion wrthyf fod hyn yn digwydd yn aml. Mae'r rhieni wedyn yn dilyn y llwybr trist o geisio cael datganiad o anghenion arbennig, sydd yn gallu cymryd sawl blwyddyn mewn rhai achosion.

Mae'r ffordd honno tuag at gael datganiad yn anodd i deuluoedd a allai fod ag anawsterau cyfathrebu, sydd yn duedd ymysg y teuluoedd tlotaf. Daw datganiad i'r rhieni mwyaf soffistigedig. A oes, neu a ydych yn ystyried, strategaethau a allai ddarganfod plant sydd ag anawsterau yn eu blynyddoedd cynnar fel bod ysgolion a'r plant hynny yn cychwyn yn dda ac fel bod ymyriad cynnar yn realiti, ac nid yn ddywediad bachog yn unig.

**Rosemary Butler:** Yr ydym eisoes yn gweithio ar hynny. Mae hynny'n bwysig. Po gyntaf y gallwn ddarganfod yr heriau, cyntaf y gallwn ymyrryd a hynny er y budd gorau i'r plentyn a'r teulu. Anobeithiaf pan glywaf am achosion lle y clyw rhieni gyntaf am wneud datganiad ar gyfer eu plant pan dderbyniant lythyr drwy'r post. Mae hynny'n warthus. Yr ydym yn ystyried hyn ac mae'r cod ymarfer ar anghenion addysgol arbennig yn cael ei adolygu. Bydd yn dod gerbron y Pwyllgor yn ystod y misoedd nesaf.

Ni ellir tanbrasio pwysigrwydd y blynyddoedd cynnar yn natblygiad plentyn. Fel y dywedais, mae pob plentyn yn wahanol. Rhaid i'r profiadau a gynigiwn roi iddynt hyder personol a chymdeithasol ac awydd i

when they begin compulsory schooling. Apart from the early education planning that early years development and childcare partnerships are already undertaking, there is work on several fronts. The national childcare strategy, with its emphasis on more integrated provision, is providing a greater opportunity for children to play and learn in a single environment. Around £5 million has been made available under the strategy to date. In this financial year, £2.3 million will be available for further development. Of this, £900,000 will be available for training and enterprise councils to provide infrastructure support for out of school childcare provision. A sum of £1.4 million will also be available to partnerships to develop their strategies.

The Sure Start initiative aims to give children up to the age of three in the most disadvantaged areas the best possible start in life.

**Janet Ryder:** Can the extra money that will be made available to the partnerships be used to develop children's local information bureaux that are so vital to help parents and to give them information so that they can make the right choices for their children? Are there any plans to develop a national information bureau in Wales that will signpost people to their local information bureau, similar to the system that has been developed in England and Scotland?

**Rosemary Butler:** I envisage that the money that I have mentioned will continue to be used where it has been in the past. We must consider a development of the kind that Janet suggests. Hopefully, we will be able to provide more money. With the early years partnerships that each authority has, we must ensure that we can work to a national single point of information centre. That work is being done and I will come back and give you more information on it. Children in Wales are already working on this.

The Sure Start money gives the opportunity for potential special educational needs to be identified and addressed as soon as possible. The Committee, as is mentioned in the interim report, will discuss the issues

ddysgu pan ddechreuant eu haddysg ysgol orfodol. Ar wahân i'r cynllunio o addysg gynnar a gyflawnir eisoes gan bartneriaethau datblygiad blynyddoedd cynnar a gofal plant, mae gwaith mewn sawl cyfeiriad. Mae'r strategaeth gofal plant genedlaethol, â'i phwyslais ar ddarpariaeth fwy integredig, yn rhoi mwy o gyfle i blant chwarae a dysgu mewn un amgylchedd. Darparwyd tua £5 miliwn o dan y strategaeth hyd yn hyn. Yn y flwyddyn ariannol hon, bydd £2.3 miliwn ar gael ar gyfer datblygu pellach. O hynny, bydd £900,000 ar gael i gynghorau hyfforddi a menter i ddarparu cymorth seilwaith i ddarpariaeth gofal plant y tu allan i'r ysgol. Bydd £1.4 miliwn ar gael hefyd i bartneriaethau i ddatblygu eu strategaethau.

Mae'r fenter Cychwyn Cadarn yn ceisio rhoi'r cychwyn gorau posibl mewn bywyd i blant hyd at dair blwydd oed yn yr ardaloedd mwyaf difreintiedig.

**Janet Ryder:** A ellir defnyddio'r arian ychwanegol a ddarperir i'r partneriaethau i ddatblygu canolfannau gwybodaeth lleol ar gyfer plant sydd mor hanfodol i helpu rhieni a rhoi gwybodaeth iddynt fel y gallant wneud y dewisiadau iawn dros eu plant? A oes bwriad i ddatblygu canolfan wybodaeth genedlaethol yng Nghymru a fydd yn cyfeirio pobl i'w canolfan wybodaeth leol, yn debyg i'r system a ddatblygwyd yn Lloegr a'r Alban?

**Rosemary Butler:** Rhagwelaif y bydd yr arian a grybwyllais yn cael ei ddefnyddio o hyd yn y manau lle y'i defnyddiwyd yn y gorffennol. Rhaid inni ystyried datblygiad o'r math a awgrymir gan Janet. Hyderaf y byddwn yn gallu darparu mwy o arian. Gyda'r partneriaethau blynyddoedd cynnar sydd gan bob awdurdod, rhaid inni sicrhau y gallwn weithio tuag at un ganolfan pwynt gwybodaeth genedlaethol. Mae'r gwaith hwnnw ar y gweill a byddaf yn dod yn ôl ac yn rhoi mwy o wybodaeth i chi amdano. Mae plant yng Nghymru eisoes yn gweithio ar hyn.

Mae arian Cychwyn Cadarn yn rhoi'r cyfle i ddynodi ac ymdrin ag anghenion addysgol arbennig posibl gynted ag y bo modd. Bydd y Pwyllgor, fel y dywedir yn yr adroddiad dros dro, yn trafod y materion sydd yn ymwneud

surrounding special educational needs and early learning with the Welsh advisory group on special educational needs. Sure Start projects are now in place throughout Wales and funding of £11 million is being made available to local partnerships in this financial year to take them forward. Perhaps that is where the money can be looked at, Janet.

The expert adviser's terms of reference make it clear that models of provision arising from independent assessment must be compatible with these ongoing initiatives. I look forward to receiving the expert's assessment so that the Pre-16 Education Committee can continue its discussions and firm up its detailed recommendations. I will consider them carefully before making my decisions on the way forward. I will also need to give careful thought to additional costs that may arise from the recommendations in the light of available resources and competing priorities.

Members will have the opportunity to debate the Committee's final report and recommendations. This issue is too important to rush. The early years are vital to a child's overall personal and social development and his or her attitudes and approach to learning later in life. We have the opportunity to develop innovative and inclusive approaches that reflect the special needs of Wales and help our young children to thrive. The Committee is determined not to compromise this opportunity by adopting solutions that have not been fully evaluated and explored. I am sure that this debate will be positive and constructive. I commend the motion to the Assembly and hope that Members can support it.

**Gareth Jones:** Diolch am y cyfle i gyfrannu i'r ddatl hon ar yr adroddiad dros dro a gyflwynwyd inni ar ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd cynnar ar gyfer plant teirblwydd. Rhaid imi fanteisio ar y cyfle i gydnabod y gwaith da a wnaethpwyd hyd yn hyn gan y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16, dan gadeiryddiaeth ddoeth ac effeithiol William Graham. Yr ydym yn ddiolchgar am ei arweiniad. Tra fy mod yn hael, hoffwn

ag anghenion addysgol arbennig a dysgu cynnar gyda grŵp ymgynghorol Cymru ar anghenion addysgol arbennig. Mae prosiectau Cychwyn Cadarn ar waith yn awr ledled Cymru a darperir cyllid o £11 miliwn i bartneriaethau lleol yn y flwyddyn ariannol hon er mwyn eu datblygu. Efallai mai yn y fan honno y gellir edrych ar yr arian, Janet.

Mae cylch gorchwyl yr ymgynghorydd arbenigol yn rhoi ar ddeall bod rhaid i fodolau darpariaeth sydd yn deillio o asesu annibynnol gydweddu â'r mentrau cyfredol hyn. Edrychaf ymlaen at dderbyn asesiad yr arbenigwr fel y gall y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 barhau â'i drafodaethau a rhoi gwedd gadarnach ar ei argymhellion manwl. Fe'u hystyriaf yn ofalus cyn gwneud fy mhenderfyniadau ar y ffordd ymlaen. Bydd yn rhaid imi hefyd roi ystyriaeth ofalus i gostau ychwanegol a allai godi o'r argymhellion yng ngoleuni'r adnoddau sydd ar gael a blaenoriaethau sydd yn cystadlu â'i gilydd.

Bydd cyfle i'r Aelodau drafod adroddiad ac argymhellion terfynol y Pwyllgor. Mae'r mater hwn yn rhy bwysig i'w frysio. Mae'r blynyddoedd cynnar yn holl bwysig i ddatblygiad personol a chymdeithasol cyffredinol y plentyn a'i agweddau a'i ddull o ddysgu yn ddiweddarach yn ei fywyd. Mae'r cyfle gennym i ddatblygu dulliau arloesol a chynhwysol o weithredu sydd yn adlewyrchu anghenion arbennig Cymru ac yn helpu ein plant ifanc i ffynnu. Mae'r Pwyllgor yn benderfynol na fydd yn peryglu'r cyfle hwn drwy fabwysiadu atebion na chawsant eu gwerthuso a'u harchwilio'n llawn. Yr wyf yn sicr y bydd y ddatl hon yn gadarnhaol ac yn adeiladol. Cymeradwyaf y cynnig i'r Cynulliad a gobeithiaf y gall Aelodau ei gefnogi.

**Gareth Jones:** Thank you for the opportunity to contribute to this debate on the interim report that was presented to us on early years provision for three-year-olds. I must take advantage of the opportunity to recognise the good work that has been done so far by the Pre-16 Education Committee, under William Graham's wise and effective chairmanship. We are grateful for his guidance. While I am being generous, I would like to acknowledge

gydnabod a chymeradwyo doethineb ac amseriad Llywodraeth Cymru wrth ymgymryd â'r bwriad i greu polisi mewn maes hynod bwysig. Mae'r maes nid yn unig yn ymwneud â datblygiad tyngedfennol bwysig y plentyn ond yn rhoi prawf ar y Cynulliad a'r modd yr ydym yn arddel ac yn mewnnoli egwyddorion sylfaenol yn ein polisiau. Nid cael rhieni sengl yn ôl i'r gweithle sydd dan sylw yma, nac ychwaith ddyfarnu pryd y dylai addysg plentyn ddechrau. Y bwriad yw creu gwasanaeth a fydd yn caniatáu i'r plentyn ddatblygu yn gymdeithasol, corfforol, ieithyddol, creadigol ac emosiynol mewn awyrgylch diogel a symbylol. Mae hynny'n nod pwysig ag iddo egwyddorion pwysig.

3:08 p.m.

Mae'n holl bwysig, felly, fod y Cynulliad yn rhoi sylw i hyn. Mae'n ymddangos yn syml ond bydd creu polisi effeithiol yn rhoi prawf ar egwyddorion pwysicaf y Cynulliad a'n hymrwymiad, fel Aelodau, iddynt.

Yr ydym yn sôn llawer yn y Siambr am gyfle cyfartal a hawliau grwpiau ethnig a lleiafrifol ac unigolion ag anghenion addysgol arbennig. Yr ydym hefyd yn sôn llawer am wledigrwydd a gwarchod buddiannau cefn gwlad. Yr ydym yn sôn am warchod yr iaith Gymraeg a datblygu dwyieithrwydd ein plant. Yr ydym yn sôn am addysg gydol oes, am gynhaliath i ddatblygiadau a blaengareddau cymdeithasol ac yr ydym yn sôn yn aml am orchfygu, neu geisio gorchfygu, tloidi a chynorthwyo'r difreintiedig. Dyma ein cyfle i weithredu. Dyma'r sialens. Dim ond inni fabwysiadu polisi effeithiol, gallwn fynd ymhell tuag at ddatrys nifer o'r problemau hynny. Byddai creu polisi effeithiol ar gyfer plant teirblwydd yn profi ein bod am gyflawni, gweithredu a chofleidio egwyddorion cadarn yn hytrach na siarad amdanynt.

Rhaid pwysleisio mai adroddiad dros dro yw hwn. Ei werth mwyaf yw ei fod yn sefydlu'r angen am newid. Pam newid? Mae'r adroddiad yn gofyn y cwestiwn ac yn rhoi'r rhesymau. Mae dau siaradwr wedi cyfeirio at ymatebion yr awdurdodau, mudiadau a chyrff sydd â diddordeb yn y maes hwn. Dyma ymateb Blaenau Gwent:

and commend the Government of Wales's wisdom and timing in undertaking the intention of policy creation in an exceptionally important field. The field not only deals with the crucially important development of the child but also tests the Assembly and how we own and internalise fundamental principles in our policies. We are not considering getting single parents back to the workplace here, nor judging when a child's education should begin. The intention is to create a service that will enable the child to develop socially, physically, linguistically, creatively and emotionally in a safe and stimulating environment. That is an important aim with important principles.

It is crucial, therefore, that the Assembly pays attention to this. It appears simple but creating an effective policy will test the Assembly's most important principles and our commitment, as Members, to them.

We talk a great deal in the Chamber about equal opportunity and the rights of ethnic and minority groups and individuals with special educational needs. We also talk a great deal about rurality and safeguarding the interests of the countryside. We talk about safeguarding the Welsh language and developing our children's bilingualism. We talk about lifelong learning, about support for social developments and initiatives and we often talk about overcoming, or endeavouring to overcome, poverty and assisting the underprivileged. This is our opportunity to act. This is the challenge. As long as we adopt an effective policy, we can go a long way towards resolving many of those problems. Creating an effective policy for three-year-old children would prove that we want to accomplish, implement and embrace firm principles rather than talk about them.

We must emphasise that this is an interim report. Its greatest value is that it establishes the need for change. Why change? The report asks the question and gives the reasons. Two speakers have referred to the responses of the authorities, organisations and bodies that have an interest in this area. This is Blaenau Gwent's response:

‘Mae’r ugain mlynedd ddiwethaf wedi gweld newid sylweddol ym mhatrymau bywyd Cymru, ac ym mywydau teuluoedd a phlant a chaffaeledd gofal plant ac addysg ym mlynnyddoedd cynnar plentyndod. Ym Mlaenau Gwent mae’r strwythur economaidd-gymdeithasol yr isaf drwy Gymru ac mae ymyrraeth gynnar yn hanfodol i sicrhau na chaiff ein plant eu llesteirio gan eu cefndir a’u hamgylchiadau rhag gwneud y defnydd gorau posib o’u haddysg.’

Mae nifer o gyfeiriadau at y sefyllfa bresennol yng Nghymru, o Sir Benfro, er enghraifft:

‘Mae patrymau cyflogaeth yn effeithio ar sefydlogrwydd teuluoedd, mae llawer o ferched yn ail-ymuno â’r gweithle neu’n dychwelyd i astudio, a bydd rhagor o deuluoedd yn cael profiad o galedi a ddaw yn sgîl diweithdra neu dlodi.’

Oherwydd hynny,

‘Mae nifer cynyddol o blant yn cael profiad o ofal plant ac addysg gynnar mewn amrywiaeth o leoliadau, gyda gwahanol weithdrefnau sicrhau ansawdd, rhai ohonynt yn annigonol o bosibl.’

Yn waeth byth, gallant fod yn niweidiol.

Dyna’r sefyllfa. Dyna’r anghyfartaledd rhwng un rhan o Gymru â’r llall. Mae angen newid hynny. Mae hyn yn arwyddocáu bod addysg ar gyfer ein plant teirblwydd yn hanfodol i roi iddynt y profiadau angenrheidiol i sicrhau bod pob plentyn yn cychwyn addysg amser llawn gyda hawl cyffelyb i brofiad cyn oed ysgol.

Mae’r adroddiad hwn yn sefydlu’r angen hwnnw am newid. Mae Prydain a Chymru yn dal yn gymdeithas anghyfartal, lle mae nifer o blant yn profi eisiau ac anffafiaeth, a lle mae rhai yn gyfforddus eu byd a rhai yn llwm eu byd. Canlyniad hynny yw nifer cynyddol o blant ifanc yn profi gofal dydd ac addysg gynnar mewn lleoliadau o ansawdd amrywiol y tu allan i’r cartref cyn cychwyn addysg orfodol, ynghyd â chyfran helaeth o blant yn derbyn gofal answyddogol, ac efallai annerbyniol.

‘The last twenty years have seen an enormous change in patterns of life in Wales, and in the lives of families and children and the availability of childcare and early childhood education. In Blaenau Gwent the socio-economic structure is the lowest of any in Wales, and early intervention is essential to ensure our children are not hindered by their background and circumstances from making the best possible use of their education.’

There are many references to the present situation in Wales, from Pembrokeshire, for example:

‘Employment patterns affect family stability; more women are returning to the workforce or to study, and more families are experiencing the hardship of unemployment or poverty.’

Because of that,

‘Increasing numbers of children are experiencing childcare and early education in a variety of settings with different quality assurance procedures, some of which may be inadequate.’

Worse still, they can be detrimental.

That is the situation. That is the inequality between one part of Wales and another. We must change that. This signifies that education for our three-year-old children is essential to provide them with the necessary experiences to ensure that every child starts full-time education with comparable entitlement to pre-school age experience.

This report establishes that need for change. Britain and Wales is still an inequitable society, where many children experience need and discrimination, and where some are well off and others are poor. The result of that is that an increasing number of young children experience day care and early education in locations of varying quality outside the home before starting compulsory education, and that a substantial number of children receive unofficial, and possibly unacceptable, care.



Dyna'r cam cyntaf. Mae'r Cynulliad i'w gymeradwyo am ymgymryd â'r newid. Dyma'r pwynt yr ydym wedi ei gyrraedd a dyma'r pwynt a ddangosir inni gan yr adroddiad. Fodd bynnag, mae'r gwaith anodd o'n blaenau. Yr ydym yn ateb un cwestiwn: pam newid? Deallwn pam, ond pa fath o newid y cyfeiriwn ato? Nid ydym wedi gwneud y penderfyniadau hyn eto. Dyna'r gwaith sydd o'n blaenau, fel Pwyllgor, ac o'ch blaen chi, fel Aelodau o'r Cynulliad, pan fydd y polisi terfynol yn cael ei benderfynu.

Pa fath o strategaethau yr ydym am benderfynu arnynt? Cyfeiriwyd at rai yn gynharach, er enghraifft natur y ddarpariaeth, y cydbwysedd rhwng chwarae a dysgu, man cychwyn dysgu ffurfiol—pryd y dylai hynny ddechrau—a natur ac ansawdd hyfforddiant. Dylai'r hyfforddiant adlewyrchu natur unigryw y gyfundrefn addysg a hyfforddiant yng Nghymru.

Yr oeddwn yn falch o glywed Rosemary Butler yn cyfeirio'n bositif at yr iaith Gymraeg a dwyieithrwydd. Mae arnom eisiau cyrsiau a fydd yn adlewyrchu'r sefyllfa ieithyddol a diwylliannol sydd yn bodoli yng Nghymru. Ni fydd yn dderbyniol—a chyfeiriaf hyn at ACCAC a fydd yn achredu'r hyfforddi a'r cymhwyster—inni gael cymhwyster sydd yn seiliedig ar fformwla y Deyrnas Unedig. Rhaid inni edrych ar ein gofynion ni yng Nghymru. Rhaid inni wneud penderfyniad ynglŷn â phartneriaethau effeithiol a sicrhau bod cydweithio effeithiol a fydd yn gwarchod ac yn adeiladu ar arferion da y grwpiau chwarae a'r Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin. Mae arferion da yn y sefydliadau hynny, ond maent yn teimlo eu bod hwy, a gofalwyr plant, o dan fygythiad ar hyn o bryd.

Mae angen penderfynu ar ansawdd a lefel y staffio a sawl strategaeth arall. Mae gwaith caled o'n blaenau.

Gallwch chi ddweud wrthyf ynglŷn â'r drydedd elfen. Faint fydd cost y newid? Cyfeiriwyd at swm o £50 miliwn. Mae'r awdurdodau eu hunain yn cyfeirio at o leiaf £1 miliwn i £1.5 miliwn i bob awdurdod os ydym am wireddu'r polisi hwn. Mae'n swm

That is the first step. The Assembly is to be commended for undertaking the change. This is the point that we have reached and this is the point illustrated by the report. However, the difficult work is ahead of us. We answer one question: why change? We understand why, but to what kind of change do we refer? We have not yet taken these decisions. That is the work that is before us, as a Committee, and before you, as Assembly Members, when the final policy is decided.

What sort of strategies do we want to decide upon? Some were referred to earlier, for example the nature of the provision, the balance between learning and play, the starting point of formal education—when should that begin—and the nature and quality of training. The training should reflect the unique nature of the education and training system in Wales.

I was pleased to hear Rosemary Butler refer positively to the Welsh language and bilingualism. We want courses that will reflect the linguistic and cultural situation that exists in Wales. It will not be acceptable—and I address this to ACCAC who will accredit the training and qualification—for us to have a qualification that is based on the United Kingdom formula. We must look at our own requirements in Wales. We must make a decision about effective partnerships and ensure that there is effective co-operation that will protect and build on the good practice of playgroups and Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin. There is good practice in those organisations, but they feel that they, and childminders, are currently under threat.

Decisions must be made about the quality and level of staffing and a number of other strategies. There is hard work ahead of us.

You can tell me about the third element. How much will the change cost? A sum of £50 million was mentioned. The authorities themselves referred to at least £1 million to £1.5 million per authority if we are to realise this policy. It is a substantial sum but, more

sylweddol ond, yn bwysicach na hynny, rhaid inni sicrhau bod pa bynnag swm yr ydym yn ei fuddsoddi a pha bynnag flaengareddau yr ydym yn ymgymryd â hwy yn cael eu cynnal. Mae honno'n egwyddor holl bwysig. Bydd llawer yn cael ei wneud o gost newid.

Mae fy mhwynt olaf ynghylch gwerth y newid. Dyna'r pwynt pwysicaf. Os llwyddwn i sicrhau polisi, bydd yn rhaid i'r polisi hwnnw, pan ddeuwn i'w fabwysiadu, ymwneud ag egwyddorion cydnabyddedig y Cynulliad, y cyfeiriais atynt yn gynharach. Y rheini yw cyfle cyfartal sydd yn gynaliadwy, gorchfygu neu o leiaf ymdrechu i orchfygu allgáu cymdeithasol a thlodi, sicrhau gwell sylfaen a phrofiad cychwynnol i'n plant ac, wrth gwrs, hyrwyddo dysgu gydol oes.

Bydd unrhyw bolisi sydd yn seiliedig ar yr egwyddorion hynny yn werthfawr i'n plant ac yn rhywbeth y gallwn ni fel Aelodau ymfalchïo ynddo. Edrychaf ymlaen at weld y Cynulliad yn creu'r polisi hwn ac yn cydnabod pwysigrwydd yr adroddiad sydd ger ein bron heddiw fel arwydd o'r hyn sydd i ddod.

**Jenny Randerson:** This is a weighty report. I do not know how many of you have read it, but when I read it, I was struck by several issues. For example, the considerable variation in the quality of response from different LEAs, which is nearly as great as the variation in provision for children in their early years. At the top, in terms of percentage, with a high level of provision for under fives in their maintained nursery and primary schools is Neath Port Talbot, with 93 per cent. Swansea comes close behind with 90 per cent and at the bottom with only 58 per cent is Monmouthshire. I mention this to give you a flavour of the difference from one part of Wales to another. LEA provision, however, is only one part of the jigsaw of early years provision.

3:18 p.m.

The Pre-16 Education Committee heard representations from a diversity of organisations, many of which—especially Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin—were fearful of

importantly, we must ensure that whatever sum we invest and whatever initiatives we undertake are sustained. That is an all-important principle. Much will be made of the cost of change.

My final point is about the value of the change. That is the most important point. If we succeed in securing a policy, that policy, when we come to adopt it, must include the recognised principles of the Assembly to which I referred earlier. Those are equal opportunities that are sustainable, overcoming or at least endeavouring to overcome social exclusion and poverty, ensuring a better foundation and initial start for our children and, of course, promoting lifelong learning.

Any policy based on these principles will be valuable to our children and will be something in which we, as Members, can take pride. I look forward to seeing the Assembly create this policy and acknowledge the importance of the report before us today as an indication of what is to come.

**Jenny Randerson:** Mae hwn yn adroddiad pwysfawr. Ni wn faint ohonoch sydd wedi ei ddarllen, ond pan ddarllenais i ef, fe'm trawyd gan sawl mater. Er enghraifft, yr amrywiad sylweddol yn ansawdd ymateb y gwahanol awdurdodau addysg lleol, sydd bron gymaint ag amrywiad y ddarpariaeth ar gyfer plant yn eu blynyddoedd cynnar. Yn y pen uchaf, o ran canran, gyda lefel uchel o ddarpariaeth ar gyfer rhai dan bump oed yn eu hysgolion meithrin a chynradd gwladol y mae Castell-nedd Port Talbot, gyda 93 y cant. Mae Abertawe'n agos iawn gyda 90 y cant ac ar y gwaelod â dim ond 58 y cant y mae Sir Fynwy. Soniaf am hyn er mwyn rhoi blas i chi o'r gwahaniaeth rhwng un rhan o Gymru a'r llall. Fodd bynnag, nid yw darpariaeth yr AALI ond yn un darn o jig-so darpariaeth blynyddoedd cynnar.

Gwrandawodd y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 ar sylwadau gan amrywiaeth o fudiadau, lawer ohonynt—yn enwedig Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin—yn ofni effaith ehangu darpariaeth

the impact of expansion of LEA provision on their facilities and the demand for them. Considerable areas for debate emerge from diverse points of view and not just on the basic question of whether we want to provide for all three-year olds whose parents want it. As this was at the top of the Liberal Democrats' agenda in the pre-election period, we agree with it. The Committee broadly agrees that that is the way we want to go. Gareth mentioned that difficult decisions will follow.

In addition, there is a question of which organisations will provide that provision. Many organisations are involved in early years education—voluntary organisations, private providers and co-operatives of parents, as well as LEAs. There is also the question of what they should provide. How formal should education be for under five-year olds? That can be discussed theoretically, but it has major practical problems. In rural areas, early years classes have to be provided along with reception children, year 1 and sometimes year 2 children, if they are in an LEA nursery.

There is general consensus that the emphasis should be on learning through play. During our deliberations we heard interesting evidence from other countries, which indicates that we in Britain start formal education early. Formal education starts earlier in Wales than in England, because in some areas many of our children go to school before they are five years old. Ironically, although we start formal education and learning to read and write early, evidence shows that our children rapidly fall behind compared with children from European countries and beyond, who do not start formal education until they are six or seven years old. By the time they are ten years old, they have overtaken our children. Therefore it is a complex issue. We heard from experts such as Professor Sonia Jackson about that evidence, which persuaded the Committee to appoint an expert to consider all the evidence and guide us in our conclusions, with a specific remit to look at good practice elsewhere.

yr awdurdodau addysg lleol ar eu cyfleusterau a'r galw amdanynt. Amlygir meysydd helaeth ar gyfer trafodaeth drwy wahanol safbwyntiau ac nid yn unig ar y cwestiwn sylfaenol ynghylch a ydym am ddarparu ar gyfer yr holl blant teirblwydd y mae eu rhieni am ei chael. Gan fod hyn ar ben agenda'r Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol yn y cyfnod cyn yr etholiad, cytunwn ag ef. Mae'r Pwyllgor yn cytuno'n fras mai honno yw'r ffordd yr ydym am ei dilyn. Soniodd Gareth y bydd penderfyniadau anodd yn dilyn.

Yn ogystal, mae cwestiwn ynghylch pa gyrff a fydd yn darparu'r ddarpariaeth honno. Mae llawer o gyrff yn gysylltiedig ag addysg blynyddoedd cynnar—mudiadau gwirfoddol, darparwyr preifat a chymdeithasau cydweithredol o rieni, yn ogystal ag awdurdodau addysg lleol. Mae cwestiwn hefyd ynghylch pa beth y dylent ei ddarparu. Pa mor ffurfiol yw addysg i fod i rai dan bum mlwydd oed? Gellir trafod hynny'n ddamcaniaethol, ond mae iddo broblemau ymarferol mawr. Mewn ardaloedd gwledig, rhaid darparu dosbarthiadau blynyddoedd cynnar gyda phlant derbyn, plant blwyddyn 1 ac weithiau plant blwyddyn 2 os ydynt mewn meithrinfa awdurdod addysg lleol.

Mae consensws cyffredinol y dylai'r pwyslais fod ar ddysgu drwy chwarae. Yn ystod ein trafodaethau clywsom dystiolaeth ddiddorol o wledydd eraill, sydd yn dangos ein bod ni ym Mhrydain yn dechrau addysg ffurfiol yn gynnar. Mae addysg ffurfiol yn dechrau'n gynharach yng Nghymru nag yn Lloegr, oherwydd mewn rhai ardaloedd mae llawer o'n plant yn mynd i'r ysgol cyn cyrraedd pum mlwydd oed. Yn eironig, er ein bod yn dechrau addysg ffurfiol a dysgu i ddarllen ac ysgrifennu'n gynnar, dengys y dystiolaeth fod ein plant yn syrthio'n ôl yn gyflym o'u cymharu â phlant mewn gwledydd yn Ewrop a'r tu hwnt, nad ydynt yn dechrau eu haddysg ffurfiol nes eu bod yn chwech neu saith mlwydd oed. Erbyn eu bod yn 10 mlwydd oed, maent wedi goddiweddyd ein plant. Felly mae'n fater cymhleth. Clywsom gan arbenigwyr fel yr Athro Sonia Jackson am y dystiolaeth honno, a hynny a berswadiodd y Pwyllgor i benodi arbenigwr i ystyried yr holl dystiolaeth a'n harwain yn ein casgliadau, gyda chenadwri benodol i edrych ar arfer da mewn manau eraill.

The third issue is the need to consider early years education along with childcare. Education itself is not childcare, but it is foolish to pretend that it does not complement it. For many families it must fit in with childcare needs.

We have a lot of scope to develop the highest quality of wrap-around care in Wales. There are excellent examples in west England and London, where nursery units in schools work with private providers and voluntary organisations to provide integrated childcare and education. We cannot dodge the big question of the affordability of that childcare, which we have already debated at great length. Unless we discuss integrating early years education with affordable childcare, we will not be on the starting blocks. We must also create a system that encompasses the needs of rural and urban areas. There is choice for parents in many urban areas, but not in rural areas. If you undermine voluntary sector providers, you will find that you might remove any provision that exists in some rural areas.

We have a chance in Wales to provide an exceptional early years service which is diverse in its provision, incorporates best practice in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world and provides children of the next generation with a real opportunity to have a good start in life. This report is only the beginning. We have difficult decisions to make about policy and about where we put our resources.

**Lorraine Barrett:** Apart from the appointment of a children's commissioner, this is one of the most interesting and challenging issues that we have discussed in the Pre-16 Education Committee. William Graham and Rosemary Butler have covered the most pertinent points about the implications of this interim report for early learning for three-year-olds. We must get this right and not rush into it. William said that the more we have examined this issue, the more questions have been raised. There is concern that the education that we currently provide for four and five-year-olds is not appropriate and can damage children's future

Y trydydd mater yw'r angen i ystyried addysg blynyddoedd cynnar gyda gofal plant. Nid gofal plant yw addysg ei hun, ond ffôl yw esgus nad yw'n ei gyflenwi. Yn achos llawer o deuluoedd rhaid iddi gydweddu ag anghenion gofal plant.

Mae gennym gyfle mawr i ddatblygu gofal cynhwysol o'r ansawdd uchaf yng Nghymru. Mae enghreifftiau rhagorol yng ngorllewin Lloegr a Llundain, lle y mae unedau meithrin mewn ysgolion yn gweithio gyda darparwyr preifat a mudiadau gwirfoddol i ddarparu gofal plant ac addysg integredig. Ni allwn osgoi'r cwestiwn mawr o fforddiadwyedd y gofal plant hwnnw, a drafodasom yn faith eisoes. Oni thrafodwn integreiddio addysg blynyddoedd cynnar â gofal plant fforddiadwy, ni fyddwn yn gallu cychwyn i'r unlle. Rhaid inni hefyd greu system sydd yn cwmpasu anghenion ardaloedd gwledig a threfol. Mae dewis i rieni mewn llawer o ardaloedd trefol, ond nid mewn ardaloedd gwledig. Os tanseiliwch ddarparwyr y sector gwirfoddol, cewch ei bod yn bosibl y byddwch yn dileu'r unig ddarpariaeth sydd yn bodoli mewn rhai ardaloedd gwledig.

Mae gennym gyfle yng Nghymru i ddarparu gwasanaeth blynyddoedd cynnar eithriadol sydd yn amrywiol o ran ei ddarpariaeth, yn ymgorffori'r arfer gorau yn y DU, Ewrop a gweddill y byd ac yn rhoi gwir gyfle i blant y genhedlaeth nesaf gael cychwyn da mewn bywyd. Nid yw'r adroddiad hwn ond yn ddechrau. Mae gennym benderfyniadau anodd i'w gwneud ynghylch polisi a lle y rhoddwn ein hadnoddau.

**Lorraine Barrett:** Heblaw am benodi comisiynydd plant, dyma un o'r materion mwyaf diddorol ac ymestynnol a drafodasom yn y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16. Mae William Graham a Rosemary Butler wedi ymdrin â'r pwyntiau mwyaf perthnasol am oblygiadau'r adroddiad dros dro hwn i ddysgu cynnar ar gyfer plant teirblwydd. Rhaid inni gael hyn yn iawn a pheidio â rhuthro iddo. Dywedodd William mai po fwyaf yr edrychasom ar y mater hwn, mwyaf oedd y cwestiynau a godwyd. Mae pryder bod yr addysg a ddarparwn ar hyn o bryd ar gyfer rhai pedair a phum mlwydd oed yn anaddas a'i bod yn gallu niweidio datblygiad plant yn y dyfodol.

development. Jenny mentioned Professor Sonia Jackson and I urge everybody to read her paper. I have spoken to several nursery head teachers in my constituency and most of them are keen on a kindergarten type provision with formal education being delayed until children are six years old. The biggest battle we would have would be with parents. Most parents measure their child's development and success on how soon they can read and write. I look to the education experts for the best way to proceed. Whatever we do, we are a long way from any decision because of the huge cost implications.

**Pauline Jarman:** I pay tribute to those who already attempt to provide the quality that we seek. This Mother's Day card that I brought with me today is a made in Wales product and was made by my three-year-old grandson. You can understand the sense of pride and achievement of such children. There must be hundreds of these cards on mantelpieces throughout Wales, not only for Mother's Day but also for any other family celebrations.

I wish to reinforce other Members' statements. We all acknowledge that the child is at the centre of this debate. Whichever model of provision is finally agreed, it must ensure that it is of a good quality and appropriate to children's needs. It must ensure that the role and expressed preferences of parents, in supporting the development of provision for three-year-olds, is not ignored.

The preferred model would have to provide guaranteed funding to secure good quality provision in appropriate accommodation supported by qualified, well-trained staff. This challenge should not be underestimated. The current level and pattern of provision varies significantly throughout Wales and there will be compelling debates on the balance that must be struck between play and more formal learning opportunities and considered against what is best for the child.

We must ensure equality of access and provision for all of our three-year-olds. It is always tempting to compare authorities

Soniodd Jenny am yr Athro Sonia Jackson ac anogaf bawb i ddarllen ei phapur. Siaredais â sawl pennaeth ysgol feithrin yn fy etholaeth ac mae'r rhan fwyaf ohonynt yn ffafrio darpariaeth o fath *kindergarten* gan ohirio addysg ffurfiol hyd nes y mae plant yn chwe blwydd oed. Byddai ein brwydr fwyaf gyda'r rhieni. Mae'r mwyafrif o rieni'n mesur datblygiad a llwyddiant eu plentyn yn ôl pa mor fuan y gall ddarllen ac ysgrifennu. Edrychaf at arbenigwyr addysg am arweiniad ynghylch y ffordd orau ymlaen. Beth bynnag a wnawn, yr ydym ymhell o unrhyw benderfyniad oherwydd y goblygiadau cost enfawr.

**Pauline Jarman:** Talaf deyrnged i'r rhai sydd eisoes yn ceisio darparu'r ansawdd a geisiwn. Mae'r cerdyn Sul y Mamau y deuthum ag ef yma heddiw yn gynnyrch a wnaethpwyd yng Nghymru ac fe'i gwnaethpwyd gan fy wŷr teirblwydd oed. Gallwch ddeall yr ymdeimlad o falchder a chyflawniad sydd gan blant o'r fath. Rhaid bod cannoedd o'r cardiau hyn ar silffoedd pen tân ledled Cymru, nid yn unig ar gyfer Sul y Mamau ond hefyd ar gyfer unrhyw ddatliadau teuluol eraill.

Dymunaf ategu datganiadau'r Aelodau eraill. Yr ydym oll yn cydnabod mai'r plentyn sydd ar ganol y ddadl hon. Pa bynnag fodel o ddarpariaeth y cytunir arno'n derfynol, rhaid iddo sicrhau ei fod o ansawdd da ac yn briodol i anghenion plant. Rhaid iddo sicrhau nad anwybyddir rôl rhieni a'r dewisiadau a ffafrir ganddynt, wrth gynnal datblygiad y ddarpariaeth i blant teirblwydd.

Byddai'n rhaid i'r model a ffafrir ddarparu cyllid gwarantedig er mwyn sicrhau darpariaeth o ansawdd da mewn man addas a gynhelir gan staff cymwysedig a hyfforddedig. Ni ddylid bychanu'r her hon. Mae lefel a phatrwm presennol y ddarpariaeth yn amrywio'n sylweddol ledled Cymru a bydd dadleuon nerthol ar y cydbwysedd y mae'n rhaid ei sicrhau rhwng chwarae a chyfleoedd dysgu mwy ffurfiol a bydd yn rhaid ystyried hyn yn ôl yr hyn sydd orau i'r plentyn.

Rhaid inni sicrhau cydraddoldeb o ran mynediad a darpariaeth i'n holl blant teirblwydd. Mae bob amser yn demtasiwn

throughout Wales. I feel well qualified to promote what my authority does. I declare an interest as a member of Rhondda Cynon Taff County Borough Council. This is not a blank sheet of paper for us. There are examples of good and well-developed practices in the local authority and the voluntary sector. It is a model provider if nothing else. It should provide for joint quality assurance guidelines and quality is something to which all of us will aspire in the new model. It must provide a proper regard for identifying special needs for children and Jocelyn Davies emphasised that. It must provide for the entitlement of safe, good quality, combined care and education for all children by recognising the needs of parents, carers and the children, contributing to the social and economic needs of local communities.

3:28 p.m.

There is cross-party consensus to improve the quality of provision for our children. The new model should at least provide a service that is sustainable. It must demonstrate its ability to provide for appropriate space and resources; offer opportunities for children to learn from experience; acknowledge that play is the most important vehicle for young children's learning; employ trained and qualified staff; encourage the involvement of parents; ensure the environment promotes the health of children; value and encourage parental and family involvement in the care and education of our children; and subscribe to an equal opportunity policy, which acknowledges and celebrates diversity and provides for all children irrespective of race, culture, language or disability. We must ensure that there is a caring atmosphere in which every child feels valued, confident and secure. Every child should have an environment, which is attractive, stimulating and promotes the culture, heritage and language of Wales. We should develop an environment which is welcoming to children and promotes their health and well-being. We face a serious challenge and we must not let down the children of Wales on this important issue.

**Jonathan Morgan:** I am delighted that we are discussing the interim report of the Pre-16 Education Committee. It is an important part

cymharu awdurdodau ledled Cymru. Teimlaf yn gymwys iawn i hysbysebu'r hyn a wna fy awdurdod i. Datganaf fuddiant fel aelod o Gyngor Bwrdeistref Sirol Rhondda Cynon Taf. Nid yw hon yn ddalen wag i ni. Mae enghreifftiau o ymarferiadau da a datblygedig yn yr awdurdod lleol a'r sector gwirfoddol. Mae'n batrwm o ddarparwr os nad yw'n ddim arall. Dylai ddarparu ar gyfer canllawiau sicrwydd ansawdd ar y cyd ac mae ansawdd yn uchelgais i bob un ohonom yn y model newydd. Rhaid iddo roi sylw priodol i ddynodi'r anghenion arbennig sydd gan blant a phwysleisiodd Jocelyn Davies hynny. Rhaid iddo ddarparu ar gyfer yr hawl i addysg a gofal cyfunol diogel, o ansawdd da i bob plentyn drwy gydnabod anghenion rhieni, gofawyr a'r plant, gan gyfrannu at anghenion cymdeithasol ac economaidd cymunedau lleol.

Mae consensws trawsbleidiol ynghylch yr angen i wella ansawdd y ddarpariaeth i'n plant. Dylai'r model newydd o leiaf ddarparu gwasanaeth sydd yn gynaliadwy. Rhaid iddo ddangos ei allu i ddarparu ar gyfer mannau ac adnoddau priodol; cynnig cyfleoedd i blant ddysgu drwy brofiad; cydnabod mai chwarae yw'r cyfrwng pwysicaf i ddysgu gan blant ifanc; cyflogi staff hyfforddedig a chymwysedig; hybu ymrwymiad rhieni; sicrhau bod yr amgylchedd yn hybu iechyd plant; gwerthfawrogi ac annog ymrwymiad rhieni a theuluoedd i ofal ac addysg ein plant; a chefnogi polisi cyfle cyfartal, sydd yn cydnabod ac yn dathlu amrywiaeth ac yn ddarparu ar gyfer pob plentyn beth bynnag fo'i hil, ei ddiwylliant, ei iaith neu ei anabledd. Rhaid inni sicrhau bod awyrgylch gofalgwr lle y bydd pob plentyn yn teimlo'n hyderus, yn ddiogel ac yn teimlo ei fod yn cael ei ystyried yn werthfawr. Dylid rhoi i bob plentyn amgylchedd sydd yn ddeniadol, yn gyffrous ac yn hybu diwylliant, treftadaeth a iaith Cymru. Dylem ddatblygu amgylchedd sydd yn groesawgar i blant ac yn hybu eu hiechyd a'u lles. Wynebwn her ddifrifol a rhaid inni beidio â siomi plant Cymru ar y mater pwysig hwn.

**Jonathan Morgan:** Yr wyf yn falch iawn ein bod yn trafod adroddiad dros dro'r Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16. Mae'n rhan bwysig o waith

of the Committee's work and a significant contribution to the development of early learning years provision for three-year-olds. It is a great pleasure that there is cross-party consensus and collaboration on this issue. It is one of the few issues where we will not need any independent legal advice. It is a delight to be able to debate and discuss such an important issue with colleagues in Committee and in Plenary.

There are many issues that the Committee has not discussed yet and once recommendations have been finalised I look forward to a further debate in Plenary. It is no surprise to Members that many members of the Committee will look for an expansion of early learning years provision and not a contraction over the next few years. We want to expand and enhance this provision. We are fortunate in Wales to have a relatively good record on early learning years provision. At the moment half of all three-year-olds have pre-existing provisions compared to only a third in England. However, this must not lull us into complacency. The Department for Education and Employment has set the target that two thirds of three-year-olds in England will receive early learning provision by 2003. Therefore, we must remain vigilant and not allow ourselves to fall behind our colleagues in England. In many respects we should be ahead of the game.

In examining the type of system that we wish to implement in Wales we must not accept a heavy-handed or prescriptive approach. The intellectual capacities of children at the age of three are limited. We should not overload them with work. We have already heard this afternoon about the importance of play. Therefore, this provision should be focused on developing the social skills of children and their awareness of the world around them. Structured play is an important part of this provision. We are all aware of the parental involvement in the lives of school children, not only in nursery but also through primary and secondary education. With parental involvement starting at nursery level it is crucial that we involve them as quickly as possible within the provision of early

y Pwyllgor ac yn gyfraniad pwysig i ddatblygu darpariaeth blynyddoedd dysgu cynnar ar gyfer plant teirblwydd. Mae'n bleser mawr bod consensws a chydweithio trawsbleidiol ar y mater hwn. Mae'n un o'r ychydig faterion lle na fydd arnom angen unrhyw gyngor cyfreithiol annibynnol. Hyfrydwch yw gallu trafod a dadlau ynghylch mater mor bwysig gyda chyd-Aelodau yn y Pwyllgor ac yn y Cyfarfod Llawn.

Mae llawer o faterion sydd heb ei trafod gan y Pwyllgor eto ac ar ôl penderfynu ar argymhellion edrychaf ymlaen at ddadll bellach yn y Cyfarfod Llawn. Nid yw'n syndod i'r Aelodau fod llawer o aelodau'r Pwyllgor am weld ehangu ar y ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd dysgu cynnar ac nid cwtogiad dros y blynyddoedd nesaf hyn. Dymunwn ehangu a gwella'r ddarpariaeth hon. Yr ydym yn ffodus yng Nghymru bod gennym hanes cymharol dda o ran y ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd dysgu cynnar. Ar hyn o bryd mae gan hanner yr holl blant teirblwydd ddarpariaethau sydd yn bod eisoes o'i gymharu â dim ond un rhan o dair yn Lloegr. Fodd bynnag, rhaid peidio â theimlo'n hunanfodhaus oherwydd hynny. Mae'r Adran Addysg a Chyflogaeth wedi pennu targed i ddwy ran o dair o blant teirblwydd yn Lloegr dderbyn darpariaeth dysgu cynnar erbyn 2003. Felly, rhaid inni fod yn wylriadwrus o hyd a pheidio â gadael inni'n hunain syrthio ar ôl ein cydweithwyr yn Lloegr. Ar lawer ystyr dylem fod ar y blaen.

Wrth ystyried y math o system y dymunwn ei rhoi ar waith yng Nghymru rhaid inni beidio â derbyn dull llawdrwm neu orchmynnol o weithredu. Mae galluoedd deallusol plant teirblwydd yn gyfyngedig. Ni ddylem eu gorlwytho â gwaith. Clywsom eisoes y prynhawn yma am bwysigrwydd chwarae. Felly, dylid canolbwyntio'r ddarpariaeth hon ar ddatblygu medrau cymdeithasol plant a'u hymwybyddiaeth o'r byd o'u cwmpas. Mae chwarae strwythuredig yn rhan bwysig o'r ddarpariaeth hon. Yr ydym i gyd yn ymwybodol o ran y rhieni ym mywydau plant ysgol, nid yn unig yn y feithrinfa ond hefyd drwy addysg gynradd ac uwchradd. Gan fod rhan y rhieni'n dechrau ar lefel meithrin mae'n holl bwysig inni eu cynnwys gynted ag y bo modd oddi mewn i'r ddarpariaeth

learning years. This will be crucial not only to the development of our Assembly policy but also in terms of the delivery at nursery school level. The participation of parents must not be replaced by a heavy-handed Assembly looking to implement policies, which would remove the influence and the ability of parents to be involved in their children's education. Encouraging the support of parents must be a top priority.

Parents should not have their children dragooned into a particular nursery school by an LEA. Similar to primary and secondary schools, parents must be given a choice. Local authorities must take account of the preferences of parents when making early learning years provision. After all, parents are not even obliged to send their children to an educational establishment before their children are five years of age. Parental choice should also apply to Welsh medium early years provision. This provision should be demand-led by parents. I welcome the many indications that Welsh medium nurseries are proving popular and effective.

The Welsh Affairs Select Committee completed an important report last year on the issue of childcare in Wales. I am sure that the Pre-16 Education Committee will examine many of the themes that they touched on and take into account many of the considerations of the Welsh Affairs Select Committee. However, I do not see early learning provision simply as a form of childcare. The Conservative Group sees it as an integral part of a child's education, and we should not confuse these different functions.

The Committee is working extremely well, on an all-party basis, on this subject. It is something about which we feel strongly. I look forward to working with my colleagues on the Committee and in the Assembly in developing this policy and completing our deliberations for further debate.

**Huw Lewis:** If any Member of the Assembly doubts that Wales is an unequal society then I advise them to spend some time in the company of the youngest people that they represent. I have spent some time with

blynyddoedd dysgu cynnar. Bydd hyn yn holl bwysig nid yn unig o ran datblygiad ein polisi yn y Cynulliad ond hefyd o ran y dull cyflenwi ar lefel ysgolion meithrin. Rhaid peidio â disodli cyfraniad rhieni a rhoi Chynulliad llawdrwm yn lle hynny sydd yn ceisio rhoi polisiau ar waith a fyddai'n dileu dylanwad a gallu rhieni i fod â rhan yn addysg eu plant. Rhaid rhoi'r flaenoriaeth bennaf i hybu cefnogaeth gan rieni.

Ni ddylai rhieni orfod gweld gwthio eu plant i ysgol feithrin benodol gan awdurdod addysg lleol. Yn yr un modd ag ysgolion cynradd ac uwchradd, rhaid i rieni gael dewis. Rhaid i awdurdodau lleol roi ystyriaeth i'r hyn sydd orau gan rieni wrth wneud darpariaeth blynyddoedd dysgu cynnar. Wedi'r cwbl, nid yw rhieni hyd yn oed yn gorfod anfon eu plant i sefydliad addysgol cyn i'w plant gyrraedd pum mlwydd oed. Dylai dewis y rhieni fod yn berthnasol hefyd i ddarpariaeth blynyddoedd cynnar drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg. Dylai'r ddarpariaeth hon gael ei harwain gan alw'r rhieni. Croesawaf y llu o arwyddion bod meithrinfeydd Cymraeg eu cyfrwng yn profi'n boblogaidd ac yn effeithiol.

Cwblhawyd adroddiad pwysig y llynedd gan y Pwyllgor Dethol ar Faterion Cymreig ar fater gofal plant yng Nghymru. Yr wyf yn sicr y bydd y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 yn ystyried llawer o'r themâu y cyfeirasant atynt ac yn rhoi sylw i lawer o ystyriaethau'r Pwyllgor Dethol ar Faterion Cymreig. Fodd bynnag, nid fel ffurf ar ofal plant y gwelaf y ddarpariaeth dysgu cynnar. Mae'r Grŵp Ceidwadol yn ei gweld yn rhan hanfodol o addysg plentyn, ac ni ddylem gymysgu'r gwahanol swyddogaethau hyn.

Mae'r Pwyllgor yn gweithio'n dda iawn, rhwng yr holl bleidiau, ar y pwnc hwn. Mae'n rhywbeth y teimlwn yn gryf yn ei gylch. Edrychaf ymlaen at weithio â'm cyd-Aelodau ar y Pwyllgor ac yn y Cynulliad wrth ddatblygu'r polisi hwn a chwblhau ein trafodaethau ar gyfer dadl bellach.

**Huw Lewis:** Os yw unrhyw Aelod o'r Cynulliad yn amau nad yw Cymru'n gymdeithas anghyfartal fe'u cynghoraf i dreulio ychydig o amser yng nghwmni'r bobl ieuengaf a gynrychiolant. Treuliais ryw faint o



nursery groups and infant schools in my constituency. There are many signs of what it means to be in an unequal sort of society that we almost need never stray beyond it. There are two types of provision when children are entering the formal educational system at the age of five.

I have witnessed educational and care settings that are almost explosions of rapid learning, happy experiences, creativity and play. However, I have seen other contexts in which staff are continually playing catch-up because of the problems that children have brought to the educational context long before they have reached the age of five. In almost all circumstances there are handicaps and difficulties that are never overcome later in life. Deprivation is the biggest single factor in determining into which of those two contexts a child falls. Early years intervention is one of the strongest tools that we have in terms of childhood development by introducing creative play and experiences that combat that kind of social exclusion which begins at the start of life.

The interim report points out that if we are to come back to a scheme that works, we will need partnership: an attitude of co-operation between the public, private and voluntary sectors. There is a challenge for all the partners involved. There are good models of local partnerships from which we will need to learn. The child must be at the centre of all our discussions. I am not going to countenance dodging around or side-stepping vested interests—whether they come from the public, private or voluntary sector—if they mean that we deliver a second class service to young children. The child comes first and we should adapt to the needs of the child and not try to fit the child around vested interests.

3:38 p.m.

Training has been mentioned as being of particular importance and is highlighted in the document but deserves further comment

amser gyda grwpiau meithrin ac ysgolion babanod yn fy etholaeth. Mae llawer o arwyddion o'r hyn y mae'n ei olygu i fyw mewn math o gymdeithas sydd yn anghyfartal fel na fydd byth angen bron inni fynd y tu hwnt iddo. Mae dau fath o ddarpariaeth pan yw plant yn mynd i'r system addysgol ffurfiol yn bum mlwydd oed.

Bûm yn dyst i leoliadau addysgol a gofal sydd bron yn ffrwydradau o ddysgu cyflym, profiadau hapus, creadigolrwydd a chwarae. Fodd bynnag, gwelais gyd-destunau eraill lle y mae'r staff yn gorfod chwarae gêm dal-i-fyny o hyd oherwydd y problemau y daeth plant â hwy i'r cyd-destun addysgol ymhell cyn cyrraedd pum mlwydd oed. Ym mron pob amgylchiad mae anfanteision ac anawsterau na chânt eu gorchfygu byth yn ddiweddarach mewn bywyd. Amddifadedd yw'r ffactor pennaf unigol sydd yn penderfynu i ba un o'r ddau gyd-destun hynny y mae plentyn yn perthyn. Ymyriad yn y blynyddoedd cynnar yw un o'r arfau cryfaf sydd gennym o ran datblygiad mewn plentynod drwy gyflwyno chwarae creadigol a phrofiadau sydd yn gwrthweithio'r math hwnnw o allgáu cymdeithasol sydd yn cychwyn ar ddechrau oes.

Mae'r adroddiad dros dro yn nodi y bydd yn rhaid inni wrth bartneriaeth os ydym i ddod yn ôl at gynllun sydd yn gweithio: agwedd o gydweithredu rhwng y sectorau cyhoeddus, preifat a gwirfoddol. Mae her i'r holl bartneriaid sydd yn gysylltiedig. Mae modelau da o bartneriaethau lleol y bydd yn rhaid inni ddysgu oddi wrthynt. Rhaid i'r plentyn fod ar ganol ein holl drafodaethau. Nid wyf am roi sêl bendith ar osgoi neu oichel buddiannau breintiedig—boed y rheini yn y sectorau cyhoeddus, preifat neu wirfoddol—os golygant ein bod yn cyflenwi gwasanaeth eilradd i blant ifanc. Daw'r plentyn yn gyntaf a dylem addasu i anghenion y plentyn ac nid ceisio ffitio'r plentyn o gwmpas buddiannau breintiedig.

Cyfeiriwyd at hyfforddiant fel rhywbeth o bwys arbennig a thynnir sylw at hyn yn y ddogfen ond teilynga sylw pellach os ydym i

if we are to make this project work. There is a chronic shortage of early years specialists in Wales because we train few. There is only one small course in Trinity College, Carmarthen which turns out early years educational specialists. This report and the conclusions to which we come in the autumn must be tied to a review of that position. We must have the will to do something about it. We will not be able to sustain and emulate the best practice across the world, which William mentioned at the start of the debate, if we are falling back on professionals who do not have the skills to deliver what we demand of them.

The Committee will present the final report to the Assembly later in the year. Whatever the report contains—as other speakers have said, there is a fair degree of consensus across the Committee, which I welcome—implementing the report will require political will and the will to look at Assembly funding levels. It will take cash and determination. Jonathan pointed out that England will reach two-thirds provision for three-year-olds whose parents want it by 2003. If we are to prove that there is any added value in the Assembly, we must not only equal that target or preferably overtake it in terms of quantity but also look at the quality of three-year-old provision. We have the ability in Wales and a small enough educational establishment to sit around the table and ensure that the quality of what we deliver is in excess of that delivered elsewhere. Our job is to deliver the best. If we have not done that by the end of this year we will have failed.

**Owen John Thomas:** Fel plaid, yr ydym yn croesawu'r adroddiad hwn sydd yn rhoi cyfle euraid inni osod sail gadarn i adeiladu cyfundrefn addysg i gyfarfod ag anghenion plant Cymru. Croesawaf yn arbennig y pwyslais a roddir ar blant bach yn dysgu trwy archwiliad, profiad personol, chwarae a chysylltu.

Mae'r hen ddull ffurfiol lle cyflwynir addysg fel atodiad i brofiad y plant wedi cael effaith andwyol ar genedlaethau ohonynt. Byddai

gael y prosiect hwn i weithio. Mae prinder affwysol o arbenigwyr blynyddoedd cynnar yng Nghymru am mai ychydig a hyfforddwn. Nid oes ond un cwrs bach yng Ngholeg y Drindod, Caerfyrddin sydd yn cynhyrchu arbenigwyr addysg blynyddoedd cynnar. Rhaid cysylltu'r adroddiad hwn a'r casgliadau a gyrhaeddwn yn yr hydref ag adolygiad o'r sefyllfa honno. Rhaid inni wrth yr ewyllys i wneud rhywbeth yn ei glych. Ni fyddwn yn gallu cynnal ac efelychu'r arfer gorau ledled y byd, y cyfeiriodd William ato ar ddechrau'r ddadl, os ydym yn gorfod dibynnu ar weithwyr proffesiynol nad oes ganddynt mo'r medrau i gyflenwi'r hyn a ofynnwn ganddynt.

Bydd y Pwyllgor yn cyflwyno'r adroddiad terfynol i'r Cynulliad yn ddiweddarach yn y flwyddyn. Beth bynnag a fydd yn yr adroddiad—fel y dywedodd siaradwyr eraill, mae cryn dipyn o gonsensws ar draws y Pwyllgor, a groesawaf—bydd angen ewyllys wleidyddol i roi'r adroddiad ar waith a'r ewyllys i edrych ar lefelau ariannu'r Cynulliad. Bydd angen arian a phenderfyniad. Nododd Jonathan y bydd Lloegr yn cyrraedd darpariaeth o ddwy ran o dair ar gyfer plant teirblwydd y mae eu rhieni am ei chael erbyn 2003. Os ydym i brofi bod gwerth ychwanegol yn y Cynulliad, rhaid inni nid yn unig fod yn gystal â'r targed hwnnw neu fynd heibio iddo o ran nifer os oes modd ond hefyd ystyried ansawdd y ddarpariaeth i blant teirblwydd. Mae gennym y gallu yng Nghymru a sefydliad addysgol digon bach i eistedd wrth y bwrdd a sicrhau bod ansawdd yr hyn a gyflenwn yn well na'r hyn a gyflenwir mewn mannau eraill. Ein gwaith yw cyflenwi'r gorau. Os na fyddwn wedi gwneud hynny erbyn diwedd y flwyddyn hon byddwn wedi methu.

**Owen John Thomas:** As a party, we welcome this report that provides a golden opportunity for us to lay a firm foundation for building an education system that meets the needs of the children of Wales. I especially welcome the emphasis placed on young children learning through exploration, personal experience, play and contact.

The old formal method where education is presented as an appendix to the children's experience has had a detrimental effect on

canran sylweddol o blant yn ystyried addysg fel ymyrraeth amhleserus ar eu bywydau yn hytrach na phrofiad dymunol. Byddent wedi cael eu gorfodi i geisio ffurfio llythrennau, cyfrif a darllen cyn cael arbrofi â'r sgiliau sylfaenol sydd yn angenrheidiol ar gyfer tasgiau ar lefel uwch.

Mae astudiaethau o addysg blynyddoedd cynnar mewn sawl gwlad flaengar ledled y byd wedi dod i'r un casgliad, bod plant bach yn elwa mwy wrth ddysgu trwy chwarae a phroffion strwythuredig eraill. Yr wyf yn falch o weld yr adroddiad yn rhoi pwyslais amlwg ar ddull o ddysgu trwy chwarae strwythuredig.

Yr wyf yn falch o weld y sylw a roddir yn yr adroddiad i anghenion plant mewn perygl, gan fynnu eu bod yn cael yr un cyfle â phlant eraill i brofi gwasanaethau blynyddoedd cynnar heb unrhyw gost uniongyrchol i'w rhieni.

Mwynheais ddarllen sylwadau'r Pwyllgor Dethol ar Faterion Cymreig sydd yn cydnabod bod addysg blynyddoedd cynnar yn hanfodol i ddyfodol yr iaith Gymraeg. Datganiad pwerus. Croesawaf awydd y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 i hyrwyddo darpariaeth ddwyieithog o'r safon uchaf, a'i fod yn cydnabod yr angen i hyfforddi staff i'r lefel briodol yn Gymraeg a Saesneg.

Yr wyf yn falch bod sylw neilltuol yn cael ei roi i blant ag anghenion arbennig i sicrhau eu bod yn cael yr un cyfle â phlant eraill i brofi manteision gwasanaethau blynyddoedd cynnar.

Croesawaf hefyd y pwysigrwydd a roddir ar yr angen am bartneriaeth rhwng y gwahanol sectorau sydd yn ymwneud ag addysg plant bach. Mae gan fudiadau gwirfoddol rôl bwysig i'w chyflawni ac y mae'n hanfodol i ni hybu cydweithrediad rhyngddynt a'r awdurdodau lleol er mwyn sefydlu'r gyfundrefn orau bosibl ar gyfer plant bach.

Gobeithiaf y bydd y Cynulliad cyfan yn dilyn esiampl y Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 wrth gydweithio ar y mater pwysig hwn o hybu addysg blynyddoedd cynnar er mwyn rhoi cychwyn newydd i'n plant.

generations of them. A substantial percentage of children would consider education as an unpleasurable intervention in their lives rather than a pleasant experience. They would have been forced to try to form letters, count and read before being allowed to experiment with basic skills that are necessary for tasks at a higher level.

Studies of early years education in many innovative countries throughout the world have come to the same conclusion, that young children profit more by learning through play and other structured tests. I am pleased to see the report placing a prominent emphasis on methods of learning through structured play.

I am pleased to see the attention given in the report to the needs of children at risk, insisting that they are afforded the same opportunities as other children to experience early years services without any direct cost to their parents.

I enjoyed reading the Welsh Affairs Select Committee's comments which acknowledge that early years education is essential to the future of the Welsh language. A powerful statement. I welcome the Pre-16 Education Committee's desire to promote bilingual provision of the highest standard, and that it acknowledges the need to train staff to the appropriate level in Welsh and English.

I am pleased that particular attention is paid to children with special needs to ensure that they have the same opportunities as other children to enjoy the advantages of early years services.

I also welcome the importance placed on the need for partnership between the different sectors that are involved in the education of small children. Voluntary organisations undertake an important role and it is essential that we promote co-operation between them and the local authorities in order to establish the best possible system for small children.

I hope that the whole Assembly will follow the Pre-16 Committee's example of working together on this important matter of promoting early years education in order to give our children a new start.

**John Marek:** I will make a few brief remarks to associate myself with my colleagues who are members of this Committee. We work well together. Huw Lewis made the important point that if children are in poverty everything is against them and achieving a level of education through play and other means by the time they are aged six or seven is that much more difficult, with the result that teachers have to 'play catch-up'. I think that Huw Lewis used that phrase. My attention was drawn to an article in *The Guardian* on 17 March, entitled 'Britain bottom of table for child well-being'. Although the article refers to Britain, I would be surprised if the figures for Wales were different. If they were, and were better, I would be pleased. This article reported on a study by United Nations' Childrens Fund researchers for the Institute of Public Policy Research, which found that the United Kingdom 'comes bottom of the European league' in three important respects: first, in the number of children in poor households; second, in the number of homes where no adult works and, third, in teen pregnancy rates.

High teen pregnancy rates are no doubt the result of inadequacies in our education at early ages and in our society's makeup. I will quote some figures. The gross domestic product per head as a percentage of European Union average in the United Kingdom is close to the EU average of 100 per cent at 99 per cent. Yet if we consider, for example, children in poor households, the EU average is 20 per cent; for the UK, it is 32 per cent. We are top of the list. In France, it is 12 per cent and in Germany, 13 per cent.

The other set of figures relates to the number of households with children where no adult works. The EU average is 10.5 per cent, but the UK percentage is almost double that at 19.5 per cent. By way of comparison, France's rate is 8.8 per cent, and Germany's 8.6 per cent. Why are we at the bottom of the list for these important parameters, which affect our children's makeup, the type of

**John Marek:** Yr wyf am wneud ychydig o sylwadau byr i ymgysylltu â'm cyd-Aelodau sydd yn aelodau o'r Pwyllgor hwn. Yr ydym yn gweithio'n dda â'n gilydd. Gwnaeth Huw Lewis y pwynt pwysig bod popeth yn erbyn plant os ydynt mewn tloedi a bod cyrraedd lefel o addysg drwy chwarae a dulliau eraill erbyn cyrraedd chwech neu saith mlwydd oed yn fwy anodd o'r herwydd, a chanlyniad hynny yw bod rhaid i athrawon geisio 'chwarae dal-i-fyny'. Credaf fod Huw Lewis wedi defnyddio'r ymadrodd hwnnw. Tynnwyd fy sylw at erthygl yn *The Guardian* ar 17 Mawrth, ac iddi'r teitl 'Prydain ar waelod y tabl ar les plant'. Er bod yr erthygl yn cyfeirio at Brydain, synnwn pe bai'r ffigurau ar gyfer Cymru'n wahanol. Os oeddent, a'u bod yn well, byddwn yn falch. Yr oedd yr erthygl hon yn adrodd ar astudiaeth gan ymchwilyr Cronfa Plant y Cenhedloedd Unedig ar gyfer y Sefydliad Ymchwil Polisi Cyhoeddus, a gafodd fod y Deyrnas Unedig 'ar waelod y gynghrair Ewropeaidd' o ran tair agwedd bwysig: yn gyntaf, o ran nifer y plant mewn teuluoedd tlawd; yn ail, o ran nifer y cartrefi lle nad oes oedolyn yn gweithio ac, yn drydydd, o ran cyfraddau beichiogrwydd ymysg rhai yn eu harddegau.

Nid oes dwywaith bod cyfraddau beichiogrwydd uchel ymysg rhai yn eu harddegau yn ganlyniad i ddiffygion yn ein haddysg mewn oeddrannau cynnar ac yng nghyfansoddiad ein cymdeithas. Dyfynnaf rai o'r ffigurau. Mae'r cynnyrch mewnwladol crynswth y pen fel canran o gyfartaledd yr Undeb Ewropeaidd yn y Deyrnas Unedig yn agos i gyfartaledd yr UE o 100 y cant ar 99 y cant. Eto os ystyriwn, er enghraifft, plant mewn teuluoedd tlawd, cyfartaledd yr UE yw 20 y cant; ar gyfer y DU, mae'n 32 y cant. Yr ydym ar ben y rhestr. Yn Ffrainc mae'n 12 y cant ac yn yr Almaen mae'n 13 y cant.

Mae'r set arall o ffigurau'n ymwneud â nifer y teuluoedd â phlant lle nad oes oedolyn yn gweithio. Cyfartaledd yr UE yw 10.5 y cant, ond mae cyfartaledd y DU bron ddwywaith hynny ar 19.5 y cant. Er mwyn cymharu, y gyfradd yn Ffrainc yw 8.8 y cant, a chyfradd yr Almaen yw 8.6 y cant. Pam yr ydym ar waelod y rhestr ar gyfer y paramedrau pwysig hyn, sydd yn effeithio ar

society that they live in, and their education? We must take action. This is not only a matter for the Assembly, but for the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Westminster. However, I believe that we can help by recognising the importance of early years education for our children in Wales and ensuring that as many resources as we can provide for early years education are provided. That is absolutely important.

I do not want to make political capital out of why this situation has arisen. This is not a party political issue particularly. We have a propensity in this country to try to cut taxes at the expense of service provision. Countries such as France and Germany have higher taxes but much better service provision. The Pre-16 Education Committee and the Assembly should examine that carefully in order to ensure that we take action on this important matter.

3:48 p.m.

**John Griffiths:** I commend the Committee on its work in bringing this important matter before the Assembly. I often hear people talk about the cycle of deprivation. Trying to cut across this cycle is one of the major problems we face as an Assembly. It is a cycle whereby the most deprived families are unable to properly socialise and educate their children. Those children, in turn, are unable to do so for their children, and the problems are recreated from one generation to the next. It is a significant problem in our most deprived communities and it has a tremendous social and economic cost. It is a terrible burden on the individuals and families concerned and on society in general. It feeds into crime and a whole range of social problems. Anything that can cut across that cycle of deprivation is extremely valuable. It is because these families are, unfortunately, unable to properly bring up their children in many respects that it falls on the state to intervene. This issue has to be handled delicately and sensitively but there must be intervention.

This subject is part of that agenda. The first four years of children's lives are of crucial

gyfansoddiad ein plant, y math o gymdeithas y maent yn byw ynnddi, a'u haddysg? Rhaid inni weithredu. Nid yw'n fater i'r Cynulliad yn unig, ond i Ganghellor y Trysorlys yn San Steffan. Fodd bynnag, credaf y gallwn helpu drwy gydnabod pwysigrwydd addysg blynyddoedd cynnar i'n plant yng Nghymru a sicrhau y darperir cymaint o adnoddau ag y bo modd ar gyfer addysg blynyddoedd cynnar. Mae hynny'n holl bwysig.

Ni ddymunaf wneud elw gwleidyddol o'r rheswm pam y mae'r sefyllfa hon wedi codi. Nid yw hyn yn fater gwleidyddol pleidiol yn arbennig. Mae gennym duedd yn y wlad hon i geisio torri trethi ar draul darparu gwasanaethau. Mae gan wledydd fel Ffrainc a'r Almaen drethi uwch ond darpariaeth o wasanaethau sydd yn llawer gwell. Dylai'r Pwyllgor Addysg Cyn-16 a'r Cynulliad edrych yn ofalus ar hynny er mwyn sicrhau ein bod yn gweithredu ar y mater pwysig hwn.

**John Griffiths:** Canmolaf y Pwyllgor ar ei waith wrth ddod â'r mater pwysig hwn gerbron y Cynulliad. Clywaf bobl yn sôn yn aml am y cylch amddifadedd. Ceisio torri ar draws y cylch hwn yw un o'r problemau mawr a wynebwn fel Cynulliad. Mae'n gylch sydd yn peri nad yw'r teuluoedd mwyaf difreintiedig yn gallu cymdeithasoli ac addysgu eu plant yn foddhaol. Mae'r plant hynny, yn eu tro, yn methu gwneud hynny ar gyfer eu plant hwy, ac ailgreir y problemau o un genhedlaeth i'r nesaf. Mae'n broblem o bwys yn ein cymunedau mwyaf difreintiedig ac mae iddi gost gymdeithasol ac economaidd aruthrol. Mae'n faich enbyd ar yr unigolion a'r teuluoedd dan sylw ac ar gymdeithas yn gyffredinol. Mae'n cyfrannu at droseddu ac amrediad cyflawn o broblemau cymdeithasol. Mae rhywbeth a all dorri ar draws y cylch amddifadedd hwnnw yn werthfawr tu hwnt. Am nad yw'r teuluoedd hyn yn gallu magu eu plant yn briodol ar lawer ystyr, gwaetha'r modd, y mae'r wladwriaeth yn gorfod ymyrryd. Rhaid trafod y mater hwn yn ofalus ac yn sensitif ond rhaid cael ymyriad.

Mae'r pwnc hwn yn rhan o'r agenda honno. Mae'r pedair blynedd cyntaf o fywyd plentyn

importance to their future development and life opportunity. It is up to the state to ensure that every child has the opportunities that it should have in a fair and just society. I therefore welcome this debate as an important part of the wider debate and in terms of its ability to provide an important part of the answer to these problems.

**William Graham:** I am grateful to Members for the thoughtful and constructive contributions that they have made this afternoon. I will ensure that Mrs Hanney, the expert adviser appointed by the Committee, is aware of the views expressed this afternoon so that she can take account of them when she advises the Committee. The Committee has taken the view that this is an important issue that cannot be hurried. The objective is to put in place early learning arrangements that are sustainable, that have the young child at their heart and that take into account the needs of Wales, including the Welsh language.

Members, in responding, have expressed their views and I am impressed that there is a clear consensus among Members about the need to get this critical element of a young child's development right the first time. This may take a while but it is too important to approach on a trial and error basis. As the Assembly Secretary mentioned in her contribution, the debate in which we are now engaged is over the nature of these opportunities and the environment in which they are provided. In noting the contributions, the Committee has taken into account Jocelyn's point on the importance of addressing the requirements of children with special needs, and it is one of the underpinning principles of ensuring equal access for all. I thank Gareth not only for his kind words but for his contribution, and I echo his comments about the importance of getting that policy right and ensuring that it is inclusive of gender, ethnic origin, culture and socially excluded groups as well as those with special needs.

**Helen Mary Jones:** I have been pleased to hear so many speakers mention equality this afternoon. Can you ensure, as Chair of the Committee, that you take into account the

o bwys tyngedfennol i'w ddatblygiad yn y dyfodol a'i gyfle mewn bywyd. Cyfrifoldeb y wladwriaeth yw sicrhau y caiff pob plentyn y cyfleoedd y dylai eu cael mewn cymdeithas deg a chyfiawn. Croesawaf y ddadl hon felly fel rhan bwysig o'r ddadl ehangach ac o ran ei gallu i roi rhan bwysig o'r ateb i'r problemau hyn.

**William Graham:** Yr wyf yn ddiolchgar i'r Aelodau am y cyfraniadau ystyriol ac adeiladol a wnaethant y prynhawn yma. Sicrhaf y bydd Mrs Hanney, yr ymgynghorydd arbenigol a benodwyd gan y Pwyllgor, yn cael gwybod am y safbwyntiau a fynegwyd y prynhawn yma fel y gall roi ystyriaeth iddynt pan yw'n cynghori'r Pwyllgor. Y safbwynt a gymerwyd gan y Pwyllgor yw bod hyn yn fater pwysig na ellir ei frysio. Yr amcan yw rhoi trefniadau dysgu cynnar ar waith sydd yn gynaliadwy, sydd yn rhoi'r lle canolog i'r plentyn ac yn cymryd i ystyriaeth anghenion Cymru, gan gynnwys yr iaith Gymraeg.

Mae'r Aelodau, wrth ymateb, wedi mynegi eu barn ac fe'm trawyd gan y ffaith bod consensws eglur ymysg yr Aelodau ynghylch yr angen i gael yr elfen holl bwysig hon yn natblygiad y plentyn ifanc yn iawn y tro cyntaf. Gallai hynny gymryd amser ond mae'n rhy bwysig i'w drafod drwy brofi a methu. Fel y dywedodd yr Ysgrifennydd Cynulliad yn ei chyfraniad, mae'r ddadl yr ydym yn ymwneud â hi'n awr yn un ynghylch natur y cyfleoedd hyn a'r amgylchedd lle y'u darperir. Wrth nodi'r cyfraniadau, mae'r Pwyllgor wedi cymryd i ystyriaeth pwynt Jocelyn ynghylch pwysigrwydd ymdrin â gofynion plant sydd ag anghenion arbennig, ac mae'n un o'r egwyddorion sylfaenol er mwyn sicrhau mynediad cyfartal i bawb. Diolchaf i Gareth nid yn unig am ei eiriau caredig ond am ei gyfraniad, ac ategaf ei sylwadau am y pwysigrwydd o gael y polisi hwnnw'n iawn a sicrhau ei fod yn gynhwysol o ran rhyw, tarddiad ethnig, diwylliant a grwpiau a allgaewyd yn gymdeithasol yn ogystal â'r rhai ag anghenion arbennig.

**Helen Mary Jones:** Yr oedd yn dda gennyf glywed cynifer o siaradwyr yn sôn am gydraddoldeb y prynhawn yma. A allwch sicrhau, fel Cadeirydd y Pwyllgor, y

recommendations of the Macpherson report about the need to tackle racism and racist attitudes in our schools from the very beginning? That early stage is a very good time to start presenting children with models of different cultures and different ways of living.

**William Graham:** I assure you that the Committee will take that on board. Reports such as the Macpherson report are extremely important to the way in which our society is developing. The need to identify the costs of the policies is important and the Committee, with Rosemary's assistance, will be looking at that. Jenny mentioned the variation in the level of provision, and the Committee needs to address this. She referred to the variety of types of provision and the need to ensure that parental choice is not lost in any new provision. These issues will need to be examined carefully and I am sure that other issues will arise on the way. Gareth and Jenny said that there are difficult decisions to be made and I agree. The Committee has to demonstrate that it is committed to taking the matter forward. I remain confident we will meet these challenges.

Pauline made the important point that quality provision and ensuring that it is achieved in a responsible way is the key. Not only is equality of access essential but provision needs to be of the highest quality. That means not only the environment in which care is delivered but also the quality of those who provide the service. The points about the need for partnership were well made, particularly by Huw. The Committee has recognised that partnerships exist but that they must be strengthened and built upon. I welcome Jonathan's comments, and the Committee will acknowledge them in future deliberations. Owen John kindly complimented the Committee on decisions already reached, which must form part of our next report. Other Members and I have noted John Marek's article in *The Guardian*. The figures on social inclusion are shameful and the Committee must try to examine this and achieve solutions. The cycle of deprivation mentioned in John Griffiths's contribution is a significant problem. It is an unwanted

cymerwech i ystyriaeth argymhellion adroddiad Macpherson ynghylch yr angen i fynd i'r afael â hiliaeth ac agweddau hiliol yn ein hysgolion o'r dechrau un? Mae'r cyfnod cynnar hwnnw'n amser da iawn i ddechrau cyflwyno modelau o wahanol ddiwylliannau a gwahanol ffyrdd o fyw i blant.

**William Graham:** Fe'ch sicrhaf y bydd y Pwyllgor yn cynnwys hynny. Mae adroddiadau fel adroddiad Macpherson yn bwysig iawn o ran y modd y mae ein cymdeithas yn datblygu. Mae'r angen i ddynodi costau'r polisiau yn bwysig a bydd y Pwyllgor, gyda chymorth Rosemary, yn edrych ar hynny. Soniodd Jenny am yr amrywiad yn lefel y ddarpariaeth, ac mae angen i'r Pwyllgor ymdrin â hynny. Cyfeiriodd at yr amrywiaeth o fathau o ddarpariaeth a'r angen i sicrhau na cholllir dewis y rhieni mewn unrhyw ddarpariaeth newydd. Bydd angen edrych yn ofalus ar y materion hyn ac yr wyf yn sicr y bydd materion eraill yn codi ar hyd y ffordd. Dywedodd Gareth a Jenny fod penderfyniadau anodd i'w gwneud a chytunaf. Rhaid i'r Pwyllgor ddangos ei fod wedi ymrwymo i fynd â'r mater ymlaen. Yr wyf yn ffyddiog o hyd y byddwn yn ateb yr heriau hynny.

Gwnaeth Pauline y pwynt pwysig mai darpariaeth o ansawdd da a sicrhau y cyflenwir hi mewn modd cyfrifol yw'r allwedd. Nid yn unig y mae mynediad cyfartal yn holl bwysig ond rhaid i'r ddarpariaeth hefyd fod o'r ansawdd uchaf. Golyga hynny nid yn unig yr amgylchedd lle y rhoddir gofal ond hefyd ansawdd y rhai sydd yn darparu'r gwasanaeth. Gwnaethpwyd y pwyntiau am yr angen am bartneriaeth yn dda, yn enwedig gan Huw. Cydnabu'r Pwyllgor fod partneriaethau'n bod ond bod rhaid eu cryfhau a'u datblygu. Croesawaf sylwadau Jonathan, a bydd y Pwyllgor yn eu cydnabod mewn trafodaethau yn y dyfodol. Rhoddodd Owen John ganmoliaeth garedig i'r Pwyllgor ar benderfyniadau a wnaethpwyd eisoes, a fydd yn gorfod bod yn rhan o'n hadroddiad nesaf. Mae Aelodau eraill a minnau wedi nodi erthygl John Marek yn *The Guardian*. Mae'r ffigurau ar gynhwysiant cymdeithasol yn warthus a rhaid i'r Pwyllgor geisio edrych ar hyn a sicrhau atebion. Mae'r cylch amddifadedd a

contribution to our society, and intervention is one of society's responsibilities. I thank everyone who has contributed today.

grybwyllwyd yng nghyfraniad John Griffiths yn broblem sylweddol. Mae'n gyfraniad annerbyniol i'n cymdeithas, ac ymyriad yw un o gyfrifoldebau cymdeithas. Diolchaf i bawb a gyfrannodd heddiw.

*Cynnig: O blaid 44, Ymatal 0, Yn erbyn 0.*

*Motion: For 44, Abstain 0, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Barrett, Lorraine  
Bates, Mick  
Black, Peter  
Cairns, Alun  
Chapman, Christine  
Dafis, Cynog  
Davies, Andrew  
Davies, David  
Davies, Glyn  
Davies, Janet  
Davies, Jocelyn  
Davies, Ron  
Edwards, Richard  
Essex, Sue  
German, Michael  
Graham, William  
Gregory, Janice  
Griffiths, John  
Gwyther, Christine  
Halford, Alison  
Hancock, Brian  
Hart, Edwina  
Humphreys, Christine  
Jarman, Pauline  
Jones, Ann  
Jones, Elin  
Jones, Gareth  
Jones, Helen Mary  
Lewis, Huw  
Lloyd, David  
Marek, John  
Melding, David  
Middlehurst, Tom  
Morgan, Rhodri  
Neagle, Lynne  
Randerson, Jenny  
Rogers, Peter  
Ryder, Janet  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Owen John  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

*Motion adopted.*

*Derbyniwyd y cynnig.*

**Adeilad Newydd y Cynulliad  
The New Assembly Building**

**The Presiding Officer:** I have selected **Y Llywydd:** Yr wyf wedi dethol gwelliant 1



amendment 1 in the name of Glyn Davies, amendments 2, 3 and 5 in the name of Cynog Dafis and amendments 4, 6 and 7 in the name of Peter Black.

yn enw Glyn Davies, gwelliannau 2, 3 a 5 yn enw Cynog Dafis a gwelliannau 4, 6 a 7 yn enw Peter Black.

**The First Secretary:** I propose that

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Cynigiau fod

*the Assembly*

*y Cynulliad*

*1. notes the First Secretary's initiative to review the costs and options for the new Assembly building;*

*1. yn nodi menter y Prif Ysgrifennydd i adolygu'r costau a'r opsiynau ar gyfer adeilad newydd y Cynulliad;*

*2. notes that the review might result in slippage in the previously agreed timetable;*

*2. yn nodi y gallai'r adolygiad beri i'r amserlen y cytunwyd arni newid;*

*3. urges that the review is carried out as quickly as is possible; and*

*3. yn pwysu am gynnal yr adolygiad cyn gynted ag y bo modd; a*

*4. requires that the findings of the review, and proposals for future action, will be brought back to the Assembly for decision, and that the key information which underpins them be made available.*

*4. yn mynnu bod darganfyddiadau'r adolygiad, a chynigion ar gyfer gweithredu yn y dyfodol, yn dod yn ôl at y Cynulliad er mwyn iddo wneud penderfyniad, ac y dylai'r wybodaeth allweddol sydd yn sail iddynt fod ar gael.*

Two weeks ago, I made a statement to the Assembly informing Members of my decision to put the new building project on hold for the time being. I, along with various colleagues on the project steering group was not in a position to approve the £1 million next stage expenditure. I shared that decision with Members on the same day as it was agreed with the Assembly building policy steering group and we held a wide-ranging discussion. You evinced a desire on the part of Members, Llywydd, to discuss the matter further and this debate is offered in the spirit of openness, accountability and prudence.

Bythefnos yn ôl, gwneuthum ddatganiad gerbron y Cynulliad gan hysbysu'r Aelodau am fy mhenderfyniad i atal prosiect yr adeilad newydd am y tro. Nid oeddwn i, ynghyd ag amryw o gydweithwyr ar grŵp llywio'r prosiect, mewn sefyllfa i gymeradwyo'r gwariant o £1 miliwn ar y cam nesaf. Rhennais y penderfyniad hwnnw â'r Aelodau ar yr un diwrnod ag y'i cytunwyd gyda grŵp llywio polisi adeilad y Cynulliad a chynaliasom drafodaeth helaeth. Mynegasoch awydd ar ran yr Aelodau, Lywydd, i drafod y mater ymhellach a chynigir y ddadl hon yn yr ysbryd o fod yn agored, yn atebol ac yn bwylllog.

Crickhowell House was always intended to be a temporary home for the Assembly. There has been a commitment for two years to the provision of a new building to house the Assembly, or at least the debating chamber and allied public facilities. An open European competition based on a functional specification was run under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Lord Callaghan chaired the design competition assessment panel, which appointed the Richard Rogers Partnership to design the new building. Subsequent work included consultation with a wide range of interest

Y bwriad erioed oedd i Dŷ Crycywel fod yn gartref dros dro i'r Cynulliad. Mae ymrwymiad ers dwy flynedd i ddarparu adeilad newydd i gynnwys y Cynulliad, neu o leiaf y siambr ddadlau a chyfleusterau cyhoeddus cysylltiedig. Cynhaliwyd cystadleuaeth Ewropeaidd agored ar fanyleb swyddogaethol o dan adain Sefydliad Brenhinol Penseiri Prydain. Cadeiriodd yr Arglwydd Callaghan banel asesu'r gystadleuaeth dylunio, a benododd Bartneriaeth Richard Rogers i ddylunio'r adeilad newydd. Yr oedd y gwaith wedyn yn cynnwys ymgynghori ag amrediad eang o

groups and this resulted in a detailed specification, which was approved by Members.

I remind you that the project costs approved by the Assembly in January were £22.8 million excluding a contingency of 15 per cent. Fifteen per cent is higher than the normal 5 per cent because of the unusual nature of the building. Until a few weeks ago, I had little more information on the project than any other Assembly Member, but my responsibilities have now changed. Two weeks ago there was a decision point in the project. Until that point, £1 million had been committed and I was being asked to commit to the next £1 million of scheme design, doubling the committed project expenditure. At that point, I had not had sufficient time to reflect on the figures and the implications. This is what I am still doing.

This is a complex project, and one which carries long-term consequences for Wales. I did not deliver the next £1 million because I wanted to be certain that the project could deliver on time, within the budget and as approved. The project has not been cancelled. I announced the delay for a specific reason. I was not in a position to approve that next £1 million, which in effect doubled the commitment to the process of producing the building. Other people have seen it in a different light. I read the comments or the parting shot of Sir Geoffrey Inkin as he was leaving his post as chairman of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. He has been under the misapprehension that the purpose of having a new building to house this Assembly was to build business confidence in Cardiff Bay. It was never about that. It was about the need for a permanent home for the Assembly and for a more functional and fit for purpose Chamber than the temporary Chamber that we occupy at the moment. It is not, therefore, about the developmental advantages of having the Chamber in one location or another. That does not count. It is about its necessity to democracy. It is not about flag waving or making a grand statement about the future of Wales and it is not about the vanity of self-important, vainglorious politicians who want to make a statement about themselves or about Wales.

grwpiau buddiant ac arweiniodd hyn at fanyleb fanwl, a gymeradwywyd gan yr Aelodau.

Fe'ch atgoffaf fod costau'r prosiect a gymeradwywyd gan y Cynulliad yn Ionawr yn £22.8 miliwn heb gynnwys swm wrth gefn o 15 y cant. Mae 15 y cant yn uwch na'r 5 y cant arferol oherwydd natur anarferol yr adeilad. Hyd ychydig wythnosau'n ôl, nid oedd gennyf fawr mwy o wybodaeth am y prosiect nag unrhyw Aelod Cynulliad arall, ond mae fy nghyfrifoldebau wedi newid bellach. Bythefnos yn ôl yr oedd pwynt penderfynu yn y prosiect. Hyd hynny, yr oedd £1 miliwn wedi ei neilltuo a gofynnwyd imi ymrwymo i'r £1 miliwn nesaf o waith dylunio'r cynllun, gan ddyblu'r gwariant a neilltuwyd i'r prosiect. Ar y pwynt hwnnw, nid oedd gennyf ddigon o amser i fyfyrion ynghylch y ffigurau a'r goblygiadau. Dyna'r hyn yr wyf yn ei wneud o hyd.

Mae hwn yn brosiect cymhleth, ac un y mae iddo ganlyniadau tymor hir i Gymru. Ni throsglwyddais yr £1 miliwn nesaf oherwydd yr oeddwn am fod yn sicr y gellid cyflawni'r prosiect mewn pryd, oddi mewn i'r gyllideb ac ar y ffurf a gymeradwywyd. Nid yw'r prosiect wedi ei ddiddymu. Cyhoeddais yr oediad am reswm penodol. Nid oeddwn mewn sefyllfa i gymeradwyo'r £1 miliwn nesaf hwnnw, a oedd i bob pwrpas yn dyblu'r hyn a neilltuwyd i'r broses o greu'r adeilad. Mae eraill wedi gweld hynny mewn goleuni gwahanol. Darllenais sylwadau neu ergyd ymadawol Syr Geoffrey Inkin wrth iddo adael ei swydd fel cadeirydd Corfforaeth Datblygu Bae Caerdydd. Bu o dan y gamargraff mai pwrpas cael adeilad newydd i gynnwys y Cynulliad hwn oedd meithrin hyder busnes ym Mae Caerdydd. Nid oedd erioed yn ymwneud â hynny. Yr oedd yn ymwneud â'r angen am gartref parhaol i'r Cynulliad ac am Siambr fwy ymarferol ac addas i'w phwrpas na'r Siambr dros dro yr ydym ynddi ar hyn o bryd. Felly, nid yw'n ymwneud â'r manteision datblygu o gael y Siambr mewn un lleoliad neu'r llall. Nid yw hynny o bwys. Mae'n ymwneud â'r angen amdani er mwyn democratiaeth. Nid yw'n ymwneud â chwifio baneri neu wneud datganiad mawreddog ynghylch dyfodol Cymru ac nid yw'n ymwneud â balchder gwleidyddion hunanbwysig, rhodresgar sydd

It is not about business confidence. If we need a building, we should have one. If we do not, we should not have one. It is as simple as that.

3:58 p.m.

**Cynog Dafis:** A ydych yn derbyn nad adeilad ar gyfer Aelodau'r Cynulliad yw adeilad Cynulliad ond adeilad i'r genedl ac i'r bobl? Dros dro y mae ein presenoldeb ni fel Aelodau mewn unrhyw adeilad ond mae'r adeilad hwnnw yn barhaol ar gyfer y bobl a chynrychiolwyr y bobl yn y dyfodol.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid wyf yn anghytuno ag unrhyw beth a ddywedodd Cynog. Fodd bynnag, mae unrhyw garfan o wleidyddion yn gyfrifol ar y pryd am eu penderfyniadau. Os yw prosiect yn cael ei gyflawni ar wariant arian cyhoeddus, bydd yn parhau am 100 mlynedd.

In view of the complexity of this project, I wanted to be certain that the estimated costs proposed are reliable. To shake the tree on the costs that I saw, it is imperative that we proceed in a way that avoids any bottomless pit of expenditure and what is sometimes known as project creep. We all recognise that the further you go on a journey, the harder it is to turn back. Once we doubled the commitment from £1 million to £2 million, it is better to reflect if there is uncertainty in anybody's mind. There was uncertainty in my mind as to whether I was ready to spend the next million moving from outline to scheme design. That would have been followed—as I made clear last time in August—with detailed design and the building contract in November. I did not feel ready two weeks ago to commit that next £1 million. Once committed, we are committed to a pattern or location of Government. It is in a way one of the curiosities of this scheme. One decision tends to commit the next decision.

In a way, the decision that has resulted in us being here today in Crickhowell House arises from a decision seven or eight years ago to build the Welsh Health Common Services

am wneud datganiad amdanynt hwy eu hunain neu am Gymru. Nid yw'n ymwneud â hyder busnes. Os oes arnom angen adeilad, dylem gael un. Os nad oes, ni ddylem gael un. Mae mor syml â hynny.

**Cynog Dafis:** Do you accept that an Assembly building is not a building for the Members but a building for the nation and the people? Our presence as Members in any building is temporary but that building is permanent for the people and for the people's representatives in the future.

**The First Secretary:** I do not disagree with anything that Cynog said. However, any group of politicians is responsible at that time for its decisions. If a project is carried out with public expenditure, it will last for 100 years.

Yng ngolwg cymhlethdod y prosiect hwn, yr oeddwn am fod yn sicr y gellir dibynnu ar y costau amcangyfrifedig a gynigiwyd. Er mwyn profi'r costau a welais, mae'n holl bwysig ein bod yn mynd yn ein blaenau mewn ffordd sydd yn osgoi unrhyw bwl diwaelod o wariant a'r hyn a elwir weithiau yn ymgripiad prosiect. Yr ydym oll yn cydnabod mai po bellaf yr ewch ar daith, anoddaf ydyw i droi'n ôl. Wedi inni ddyblu'r hyn a neilltuwyd o £1 miliwn i £2 filiwn, gwell yw ystyried a oes ansicrwydd ym meddwl neb. Yr oedd ansicrwydd yn fy meddwl i ynghylch a oeddwn yn barod i wario'r filiwn nesaf gan symud o amlinelliad i ddyluniad o'r cynllun. Ar ôl hynny—fel y rhoddais ar ddeall y tro diwethaf yn Awst—byddai dyluniad manwl a'r contract adeiladu yn Nhachwedd. Ni theimlwn yn barod bythefnos yn ôl i neilltuo'r £1 miliwn nesaf hwnnw. Ar ôl ei neilltuo, yr ydym wedi ymrwymo i batrwm neu leoliad i Lywodraeth. Hynny ar ryw ystyr yw un o hynodion y cynllun hwn. Mae un penderfyniad yn tueddu i ymrwymo i'r penderfyniad nesaf.

Ar ryw ystyr, mae'r penderfyniad a arweiniodd at ein presenoldeb yma heddiw yn Nhŷ Crycywel yn deillio o benderfyniad saith neu wyth mlynedd yn ôl i godi

Agency headquarters in the bay. That resulted in spare capacity in an office block which, in turn, resulted in the then Secretary of State for Wales, the Member for Caerphilly, having the option of moving into a half-empty office block two years ago. It then became our temporary home. A temporary home here meant that the site next door became the hot favourite for the permanent home. All that is because of a decision some nine years ago to have the Welsh Health Common Services Agency headquarters in this location. That resulted in us being here today rather than in any other location. One decision committing the next strongly applies to the history of why we are here today and not elsewhere. Once we commit to the new building in November with the placing of the building contract we are committing a pattern of Government in Wales for the next 100 years.

I do not think that it is unwise to delay for a few months to be certain that we have that pattern right. That pattern involves journeys back and forth between Cathays Park, where the civil service is located, and the bay, where the politicians are located. Members of the Cabinet have offices in Cathays Park but we would be committing ourselves to that permanent dumb-bell pattern serviced by a temporary bus service for the next 100 years. I would have felt committed to the new building project if I had signed on the dotted line for the next £1 million. I was not willing to do so until I was certain that we were all ready for this commitment for the next 100 years of having the civil service two miles away in Cathays Park and ourselves in Cardiff Bay. Is that what will definitely produce the most effective form of government for Wales over the next 100 years? That is why I did not think it was unreasonable for me to pause and have a good read through the figures until I was certain, and then come back to commit to the next stage.

**Dafydd Wigley:** Credaf fod pawb yn derbyn ei bod yn rhesymol edrych eto ar y ffigurau, cyn belled nad yw hynny yn arwain at oedi. Soniodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd ein bod yn codi

pencadlys Awdurdod Gwasanaethau Cyffredin Iechyd Cymru yn y bae. Arweiniodd hynny at leoedd gwag mewn bloc swyddfeydd a arweiniodd, yn ei dro, at roi'r dewis i Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru bryd hynny, yr Aelod dros Gaerffili, o symud i bloc swyddfeydd hanner gwag ddwy flynedd yn ôl. Daeth wedyn yn gartref dros dro i ni. Yr oedd cartref dros dro yma yn golygu bod y safle drws nesaf bellach yn ffefryn pennaf ar gyfer y cartref parhaol. Mae hynny oll oherwydd penderfyniad tua naw mlynedd yn ôl i gael pencadlys Awdurdod Gwasanaethau Cyffredin Iechyd Cymru yn y lleoliad hwn. Oherwydd hynny yr ydym yma heddiw yn hytrach nag mewn lleoliad arall. Mae un penderfyniad yn ymrwymo i'r nesaf yn berthnasol iawn i hanes y rheswm pam yr ydym yma heddiw ac nid yn rhywle arall. Ar ôl inni ymrwymo i'r adeilad newydd yn Nhachwedd wrth osod y contract adeiladu yr ydym yn ymrwymo i batrwm o Lywodraeth yng Nghymru ar gyfer y 100 mlynedd nesaf.

Ni chredaf mai annoeth yw oedi am ychydig fisoedd er mwyn bod yn sicr bod y patrwm hwnnw'n iawn gennym. Mae'r patrwm hwnnw'n golygu teithio'n ôl ac ymlaen rhwng Parc Cathays, lle y mae'r gwasanaeth sifil, a'r bae, lle y mae'r gwleidyddion. Mae gan aelodau o'r Cabinet swyddfeydd ym Mharc Cathays ond byddem yn ymrwymo i'r patrwm ailadroddus parhaol hwnnw wedi ei wasanaethu gan wasanaeth bws dros dro am y 100 mlynedd nesaf. Buaswn yn teimlo fy mod wedi ymrwymo i brosiect yr adeilad newydd pa bawn wedi arwyddo ar y llinell doredig ar gyfer y £1 miliwn nesaf. Nid oeddwn yn barod i wneud hynny nes y byddwn yn sicr ein bod oll yn barod i ymrwymo felly am y 100 mlynedd nesaf i gael y gwasanaeth sifil ddwy filltir i ffwrdd ym Mharc Cathays a ninnau ym Mae Caerdydd. Ai hynny sydd yn sicr o greu'r ffurf fwyaf effeithiol o lywodraeth i Gymru dros y 100 mlynedd nesaf? Dyna pam y credaf nad oedd yn afresymol imi oedi a darllen yn drwyadl drwy'r ffigurau nes fy mod yn sicr, ac wedyn dod yn ôl i ymrwymo i'r cam nesaf.

**Dafydd Wigley:** I believe that everyone accepts that it is reasonable to revisit the figures, as long as that does not lead to delay. The First Secretary said that we are

adeilad a ddylai barhau am 100 mlynedd. Mae'r costiad a gawsom yn seiliedig ar gyfnod o 15 mlynedd. A ydych yn gwbl hapus y bydd yr adeilad yn parhau am 100 mlynedd, a bod y costau yn adlewyrchu hynny?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Credaf fod hwn yn fater technegol ynglŷn â sut yr ydych yn gwneud y cyfrifiadau fel y gallwch ffurfio barn heddiw ynglŷn â chostau. Dyna pam y cawsom y cyngor mai 15 mlynedd oedd y cyfnod gweddus i'w ddefnyddio ar gyfer y gost net bresennol. Nid wyf yn siŵr beth fyddai effaith defnyddio cyfnod arall ar y ffigurau. A yw Dafydd yn anghytuno â'r hyn a ddywedaf, sef ein bod yn penderfynu ar batrwm o lywodraethu Cymru ble y mae'r gwasanaeth sifil mewn un rhan o'r ddinas, yn y ganolfan ddinesig, a ninnau yn y bae mewn ail ganolfan ddinesig â dwy filltir rhyngom? Byddem yn cadarnhau ac yn gosod y patrwm hwnnw am y 100 mlynedd nesaf. Nid wyf yn gweld unrhyw siawns o symud y gwasasnaeth sifil o Barc Cathays i'r bae nac ychwaith, pe byddem yn codi'r adeilad newydd, o symud yr adeilad eto i Barc Cathays. Byddem yn gosod y patrwm o bellter o ddwy filltir rhwng y gwasanaeth sifil a'r ochr ddemocrataidd o'n system o lywodraethu Cymru.

**William Graham:** We have talked much about cost. I refer you to a current publication, although it is obviously completely out of date, by the Richard Rogers Partnership that states clearly and emphatically that the cost of the building will be £8.25 million plus VAT. That is £9.69 million, costed at £2,750 per square metre. What confidence can you have in your advisers that we will get anything like value for money on the figures that we have already seen?

**The First Secretary:** I am not sure what a current publication that is out of date is. It seems to be an oxymoron to me. Perhaps William should send to me the publication that he describes in two simultaneously contradictory ways.

I am concerned with what factors we should take into account and with whether the functional inefficiency of the separation

constructing a building that should last for 100 years. The costing that we have had is based on a period of 15 years. Are you totally happy that the building will last for 100 years and that the costs reflect that?

**The First Secretary:** I believe that this is a technical matter on how you make the calculations so that you can form an opinion today on costs. That is why we were advised that 15 years was the proper period to use for the present net cost. I am not sure what effect using another period would have on the figures. Does Dafydd disagree with what I am saying, namely that we are deciding on a pattern of governing Wales where the civil service is in one part of the city, in the civic centre, and ourselves in the bay in a second civic centre with two miles between us? We would be confirming and setting that pattern for the next 100 years. I do not see any chance of moving the civil service from Cathays Park to the bay nor, if we constructed the new building, of moving the building again to Cathays Park. We would set the pattern of two miles distance between the civil service and the democratic side of our system of governing Wales.

**William Graham:** Yr ydym wedi sôn yn helaeth am gost. Fe'ch cyfeiraf at gyhoeddiad cyfredol, er ei bod yn amlwg ei fod wedi dyddio, gan Bartneriaeth Richard Rogers sydd yn datgan yn glir ac yn bendant mai cost yr adeilad fydd £8.25 miliwn ynghyd â TAW. Mae hynny'n £9.69 miliwn, wedi ei brisio ar £2,750 y medr sgwâr. Pa mor fyddiog y gallwch fod yn eich ymgynghorwyr y byddwn yn cael rhywbeth sydd yn debyg i werth am arian ar sail y ffigurau a welsom eisoes?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid wyf yn sicr beth yw cyhoeddiad cyfredol sydd wedi dyddio. Ymddengys i mi ei fod yn wrtheiriad. Efallai y dylai William anfon ataf y cyhoeddiad a ddisgrifia mewn dwy ffordd sydd yn gwrthdweud ei gilydd yr un pryd.

Yr wyf yn bryderus ynghylch pa ffactorau y dylem eu cymryd i ystyriaeth ac ynghylch a oedd aneffeithlonrwydd gweithrediadol y

between the bay and Cathays Park and between the civil service and the democratic side of government in Wales was adequately considered in the original decision. Should we now make up for any inadequacy in the consideration of that decision? I would not place it higher than that at this stage. My approximate understanding is that, although the cost of the bus service which transports civil servants back and forth to Cardiff Bay was included, the functional inefficiency of having the civil service in one place and ourselves in another was not included in the original cost comparisons. I want to be certain about that before we set this decision in concrete. That is what we would effectively do, literally and metaphorically, for the next 100 years.

**Alun Cairns:** From what you imply, it seems that you personally prefer the choice of Cathays Park and City Hall as a location for the Assembly.

**The First Secretary:** You are getting well ahead of yourself, Alun. I am making no such comment. I am asking whether there are factors that we should now consider that do not appear to have been considered previously, as far as I can tell at this stage. I am not certain about that, but the initial advice that I was given was that only the cost of the bus service was considered and not the time wastage for civil servants as they travelled back and forth from here to Cathays Park. Many civil servants wait up to 30 minutes for a bus. If you add up the time wasted by each civil servant, it makes you wonder how much that costs in functional inefficiency in the way that we run Wales. Perhaps, even after taking that into account, we will still believe that the new Assembly building project is the right project. However, we must be conscious of the time wastage and build it into the figures because it does not appear to have been built into the figures initially, unlike the cost of the bus service.

4:08 p.m.

We are committed to sustainable Yr ydym wedi ymrwymo i ddatblygu

gwahaniad rhwng y bae a Pharc Cathays a rhwng y gwasanaeth sifil ac ochr ddemocrataidd llywodraeth yng Nghymru wedi ei ystyried yn ddigonol yn y penderfyniad gwreiddiol. A ddylem yn awr wneud iawn am unrhyw annigonolrwydd yn yr ystyriaeth o'r penderfyniad hwnnw? Ni roddwn ef yn gryfach na hynny ar hyn o bryd. Yr hyn a ddeallaf yn fras yw, er bod cost y gwasanaeth bws sydd yn cludo gweision sifil yn ôl ac ymlaen i Fae Caerdydd wedi ei chynnwys, nad oedd yr aneffeithlonrwydd gweithrediadol o gael y gwasanaeth sifil mewn un man a ninnau mewn man arall wedi ei gynnwys yn y cymariaethau costau gwreiddiol. Yr wyf am fod yn sicr ynghylch hynny cyn inni osod y penderfyniad hwn mewn concred. Dyna a wnaem i bob pwrpas, yn llythrennol ac yn drosiadol, am y 100 mlynedd nesaf.

**Alun Cairns:** O'r hyn a awgrymwch, ymddengys mai'r dewis sydd orau gennyh yn bersonol fel lleoliad i'r Cynulliad yw Parc Cathays a Neuadd y Ddinas.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr ydych yn neidio i gasgliad, Alun. Nid wyf yn gwneud sylw o'r fath. Yr wyf yn gofyn a oes ffactorau y dylem eu hystyried yn awr yr ymddengys eu bod heb eu hystyried o'r blaen, hyd y gallaf weld ar hyn o bryd. Nid wyf yn sicr am hynny, ond y cyngor cyntaf a roddwyd i mi oedd mai ond cost y gwasanaeth bws a ystyriwyd ac nid y gwastraff amser i weision sifil wrth iddynt deithio'n ôl ac ymlaen oddi yma i Barc Cathays. Mae llawer o weision sifil yn aros hyd at 30 munud am fws. Os ychwanegwch yr amser a wastreffir gan bob gwas sifil, mae'n peri ichi feddwl tybed faint y mae hynny'n ei gostio o ran aneffeithlonrwydd gweithrediadol yn y modd yr ydym yn rhedeg Cymru. Efallai, hyd yn oed ar ôl cymryd hynny i ystyriaeth, y byddwn yn dal i gredu mai prosiect adeilad newydd y Cynulliad yw'r prosiect iawn. Fodd bynnag, rhaid inni fod yn ymwybodol o'r gwastraff amser a'i gynnwys yn y ffigurau oherwydd nid ymddengys ei fod wedi ei gynnwys yn y ffigurau'n wreiddiol, yn wahanol i gost y gwasanaeth bws.

development, which is why we discourage civil servants from using their cars to come here. However, is there an alternative that would fit in better with our sustainable development, overarching obligation as an Assembly? I am not sure of the answer at this stage, which is why I want to ensure that that is considered adequately before I return with a definite recommendation to be presented before the Assembly.

**David Davies:** I congratulate the First Secretary for making valid points on time management, but does he not share my surprise and concern that these figures were not taken into account and does he not wonder whether or not other issues have been taken into account, which could make the cost even higher than we had anticipated?

**The First Secretary:** David is well ahead of himself with that point. I am not absolutely certain that the issue of time wastage was not taken into account but I have received official advice that it was not. I will ensure that these things are fully nailed down by the time I return after Easter, when, perhaps, we can have a further discussion on this matter.

**Ron Davies:** I assure Members who are interested in these matters that the most careful consideration was given to all the operational difficulties that could arise from the decision to come to the bay. It would have been a foolish decision to make without accounting for the movement of civil servants between Cathays Park and the bay. Those matters were considered carefully although it is true that, when I made the initial decision, I did not requisition a financial analysis of the cost involved because that analysis depends entirely on the parameters that you set when you ask for that information. In order to ensure the fullest possible debate, as I am sure Rhodri wants, perhaps he could tell us what the parameters of those further figures that he has requested are and what assumptions have been made about the number of civil servants who travel, the frequency of travel and so on?

**The First Secretary:** I am glad that Ron has confirmed the version of events that I was given by officials. It is always difficult to

cynaliadwy, sef y rheswm pam yr ydym yn annog gweision sifil i beidio â defnyddio eu ceir i ddod yma. Fodd bynnag, a oes dewis arall a fyddai'n fwy cydnaws â'n rhwymedigaeth gyffredinol fel Cynulliad i ddatblygu cynaliadwy? Nid wyf yn sicr o'r ateb ar hyn o bryd, a dyna pam yr wyf am sicrhau y rhoddir ystyriaeth ddigonol i hynny cyn imi ddod yn ôl ag argymhelliad pendant i'w gyflwyno gerbron y Cynulliad.

**David Davies:** Llongyfarchaf y Prif Ysgrifennydd ar wneud pwyntiau dilys ar reoli amser, ond onid yw'n rhannu fy syndod a'm pryder nad oedd y ffigurau hyn wedi eu cymryd i ystyriaeth ac onid yw'n meddwl tybed a yw materion eraill wedi eu cymryd i ystyriaeth neu beidio, a allai godi'r gost yn uwch hyd yn oed na'r hyn a ragwelsom?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae David yn neidio i gasgliad gyda'r pwynt hwnnw. Nid wyf yn gwbl sicr nad oedd mater gwastraff amser wedi ei gymryd i ystyriaeth ond cefais fy hysbysu'n swyddogol nad oedd. Byddaf yn sicrhau y caiff yr holl bethau hyn eu hoelio i'w lle erbyn imi ddychwelyd ar ôl y Pasg, pan allwn, efallai, gael trafodaeth bellach ar y mater hwn.

**Ron Davies:** Sicrhaf yr Aelodau sydd yn ymddiddori yn y materion hyn bod ystyriaeth ofalus iawn wedi ei rhoi i'r holl drafferthion gweithrediadol a allai godi o'r penderfyniad i ddod i'r bae. Penderfyniad ffôl fyddai un nad oedd yn rhoi cyfrif am symudiad gweision sifil rhwng Parc Cathays a'r bae. Ystyriwyd y materion hynny'n ofalus er mai gwir yw dweud, pan wneuthum y penderfyniad dechreuol, nad oeddwn wedi gofyn am ddadansoddiad ariannol o'r gost dan sylw am fod y dadansoddiad hwnnw'n dibynnu'n gyfan gwbl ar y paramedrau a osodwch pan ofynnwch am yr wybodaeth honno. Er mwyn sicrhau'r ddadl lawnaf bosibl, sef yr hyn y mae Rhodri am ei gael yr wyf yn siŵr, efallai y gallai ddweud wrthym beth yw paramedrau'r ffigurau pellach hynny y gofynnodd amdanynt a pha ragdybiaethau a wnaethpwyd am nifer y gweision sifil sydd yn teithio, amllder y teithio ac yn y blaen?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr wyf yn falch bod Ron wedi cadarnhau'r fersiwn o'r digwyddiadau a roddwyd i mi gan y

refer to a matter relating to a previous administration. It is my understanding that the gross cost of the bus service was included but that no attempt was made to measure lost time. Ron Davies has now confirmed that. A measure that tries to quantify that could be attempted now that we have nine months' experience of the two-mile separation.

That leads to a further interesting point relating to a phrase that I have used before: project creep. We have not had project creep with the cost of the new building, in spite of what William Graham said. The architects would maintain that apart from normal building cost inflation, the inclusion of VAT in the publicly given figures at a later stage and the addition of 15 per cent—as distinct from 5 per cent—contingency allowance, the building project has not suffered from project creep unlike other major building projects.

There has been a major change in the definition of the project's requirements. Initially, we needed 72,000 square feet of space, which easily fitted into half of this building temporarily, which is 125,000 square feet net and 150,000 square feet gross. However, now Crickhowell House is not big enough because of project creep. The instability in the relationship between Cathays Park and Crickhowell House has meant that more and more civil servants have been brought to Crickhowell House. For example, the Correspondence Unit, which supports Cabinet Ministers in replying to letters from the public or AMs. Therefore, instead of a 72,000 square feet requirement, the project has been redefined to require around 150,000 square feet or more on a net basis. If we had approved and continued with the new building when it was only 72,000 square feet—which is as per the figures in the information that was circulated to Members earlier today—would we have finished up with a building that was wrong?

We now appear to need 150,000 square feet of net space, that is, we could say the whole

swyddogion. Mae bob amser yn anodd cyfeirio at fater sydd yn ymwneud â gweinyddiaeth flaenorol. Yr hyn a ddeallaf fi yw bod cost grynswth y gwasanaeth bws wedi ei chynnwys ond na cheisiwyd mesur yr amser a gollir. Mae Ron Davies wedi cadarnhau hynny'n awr. Gellid rhoi cynnig ar fesurydd sydd yn ceisio meintoli a ninnau â naw mis o brofiad o'r gwahaniad o ddwy filltir.

Mae hynny'n arwain at bwynt diddorol pellach sydd yn ymwneud ag ymadrodd a ddefnyddiais o'r blaen: ymgripiad prosiect. Ni chawsom ymripiad prosiect gyda chost yr adeilad newydd, er gwaethaf yr hyn a ddywedodd William Graham. Byddai'r penseiri'n dadlau nad yw prosiect yr adeilad wedi dioddef gan ymgripiad prosiect, yn wahanol i brosiectau adeiladu mawr eraill, heblaw am y chwyddiant arferol yng nghost adeiladu, cynnwys TAW yn y ffigurau a roddwyd i'r cyhoedd yn ddiweddarach ac ychwanegu lwfans wrth gefn o 15 y cant—yn hytrach na 5 y cant.

Bu newid mawr yn y diffiniad o anghenion y prosiect. I ddechrau, yr oedd arnom angen 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr o le, a oedd yn ffitio'n rhwydd i hanner yr adeilad hwn dros dro, sydd yn 125,000 troedfedd sgwâr yn glir ac yn 150,000 troedfedd sgwâr yn ei grynswth. Fodd bynnag, bellach nid yw Tŷ Crycywel yn ddigon mawr oherwydd ymgripiad prosiect. Mae'r ansefydlogrwydd yn y berthynas rhwng Parc Cathays a Thŷ Crycywel yn golygu bod mwy a mwy o weision sifil wedi eu dwyn i Dŷ Crycywel. Er enghraifft, mae'r Uned Ohebu, sydd yn cynorthwyo Gweinidogion y Cabinet wrth ateb llythyrau oddi wrth y cyhoedd neu Aelodau Cynulliad. Felly, yn lle angen am 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr, ailddiffiniwyd y prosiect fel ei fod yn gofyn tua 150,000 troedfedd sgwâr neu fwy yn glir. Pe baem wedi cymeradwyo a mynd ymlaen â'r adeilad newydd pan nad oedd ond yn 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr—sef yr hyn a oedd yn y ffigurau yn yr wybodaeth a ddosbarthwyd i'r Aelodau'n gynharach heddiw—a fyddai gennym adeilad yn y diwedd oedd yn anghywir?

Ymddengys yn awr fod arnom angen 150,000 troedfedd sgwâr o le'n glir, hynny yw, gallem



of Crickhowell House instead of half of it. We need the new building because otherwise civil servants will have to be brought here to work permanently in larger numbers than before as well as making the two-mile journey from Cathays Park. We did not know that you cannot stabilise the number of staff in Cathays Park as we always need more civil servants in the bay than we had thought to support us because of the two-mile distance from Cathays Park. At what point can we be sure that we will have stable numbers? That has not been our experience in the first year.

**Ron Davies:** I am sure that you have inadvertently moved off the point that I raised. You indicated earlier that the review would be completed before Easter. In order to have a full public discussion on these matters and to ensure that there is no uncertainty about the figures, will you give an undertaking to publish the assumptions on which this further work is being carried out?

**The First Secretary:** You may be reading too much into the question of assumptions as though they will be bent to bias the conclusion—there is no such intention. I merely want to cover omissions and I think that you accept that no attempt was made to quantify these costs before. When figures become available, and unless they are commercially confidential, I will ensure that they are placed on the internet and intranet so that Members can see them. I have not indicated that this review will be completed by Easter, but I will study the figures over the Easter recess after which I would like to have a debate, the timing of which would be subject to the Llywydd, Members and the Business Committee. The outcome of that debate may lead to a conclusion. It is not fair to say that I will definitely reach a conclusion and approve the next stage of the new building project after that debate in early May, but I want a debate as soon as the figures are available and as soon as I have had an opportunity to digest them over the recess.

**Jocelyn Davies:** I use the bus service regularly when I travel to Cathays or the train station, as do Ieuan Wyn Jones, Cynog Dafis

ddweud y cyfan o Dŷ Crycywel yn lle ei hanner. Mae arnom angen yr adeilad newydd oherwydd fel arall bydd yn rhaid dod â gweision sifil yma i weithio'n barhaol, yn fwy o ran eu nifer nag o'r blaen yn ogystal â chyflawni'r daith o ddwy filltir o Barc Cathays. Ni wyddem na fyddai modd sefydlogi nifer y staff ym Mharc Cathays gan fod arnom angen mwy o weision sifil o hyd yn y bae na'r nifer y credem y byddai arnom eu hangen i'n cynorthwyo oherwydd y pellter o ddwy filltir o Barc Cathays. Ar ba bwynt y gallwn fod yn sicr bod gennym niferoedd sefydlog? Nid hynny oedd ein profiad yn y flwyddyn gyntaf.

**Ron Davies:** Yr wyf yn siŵr mai drwy amryfusedd yr aethoch oddi wrth y pwynt a godais. Nodasoch yn gynharach y byddai'r adolygiad wedi ei gwblhau cyn y Pasg. Er mwyn cael trafodaeth gyhoeddus lawn ar y materion hyn a sicrhau nad oes ansicrwydd ynghylch y ffigurau, a fyddwch cystal ag ymgymryd i gyhoeddi'r rhagdybiaethau sydd yn sail i'r gwaith pellach a gyflawnir?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Efallai'ch bod yn gweld rhywbeth nad yw yno yn y cwestiwn o ragdybiaethau fel petai bwriad iddynt gael eu hystumio i greu gogwydd yn y casgliad—nid oes bwriad o'r fath. Nid wyf ond am gynnwys pethau a adawyd allan a chredaf eich bod yn derbyn na fu ymdrech i fesur y costau hyn o'r blaen. Pan fydd ffigurau ar gael, ac oni bai eu bod yn fasnachol gyfrinachol, byddaf yn sicrhau eu bod yn cael eu gosod ar y rhyngwrwyd a'r fewnrwyd fel y gall yr Aelodau eu gweld. Ni ddywedais y bydd yr adolygiad hwn wedi ei gwblhau erbyn y Pasg, ond byddaf yn astudio'r ffigurau dros doriad y Pasg ac ar ôl hynny hoffwn gael dadl ar adeg a gâi ei phenderfynu gan y Llywydd, yr Aelodau a'r Pwyllgor Busnes. Gallai canlyniad y ddadl honno arwain at benderfyniad. Nid yw'n deg dweud y byddaf yn sicr o ddod i benderfyniad a chymeradwyo cam nesaf prosiect yr adeilad newydd ar ôl y ddadl honno yn gynnwys ym Mai, ond yr wyf am gael dadl cyn gynted ag y bydd y ffigurau ar gael a chyn gynted ag y caf gyfle i'w hystyried dros y toriad.

**Jocelyn Davies:** Defnyddiaf y gwasanaeth bws yn rheolaidd pan deithiaf i Cathays neu'r orsaf drenau, fel y gwna Ieuan Wyn Jones,

and other Members. If I were not using that bus, I would probably take a taxi. Do your calculations account for the use of the bus by Members because I assume that Cabinet members always use the bus if they want to travel to Cathays. The bus is efficient, always on time and nobody has to wait 30 minutes for it because it leaves every 20 minutes no matter what. I have seen staff members reading as they wait and during the journey. That is not wasted, dead time as you indicate; it is time when people work and I hope that your calculations take that into consideration.

**The First Secretary:** I am sure that it will all be taken into consideration. Jocelyn like any other politician should never say 'never'. I had a discussion around four months ago with a senior member of the civil service who had been waiting for the bus for 40 minutes and was ready to give up. He was going to call a taxi because he did not know where the bus was and why he had been waiting. He had not been working for the previous 40 minutes and was in despair. I do not know how often that happens but Jocelyn should never say 'never' because no politician should do that. I agree that any adventitious use of the service to get to the station by Members is a bonus which must be taken into account in any attempt at quantifying the problem that arises because of the two mile distance.

4:18 p.m.

**Jenny Randerson:** In reconsidering the figures that you hope will be ready in the near future, have you contacted Cardiff City and County Council to ask what the price of City Hall is now? I fear that in the intervening two years, the price may have changed. Can we reconsider the figures without going back to Cardiff council to see how much it is asking for the building?

**The First Secretary:** If the Assembly wants me to do that, I will. I have not done that so far.

**Ron Davies:** I do not advise Rhodri to go

Cynog Dafis ac Aelodau eraill. Pe na ddefnyddiwn y bws, mae'n debyg yr awn mewn tacsï. A yw'ch cyfrifiadau'n rhoi ystyriaeth i'r defnydd o'r bws gan Aelodau oherwydd tybiaf fod aelodau'r Cabinet yn defnyddio'r bws bob amser os dymunant deithio i Cathays. Mae'r bws yn effeithlon, yn brydlon bob amser ac nid oes neb yn gorfod disgwyl 30 munud amdano oherwydd mae'n gadael bob 20 munud ni waeth beth. Gwelais aelodau o'r staff yn darllen wrth ei ddisgwyl ac yn ystod y daith. Nid amser gwastraff, marw yw hyn fel y dywedwch; mae'n adeg pan yw pobl yn gweithio a gobeithiaf fod eich cyfrifiadau'n rhoi ystyriaeth i hynny.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr wyf yn sicr y bydd y cwbl o hynny'n cael ei ystyried. Ni ddylai Jocelyn na'r un gwleidydd arall byth ddweud 'byth'. Cefais drafodaeth tua phedwar mis yn ôl ag uwch aelod o'r gwasanaeth sifil a fu'n disgwyl y bws ers 40 munud ac a oedd yn barod i roi'r gorau iddi. Yr oedd yn mynd i alw tacsï oherwydd ni wyddai ym mhle'r oedd y bws a pham y bu'n aros. Ni fu'n gweithio am y 40 munud cyn hynny ac yr oedd yn anobeithio. Ni wn pa mor aml y digwydd hynny ond ni ddylai Jocelyn byth ddweud 'byth' oherwydd ni ddylai'r un gwleidydd wneud hynny. Cytunaf fod unrhyw ddefnydd o'r gwasanaeth ar siawns gan yr Aelodau i gyrraedd yr orsaf yn fonws y mae'n rhaid ei gymryd i ystyriaeth mewn unrhyw ymgais i feintoli'r broblem sydd yn codi oherwydd y pellter o ddwy filltir.

**Jenny Randerson:** Wrth ailystyried y ffigurau y gobeithiwch y byddant yn barod yn y dyfodol agos, a ydych wedi cysylltu â Chyngor Dinas a Sir Caerdydd i holi beth yw pris Neuadd y Dref yn awr? Ofnaf y gallai'r pris fod wedi newid yn y ddwy flynedd a aeth heibio yn y cyfamser. A oes modd inni ailystyried y ffigurau heb fynd yn ôl at gyngor Caerdydd i weld beth yw'r pris a ofynnir am yr adeilad?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Os dymuna'r Cynulliad imi wneud hynny, fe'i gwnaf. Ni wneuthum hynny hyd yma.

**Ron Davies:** Ni chynghoraf Rhodri i ddilyn y

down that road. I am not sure whether Russell Goodway would be minded at this moment to be generous to him in his negotiations. I ask the question for the third time: will you publish the assumptions on which this further work is being carried out?

**The First Secretary:** The answer is so obviously yes that I forgot to give it. You seem to think that I am trying to hide something. There is no motive or intention on my part to hide anything. I am not sure why you are so suspicious.

We have an overriding and overarching obligation to sustainable development, for which Cynog Dafis and Ron Davies were primarily responsible. Therefore, the issue of the distance between the two sites of the new Welsh democracy should undoubtedly be taken into account. If there is an alternative—I do not know whether there is—which is more in line with sustainable development, we would have to examine it. I am sure that Cynog and Ron would agree with that if it were in line with our overarching obligations.

Consider how the public views this situation. It sees Cardiff council's two major public buildings in Cardiff Bay and in Cathays Park and the National Assembly for Wales's two public buildings, also in Cardiff Bay and Cathays Park. If the pairing was different it might be possible to walk from one to the other. You cannot walk from the bay to Cathays Park or from Cathays Park to the bay. It would not matter whether we owned Cardiff County Hall and Crickhowell House or whether we owned the other pairing of the two buildings on either side of Cathays Park. Either pairing would involve fewer bus rides and more walking and be more in line with sustainable development. I am sure that Cynog will rise and tell me that he agrees with that proposition in principle.

**Cynog Dafis:** Cysylltiadau electronig yw un o'r allweddau i ddatblygu cynaliadwy. Bydd fideo gynadledda rhwng y bae a Pharc Cathays yn arferol ymhen 10 mlynedd neu hyd yn oed cyn hynny. Awgrymaf fod agweddau eraill ar y mater hwn y dylid eu trafod ar wahân i'r teithio rhwng y bae a Pharc Cathays. Petai'r Cynulliad yn symud i

llwybr hwnnw. Nid wyf yn sicr a fyddai Russell Goodway yn dueddol o fod yn hael wrtho ar hyn o bryd yn ei negodiadau. Gofynnaf y cwestiwn am y trydydd tro: a ydych yn barod i gyhoeddi'r rhagdybiaethau sydd yn sail i'r gwaith pellach a gyflawnir?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae mor amlwg mai ydwyf yw'r ateb fel yr anghofiais ei roi. Ymddengys eich bod yn tybio fy mod yn ceisio celu rhywbeth. Nid oes cymhelliad neu fwriad ar fy rhan i i gelu dim. Nid wyf yn sicr pam yr ydych mor ddrwgdybus.

Mae rhwymedigaeth gyffredinol a holl bwysig arnom i ddatblygu cynaliadwy, yr oedd Cynog Dafis a Ron Davies yn bennaf gyfrifol amdani. Felly, mae'n sicr y dylid cymryd i ystyriaeth y pellter rhwng dau safle'r ddemocratiaeth newydd yng Nghymru. Os oes dewis arall—ni wn a oes un—sydd yn fwy cyson â datblygu cynaliadwy, byddai'n rhaid inni ei archwilio. Yr wyf yn sicr y cytunai Cynog a Ron â hynny os oedd yn unol â'n rhwymedigaethau cyffredinol.

Ystyriwch sut y mae'r cyhoedd yn gweld y sefyllfa hon. Gwêl ddau adeilad cyhoeddus mawr cyngor Caerdydd ym Mae Caerdydd ac ym Mharc Cathays a dau adeilad cyhoeddus Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru, hefyd ym Mae Caerdydd a Pharc Cathays. Pe bai'r paru'n wahanol gallai fod yn bosibl cerdded o un i'r llall. Ni allwch gerdded o'r bae i Barc Cathays neu o Barc Cathays i'r bae. Ni fyddai o bwys a oeddem yn berchen ar Neuadd Sir Caerdydd a Thŷ Crycywel ynteu a oeddem yn berchen ar y pariad arall o'r ddau adeilad ar ddwy ochr Parc Cathays. Byddai'r naill bariad neu'r llall yn golygu llai o deithiau mewn bws a mwy o gerdded ac yn fwy cyson â datblygu cynaliadwy. Yr wyf yn sicr y bydd Cynog yn codi ac yn dweud wrthyf ei fod yn cytuno â'r gosodiad hwnnw mewn egwyddor.

**Cynog Dafis:** Electronic links is one of the keys to sustainable development. Video conferencing between the bay and Cathays Park will be routine in 10 years or even before then. I suggest that there are other aspects of this issue that should be discussed other than travelling between the bay and Cathays Park. If the Assembly moved to

Barc Cathays, oni fyddai hynny'n golygu y byddai'n rhaid i ni deithio'n gyson rhwng y ddau le gan nad oes lle i ni i gyd ym Mharc Cathays?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** O ran y beirianneg electronig ddiweddaraf, dywedir o hyd bod ateb ar ei ffordd neu eisoes ar gael i oresgyn problem pellter. Nid wyf yn siŵr a yw hynny'n hollol ymarferol, ond dywed Cynog ac arbenigwyr eraill yn y maes hwn o hyd bod rhyw beiriant ar gael neu ar fin ymddangos a fydd yn datrys problem pellter. Nid ydym wedi cyrraedd y cyfnod hwnnw hyd yn hyn. Mae hynny'n rhan o'r ystyriaeth. Mae rhai yn meddwl y gall technoleg newydd ddistrywio'r cysyniad o bellter ac y gallem weithio cystal o gartref ag y gwnawn pan yr ydym i gyd gyda'n gilydd yma a bod fideo gynadledda cystal â bod wyneb yn wyneb â'n gilydd. Nid wyf yn siŵr fod y cyfnod hwnnw wedi dod eto. Efallai y daw ymhenn chwarter neu hanner canrif. Efallai bod Cynog yn meddwl ei fod ar fin dod y flwyddyn nesaf. Mae'n gwestiwn i'w drafod.

**Michael German:** On the first floor of this building we have a video conferencing suite and on the first floor of the Welsh Office building in Cathays Park there is a video conferencing suite. It is simple to communicate. Audio conferencing is simple. There are many opportunities we could use.

Secondly, is it not the case that the problem with City Hall, from Cardiff council's point of view, is that it contains many wide, large and open public rooms, which is why the council wanted to keep it? The council knew that it would benefit from having open space for the public, public rooms and public buildings. That facility is not available here and the council would not have that facility if there were an exchange of our cells with those of City Hall. Is City Hall appropriate without undertaking major reconstruction work, considering the size of its rooms at present?

**The First Secretary:** I am not arguing for a move to City Hall. I am saying that in any corporate body such as ours, which has an overarching obligation to sustainable

Cathays Park, would that not mean that we would have to travel regularly between the two places as there is no room for all of us in Cathays Park?

**The First Secretary:** As for the latest electronic links, it is always said that an answer is on its way or is already available to overcome the distance problem. I am not sure whether that is entirely practical but Cynog and other experts in this field always say that a machine is available or about to appear that will solve the distance problem. We have not yet reached that time. That is part of the consideration. Some think that new technology can destroy the concept of distance and that we could work just as well from home as we do when we are all together here and that video conferencing is just as good as being face to face. I am not sure whether that time has come yet. Perhaps it will come within a quarter or half a century. Perhaps Cynog believes that it will be upon us next year. It is a question for discussion.

**Michael German:** Ar lawr cyntaf yr adeilad hwn mae gennym ystafelloedd cynadledda fideo ac ar lawr cyntaf adeilad y Swyddfa Gymreig ym Mharc Cathays mae ystafelloedd cynadledda fideo. Mae cyfathrebu'n syml. Mae cynadledda clywedol yn syml. Mae llawer o gyfleoedd y gallem eu defnyddio.

Yn ail, onid yw'n wir mai'r broblem ynglŷn â Neuadd y Ddinas, o safbwynt cyngor Caerdydd, yw ei bod yn cynnwys llawer o ystafelloedd cyhoeddus mawr, eang ac agored, ac mai dyna pam y dymunai'r cyngor ei chadw? Gwyddai'r cyngor y byddai'n elwa o gael man agored i'r cyhoedd, ystafelloedd cyhoeddus ac adeiladau cyhoeddus. Nid yw'r cyfleuster hwnnw ar gael yma ac ni fyddai'r cyfleuster hwnnw gan y cyngor pe bai ein celloedd yn cael eu cyfnewid â rhai Neuadd y Ddinas. A yw Neuadd y Ddinas yn addas heb gyflawni gwaith ailadeiladu helaeth, o ystyried maint ei hystafelloedd ar hyn o bryd?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Nid wyf yn dadlau dros symud i Neuadd y Ddinas. Yr hyn a ddywedaf yw ei fod yn beth hynod, mewn unrhyw gorff corfforaethol fel ein hun ni,

development, it is a curiosity that both Cardiff council and ourselves have this pairing of buildings. Both institutions have one building in the Park and one in the bay instead of two buildings in the Park that belong to one body and another two in the bay that belong to the other body. There would be a reduction in transportation requirements if the pairing was the opposite way around, because both public bodies now have a two-mile journey between their two respective headquarters. That is my point. The public will want to know the answer to that. How was that argument disposed of in the assessment? How was it resolved relative to the overarching commitment to sustainable development? You are committing yourself to a system of government that sets in concrete this pattern of locations of the bay and the Park, and the two-mile gap between the civil service and the administration for the next 100 years. That is what I want to see in the assessment and I hope to assess that when I have seen all the figures over Easter. The matter will come back to the Assembly as soon as possible after May.

**Nick Bourne:** Regardless of which side of the argument we are on—and I think the whole project should be cancelled—the whole Assembly looks to you for a lead. I have listened with an increasing sense of unreality as we have debated matters that must have been known previously. All of these issues were previously known to the former First Secretary. Unless you have new information to show us, I do not understand why we are re-opening it at this stage, other than to lead to cancellation. You sound increasingly like an estate agent, showing us around City Hall and saying, would not this do nicely? The cost of City Hall is obviously beyond anything that is in the budget at the moment. Is it not more sensible, and you are being given credit for this, to cancel this project and concentrate on things that really matter, rather than returning to this issue yet again after Easter? What is the reason for this? Let us cancel it and get on with some real business in the Assembly.

**The First Secretary:** I have been accused of being many things in my time but never of

sydd â rhwymedigaeth gyffredinol i ddatblygu cynaliadwy, fod y pariadau o adeiladau hyn gan gyngor Caerdydd a gennym ni. Mae gan y ddau sefydliad un adeilad yn y Parc ac un yn y bae yn lle dau adeilad yn y Parc sydd yn eiddo i un corff a dau arall yn y bae sydd yn eiddo i'r corff arall. Byddai gostyngiad yn y gofynion cludiant pe bai'r paru fel arall, oherwydd mae gan y ddau gorff cyhoeddus daith o ddwy filltir yn awr rhwng eu dau briod bencadlys. Dyna fy mhwynt. Bydd y cyhoedd am wybod yr ateb i hynny. Ym mha fodd y datryswyd y ddadl honno yn yr asesiad? Ym mha fodd y'i datryswyd mewn perthynas â'r ymrwymiad cyffredinol i ddatblygu cynaliadwy? Yr ydych yn ymrwymo eich hun i system llywodraeth sydd yn gosod mewn concred y patrwm hwn o leoliadau yn y bae a'r Parc, a'r bwlch o ddwy filltir rhwng y gwasanaeth sifil a'r weinyddiaeth am y 100 mlynedd nesaf. Dyna'r hyn y dymunaf ei weld yn yr asesiad a gobeithiaf asesu hynny ar ôl imi weld yr holl ffigurau dros y Pasg. Bydd y mater yn dod yn ôl i'r Cynulliad gynted ag y bo modd ar ôl Mai.

**Nick Bourne:** Ni waeth ar ba ochr o'r ddadl yr ydych—a chredaf y dylai'r holl brosiect gael ei ddileu—mae'r Cynulliad cyfan yn disgwyl arweiniad gennych chi. Gwrandewais ag ymdeimlad cynyddol o afrealiti wrth inni drafod materion y mae'n rhaid eu bod yn hysbys cynt. Yr oedd yr holl faterion hyn yn wybyddus o'r blaen i'r cyn-Brif Ysgrifennydd. Oni bai fod gennych wybodaeth newydd i'w dangos i ni, ni ddeallaf pam yr ydym yn ailagor y mater hwn ar hyn o bryd, ac eithrio i symud tuag at ei ddiddymu. Yr ydych yn swnio fwyfwy fel gwerthwr tai, yn ein tywys o gwmpas Neuadd y Ddinas ac yn dweud, oni wna hyn y tro yn iawn? Mae'n amlwg bod cost Neuadd y Ddinas y tu hwnt i ddim sydd yn y gyllideb ar hyn o bryd. Onid yw'n fwy synhwyrol, a rhoddir clod i chi am hyn, ddiddymu'r prosiect hwn a chanolbwyntio ar bethau sydd o bwys gwirioneddol, yn hytrach na dod yn ôl at y mater hwn eto ar ôl y Pasg? Beth yw'r rheswm am hyn? Gadewch inni ei ddiddymu a bwrw ymlaen â busnes gwirioneddol yn y Cynulliad.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Fe'm cyhuddwyd o fod yn llawer o bethau yn fy amser ond nid

being an estate agent. If you had listened to my explanation, you would know that I did not feel ready to commit myself to the next £1 million of expenditure on scheme design, which would have taken place between May and August, to be followed by detailed design in August. As First Secretary—and I took advice from other members of the Policy Steering Group—I had to authorise spending £1 million. I was not ready to authorise that expenditure. Nick Bourne and his colleagues want to make something more of that than it is and I understand their political motives for doing so. They do not want to see a permanent home for the Assembly because they are worried about the entrenchment of the Assembly. They know that this was only ever assumed to be a temporary home. He may say that things work here. However, he must recognise that this Chamber is inadequate. He and his party have their own views on that, which are not widely shared. They are viscerally against any expenditure that may be associated with the Assembly and might lead to the entrenchment of the Assembly. That is his point of view and I understand that. However, he must not try to recruit me because of my decision not to authorise a further £1 million on scheme design. I have an entirely different agenda to that of his party.

**Janet Davies:** You will be aware of the recent work that the National Audit Office has done on this. Are you taking that work into consideration today, or is that under consideration for May?

**The First Secretary:** The work of the NAO is important to this exercise. It was raised for a different reason by an MP from another part of Wales who was upset about the decision to locate the Assembly in Cardiff. Nevertheless, it is useful that the public sector accountants of the NAO are going through the decision-making procedure. It is a retrospective decision because auditors work retrospectively. On the other hand, we can piggy-back on the back of the facts that they are amassing and the figures that they are testing when Edwina and her team look at the issue from the point of view of relevance to our decision today. Auditors do not look forward; they look back. They are the people who go out on the battlefield and bayonet the

erioed o fod yn werthwr tai. Pe baech wedi gwranddo ar fy eglurhad, gwyddech nad oeddwn yn teimlo'n barod i ymrwymo i'r £1 miliwn nesaf o wariant ar ddylunio'r cynllun, a fyddai wedi digwydd rhwng Mai ac Awst, a'i ddilyn â dyluniad manwl yn Awst. Fel y Prif Ysgrifennydd—a chymerais gyngor gan aelodau eraill o'r Grŵp Llywio Polisi—yr oedd yn rhaid imi awdurdodi gwario £1 miliwn. Nid oeddwn yn barod i awdurdodi'r gwariant hwnnw. Mae Nick Bourne a'i gyd-aelodau am wneud mwy o hynny nag ydyw a deallaf eu cymhellion gwleidyddol dros wneud hynny. Ni ddymunant weld cartref parhaol i'r Cynulliad am eu bod yn poeni ynghylch ymsefydlu'r Cynulliad. Gwyddant mai ond fel cartref dros dro yr ystyriwyd y lle hwn erioed. Efallai y bydd yn dweud bod pethau'n gweithio yma. Fodd bynnag, rhaid iddo gydnabod bod y Siambr hon yn annigonol. Mae ganddo ef a'i blaid eu barn eu hunain ar hynny, nad oes llawer yn ei rhannu. Maent yn llwyr yn erbyn unrhyw wariant a allai fod yn gysylltiedg â'r Cynulliad ac a allai arwain at ymsefydlu'r Cynulliad. Dyna ei safbwynt ef a deallaf hynny. Fodd bynnag, rhaid iddo beidio â cheiso fy recriwtio i oherwydd fy mhenderfyniad i beidio ag awdurdodi £1 miliwn pellach ar ddylunio'r cynllun. Mae gennyf agenda gwbl wahanol i un ei blaid ef.

**Janet Davies:** Byddwch yn ymwybodol o'r gwaith diweddar a wnaeth y Swyddfa Archwilio Genedlaethol ar hyn. A ydych yn cymryd y gwaith hwnnw i ystyriaeth heddiw, ynteu a yw hynny i'w ystyried ym Mai?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae gwaith y Swyddfa Archwilio Genedlaethol yn bwysig i'r ymarferiad hwn. Cafodd ei godi am wahanol reswm gan AS o ran arall o Gymru a oedd wedi digio oherwydd y penderfyniad i leoli'r Cynulliad yng Nghaerdydd. Er hynny, mae'n ddefnyddiol bod cyfrifyddion sector cyhoeddus y Swyddfa Archwilio Genedlaethol yn mynd drwy'r weithdrefn penderfynu. Mae'n benderfyniad ôl-weithredol oherwydd mae cyfrifyddion yn gweithio'n ôl-weithredol. Ar y llaw arall, gallwn ninnau ddefnyddio'r ffeithiau a gronnant a'r ffigurau a brofant pan fydd Edwina a'i thîm yn edrych ar y mater o safbwynt ei gysylltiad â'n penderfyniad heddiw. Nid yw archwilwyr yn edrych

wounded, with particular preference for wounded prisoners from their own side. That is what auditors are like. I do not know how they compare with estate agents in the public esteem. Janet will have the benefit as Chair of the Audit Committee of looking retrospectively at this. We will use all the figures that the NAO accumulate and adapt them to advise the Assembly and myself on whether the appropriate course of action is to proceed.

ymlaen; edrychant yn ôl. Maent yn bobl sydd yn mynd allan i faes y frwydr ac yn bidogi'r clwyfedigion, gan ffafrio'n arbennig y carcharorion clwyfedig o'u hochr eu hunain. Rhai felly yw archwilwyr. Ni wn pa feddwl sydd gan y cyhoedd ohonynt mewn cymhariaeth â gwerthwyr tai. Bydd y fantais gan Janet fel Cadeirydd y Pwyllgor Archwilio o edrych yn ôl-weithredol ar hyn. Byddwn yn defnyddio'r holl ffigurau a gronnir gan y Swyddfa Archwilio Genedlaethol ac yn eu haddasu i gynghori'r Cynulliad a minnau ynghylch y cwrs gweithredu priodol.

4:28 p.m.

**Rhodri Glyn Thomas:** Yn ystod y rhagarweiniad hwn, cyfeiriasoch yn gyson at yr angen i fod yn ddarbodus gydag arian cyhoeddus. Byddem i gyd yn cytuno â hynny. Fodd bynnag, mae'r oedi hwn yn cael ei gyflwyno fel bod yn ddarbodus gydag arian cyhoeddus. Gofynnais gwestiwn yr wythnos diwethaf ynglŷn â faint yn union y bydd yr oedi hwn yn ei gostio? Os yw'r oedi am dri neu chwe mis, beth fydd y gost? Mae Donald Dewar wedi dadlau y byddai unrhyw oedi yn gostfawr i'r senedd-dy yn yr Alban. Yr argraff a roddir yma yw nad yw'r oedi yn costio unrhyw arian o gwbl i'r pwrs cyhoeddus. Hoffwn eglurhâd ar hynny.

**Rhodri Glyn Thomas:** During this introduction you consistently referred to the need to be careful with public money. We would all agree with that. However, this postponement is presented as being careful with public money. In a question last week I asked how much exactly this postponement will cost? If there is to be a three-month or a six-month postponement, what will the cost be? Donald Dewar has argued that any postponement would be expensive for the parliament building in Scotland. The impression given here is that the postponement is not costing the public purse anything. I would like an explanation on that.

Yr ail gwestiwn a ofynnais yr wythnos diwethaf—ac ni chefais ateb i'r cwestiwn hwnnw ychwaith—oedd pe bai penderfyniad yn cael ei wneud i ganslo'r cytundeb i adeiladu'r adeilad newydd, a fyddai'r Cynulliad yn torri cytundebau sydd eisioes wedi'u harwyddo? Yn ogystal, oni fyddai cost sylweddol yn gysylltiedig ag unrhyw benderfyniad i ganslo? A oes unrhyw ddewis heblaw symud ymlaen gyda'r adeilad newydd?

The second question I asked last week—and I did not receive an answer to that question either—was that if a decision was made to cancel the contract to build the new Assembly building, would the Assembly not be breaking contracts that have already been signed? In addition, would there not be substantial costs associated with any decision to cancel? Is there any choice but to proceed with the new building?

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni ellir cymharu'r pwynt y mae'r Alban wedi'i gyrraedd â'n pwynt ni yng Nghymru. Maent hwy wedi dechrau adeiladu. Mae twll yn y ddaear yng Nghaeredin yn barod. Fe fyddai canslo neu gael gwared ar y prosiect yn gostfawr yng Nghaeredin. Maent wedi cyrraedd safle gwahanol yn yr holl benodau y mae'n rhaid mynd drwyddynt cyn cael adeilad newydd.

**The First Secretary:** You cannot compare the stage that Scotland has reached and our stage in Wales. They have started building. There is a hole in the ground in Edinburgh already. Cancelling or scrapping the project would be expensive in Edinburgh. They have reached a different stage in the chapters that have to be gone through before obtaining a new building. We are in an entirely different

Yr ydym mewn sefyllfa hollol wahanol. Dyna pam yr oeddwn i am oedi yn awr yn hytrach nag ar ôl ymroi i'r £1 miliwn nesaf o arian cyhoeddus. Gofynnwyd i mi ymroi bythefnos yn ôl ond ni fyddwn am oedi ar ôl ymroi i'r £1 miliwn ar gyfer y dylunio cynllun, a fyddai'n digwydd rhwng mis Mawrth a mis Awst.

Bydd yn rhaid imi ysgrifennu'n ofalus ynglŷn ag unrhyw gost a achosir gan yr oedi. Ni allaf ddatgelu beth y gallai rhywun ei wneud mewn llys barn yn ein herbyn oherwydd eu bod yn credu bod yna gytundeb. Nid oes cytundeb—mor bell ag yr wyf i'n ei ddeall—heblaw am brynu'r tir am bunt. Nid oes cytundeb gyda Phartneriaeth Richard Rogers. Maent hwy'n gweithio o wythnos i wythnos. Efallai bod agweddau cyfreithiol nad wyf yn eu deall. Dyna fy nealltwriaeth, ond yr wyf am fod yn ofalus i beidio â dweud mwy na hynny heb gyngor gan swyddogion. Fe ysgrifennaf at Rhodri ac arweinyddion y pleidiau os oes costau hollol wahanol i'r rhai y soniais amdanynt.

I am only half way down the first page of my speech and I have taken about 47 interventions. However, I envisage that the discussions today are an extension of the question and answer session on the day of my original announcement. Perhaps it is appropriate that the debate has been conducted. It is an opportunity for everybody to make their own contributions by way of an intervention or a speech. All I want to say is that the place—wherever it is—that we eventually have as a permanent home must have the values of openness, democracy and access. It must be worthy of the Government of our land. It must be a place accepted by the people of Wales as one that belongs to them as well as to the politicians and officials who serve them. It is a palace, not a place of business. Sorry, that will teach me not to take off my glasses. It is not a palace but a place of business, a place where the democratic business of Wales can be carried out.

This is an opportunity for everyone to make a contribution, not just to ask me questions.

**Glyn Davies:** I propose amendment 1. Delete clauses 2, 3 and 4 and replace with:

situation. That is why I wanted to postpone now rather than after committing to the next £1 million of public money. I was asked to make that commitment a fortnight ago but I would not want to postpone after committing ourselves to the next £1 million for the scheme design, which would occur between March and August.

I will write carefully about the issue of any costs arising from the postponement. I cannot disclose what other parties could do against us in a court of law if they believed that there was a contract. There is no contract—as far as I understand—apart from buying the land for a pound. There is no contract with the Richard Rogers Partnership. They work on a week-to-week basis. There may be legal aspects that I do not understand. That is my understanding, but I will be careful to avoid saying more than that without advice from officials. I will write to Rhodri and to the party leaders if there are costs that are entirely different to those that I have mentioned.

Nid wyf ond hanner ffordd i lawr tudalen gyntaf fy araith a derbyniais tua 47 o ymyriadau. Fodd bynnag, ystyriaf fod y trafodaethau heddiw yn estyniad o'r sesiwn holi ac ateb ar ddiwrnod fy nghyhoeddiad gwreiddiol. Efallai ei bod yn briodol bod y ddadl wedi ei chynnal. Mae'n gyfle i bawb wneud ei gyfraniad ar ffurf ymyriad neu araith. Y cwbl yr wyf am ei ddweud yw y bydd yn rhaid i'r lle—ym mha le bynnag y bydd—a fydd gennym yn y pen draw yn gartref parhaol feddu ar y gwerthoedd o fod yn agored, yn ddemocrataidd ac yn hygyrch. Rhaid iddo fod yn deilwng o Lywodraeth ein gwlad. Rhaid iddo fod yn lle a dderbynnir gan bobl Cymru fel un sydd yn eiddo iddynt hwy yn ogystal ag i'r gwleidyddion a'r swyddogion sydd yn eu gwasanaethu. Palas ydyw, nid lle busnes. Mae'n ddrwg gennyf, bydd hynny'n wers imi beidio â thynnu fy sbectol. Nid yw'n balas ond yn lle busnes, yn fan lle y gellir cyflawni busnes democrataidd Cymru.

Mae hyn yn gyfle i bawb gyfrannu, nid gofyn cwestiynau imi'n unig.

**Glyn Davies:** Cynigiau welliant 1. Dileer cymalau 2, 3 a 4 a rhodder yn eu lle:



*2. requires that the First Secretary publish the figures which led to his decision to temporarily suspend the project.*

*3. resolves that the temporary suspension of the new Assembly building project be made permanent.*

I have outlined the Welsh Conservative Party's policy on this issue on several occasions. Over the last 12 months I have advocated consistently that the new Assembly building project should be abandoned. The Welsh Conservative group's view is clear, consistent and unambiguous. The sum of £22.6 million, the latest estimate of what is needed to construct the building, would be better spent on services for the people of Wales. The suspension of this project should be made permanent and the new building scrapped.

I do not want to repeat the arguments that I put forward in January, although they still stand. Today, I will examine the decision to suspend the project that the First Secretary made two weeks ago. First Secretary, in commenting on my initial response after hearing your statement that the project was to be parked or suspended, you said with typical disarming humour that you were unsure as to whether I was welcoming your decision or not. You made a fair point. I was trying, with some difficulty, to construct a logical response to what seemed to me then, and now, to be a hopelessly illogical statement. I do not think that what you have said today has helped much.

Let us look in more depth at what you were trying to tell us. It seems that you had seen new figures that were so alarming that you immediately suspended a project that you had previously fully supported. Yet you have given no indication that the total estimated costs have risen beyond £22.6 million, the figure put before this Chamber in January when you voted so enthusiastically in favour of the project. Can it be that in January, when someone else was carrying the can, this figure was acceptable to you, but now, when

*2. yn ei gwneud yn ofynnol bod y Prif Ysgrifennydd yn cyhoeddi'r ffigurau a arweiniodd at ei benderfyniad i ohirio'r prosiect dros dro.*

*3. yn penderfynu bod gohirio adeilad newydd y Cynulliad dros dro yn cael ei wneud yn barhaol.*

Amlinellais bolisi Plaid Geidwadol Cymru ar y mater hwn ar sawl achlysur. Dros y 12 mis diwethaf dadleuais yn gyson dros roi'r gorau i brosiect adeilad newydd y Cynulliad. Mae barn grŵp Ceidwadol Cymru'n glir, yn gyson ac yn ddiamwys. Gwell fyddai gwario'r swm o £22.6 miliwn, yr amcangyfrif diweddaraf o'r hyn y mae ei angen i godi'r adeilad, ar wasanaethau i bobl Cymru. Dylai'r ataliad ar y prosiect hwn gael ei wneud yn barhaol a dylid rhoi'r gorau i'r adeilad newydd.

Ni ddymunaf ailadrodd y dadleuon a gyflwynais yn Ionawr, er eu bod yn ddilys o hyd. Heddiw, yr wyf am ystyried y penderfyniad i atal y prosiect a wnaeth y Prif Ysgrifennydd bythefnos yn ôl. Brif Ysgrifennydd, wrth wneud sylw am fy ymateb cyntaf ar ôl clywed eich datganiad bod y prosiect i'w barcio neu ei atal, dywedasoch â'ch hiwmor enillgar nodweddiadol nad oeddech yn sicr a oeddwn yn croesawu'ch penderfyniad ai peidio. Gwnaethoch bwynt teg. Yr oeddwn yn ceisio, gyda chryn anhawster, llunio ymateb rhesymegol i'r hyn a ymddangosai i mi bryd hynny, fel y mae'n awr, yn ddatganiad anobeithiol o afresymegol. Ni chredaf fod yr hyn a ddywedasoch heddiw wedi bod o gymorth mawr.

Gadewch inni edrych yn fanylach ar yr hyn yr oeddech yn ceisio ei ddweud wrthym. Ymddengys eich bod wedi gweld ffigurau newydd a oedd mor frawychus fel eich bod wedi atal prosiect yr oeddech yn ei gefnogi'n llwyr o'r blaen ar unwaith. Eto ni roesoch unrhyw awgrym bod cyfanswm y costau amcangyfrifedig wedi codi y tu hwnt i £22.6 miliwn, y ffigur a roddwyd gerbron y Siambr hon yn Ionawr pan bleidleisiasoch mor frwd o blaid y prosiect. A yw'n bosibl bod y ffigur hwn yn dderbyniol i chi yn Ionawr, pan oedd

you might be carrying the can, it is not? That would not be act of leadership but of weakness, the act of someone who finds it difficult to make a decision. If the estimated costs of £22.6 million have risen, that would be a different matter. I would be prepared to allow you to rise to confirm it if that is so.

A second aspect of these new figures that you are alleged to have seen also interests me: why have you not made them public? The information that was sent by e-mail to Assembly Members this morning did not include anything new. All Assembly Members already knew the total estimated costs and their breakdown into subheadings, including design fees. Your predecessor gave us those figures in January and made them public. As far as I know, they have not changed since. All Assembly Members must also have been aware of the design costs expenditure profile. It is usually about the same. In truth, it was less than I expected in January. What is new? What has led to your decision? Why are you reluctant to tell us? You are the man who talks so proudly about open government. Why are you so reluctant to make public the new figures that influenced you so much? I cannot help but wonder whether these new figures exist or whether this is just a smokescreen for indecision.

Perhaps the reason is the cost estimates for the other buildings in Cardiff—City Hall or Bute Square. Today's e-mail suggests that there is nothing new there either. Have you seen new figures on these options? Are you telling us that the cost comparisons put before us by your predecessor do not stand up to examination? One of your predecessors was on his feet swiftly today whenever that was suggested. Or are you saying that you have done a deal with Mr Goodway? Or that you were prepared to back those figures without question while your predecessor took responsibility for them, but are not prepared to do so now that you are taking responsibility for them? Again, that is not an act of leadership. There are so many questions and so few answers.

rhywun arall yn dwyn y cyfrifoldeb, ond nad yw yn awr, pan allech chi gael y bai? Nid gweithred o arweinyddiaeth fyddai honno ond un o wendid, gweithred rhywun sydd yn ei chael yn anodd gwneud penderfyniad. Os yw'r costau amcangyfrifedig o £22.6 miliwn wedi codi, byddai hynny'n fater gwahanol. Byddwn yn barod i ganiatáu ichi godi i gadarnhau hynny os yw'n wir.

Mae ail agwedd ar y ffigurau hyn yr honnir eich bod wedi eu gweld hefyd o ddi-ddordeb i mi: pam nad ydych wedi eu cyhoeddi? Nid oedd yr wybodaeth a anfonwyd drwy e-bost at Aelodau'r Cynulliad y bore yma yn cynnwys unrhyw beth a oedd yn newydd. Yr oedd holl Aelodau'r Cynulliad eisoes yn gwybod cyfanswm y costau amcangyfrifedig a'r dadansoddiad ohonynt o dan isbenawdau, gan gynnwys ffioedd dylunio. Rhoddodd eich rhagflaenydd y ffigurau hynny inni yn Ionawr a'u cyhoeddi. Hyd y gwn i, nid ydynt wedi newid ers hynny. Rhaid bod holl Aelodau'r Cynulliad yn ymwybodol hefyd o broffil gwariant y costau dylunio. Mae fel arfer tua'r un fath. Mewn gwirionedd, yr oedd yn llai na'r hyn a ddisgwyliais yn Ionawr. Beth sydd yn newydd? Beth sydd wedi arwain at eich penderfyniad? Pam yr ydych yn amharod i ddweud wrthym? Chi yw'r dyn sydd yn siarad mor falch am lywodraeth agored. Pam yr ydych mor amharod i gyhoeddi'r ffigurau newydd a fu'n gymaint o ddylanwad arnoch? Ni allaf ond meddwl tybed a yw'r ffigurau hyn yn bod neu ai dim ond modd i gelu diffyg penderfyniad yw hyn.

Efallai mai'r rheswm yw'r amcangyfrifon o gostau'r adeiladau eraill yng Nghaerdydd—Neuadd y Ddinas neu Sgwâr Bute. Mae'r neges e-bost heddiw yn awgrymu nad oes unrhyw beth newydd yn y fan honno ychwaith. A welsoch ffigurau newydd ar y dewisiadau hyn? A ydych yn dweud wrthym nad yw'r cymariaethau o gostau a gyflwynwyd inni gan eich rhagflaenydd yn dal eu harchwilio? Cododd un o'ch rhagflaenwyr yn gyflym heddiw pryd bynnag yr awgrymwyd hynny. Neu a ydych yn dweud eich bod wedi taro bargaen â Mr Goodway? Neu eich bod yn barod i gefnogi'r ffigurau hynny'n ddigwestiwn tra yr oedd eich rhagflaenydd yn gyfrifol amdanynt, ond nad ydych yn barod i wneud hynny a chwithau bellach yn cymryd cyfrifoldeb

amdanynt? Unwaith eto, nid gweithred o arweinyddiaeth yw hynny. Mae cynifer o gwestiynau a chyn lleied o atebion.

4:38 p.m.

Let me return to my ambivalence, to which you referred, in my response to you last week. I welcomed your statement, with reservations, because it implied a willingness to accept my oft-repeated argument that the project should be abandoned. You repeated that abandonment was an option, although unlikely, when sitting no more than four feet away from me in the BBC studio upstairs soon after making your statement.

Before your statement, Assembly Members had virtually accepted that the debate was over. Your decision to reopen this issue suggested that you had decided to scrap the project. That is what many people outside told me, and it produced popularity for you. The Conservative group welcomed that decision.

You said that the project is temporarily suspended and that you might return to it, with additional costs arising from the delay. One Member has referred to that. We do not welcome that. We would not welcome moving to a hugely more expensive site somewhere else in Cardiff either. The Conservative group favoured City Hall when the decision was first being made, because of the status that that would give to the Assembly. However, it is probably too late and the costs are probably too high by now. We have spent almost £10 million on this building.

First Secretary, this debate is as much about your leadership credibility as it is about a new building project. Are you a lion or a mouse with a sense of humour? Are you a leader who has the necessities to take tough decisions, which the people of Wales want you to take, or someone who dithers and capitulates when the going gets tough? Do you use a quick wit and funny one-liners to hide weakness and indecision? You are in a pickle. There is only one way that you can walk out of this mess, which is of your own making, with a shred of credibility. You must

Gadewch imi ddychwelyd at yr amwysedd, y cyfeiriasoch ato, yn fy ymateb i chi yr wythnos diwethaf. Croesewais eich datganiad, yn amodol, am ei fod yn awgrymu parodrwydd i dderbyn y ddadl a gyflwynais yn aml y dylid rhoi'r gorau i'r prosiect. Ailadroddasoch fod rhoi'r gorau iddo'n ddewis, er ei fod yn annhebygol, pan oeddech yn eistedd cyn agosod â phedair troedfedd oddi wrthyf yn stiwdio'r BBC i fyny'r grisiau yn fuan ar ôl gwneud eich datganiad.

Cyn eich datganiad, yr oedd Aelodau'r Cynulliad bron â derbyn bod y ddadl drosodd. Yr oedd eich penderfyniad i ailagor y mater hwn yn awgrymu eich bod wedi penderfynu rhoi'r gorau i'r prosiect. Dyna a ddywedodd llawer o bobl y tu allan wrthyf, a daeth â phoblogrwydd i chi. Croesawyd y penderfyniad hwnnw gan y grŵp Ceidwadol.

Dywedasoch fod y prosiect wedi ei atal dros dro ac y gallech ddychwelyd ato, â chostau ychwanegol yn deillio o'r oedi. Cyfeiriodd un Aelod at hynny. Ni chroesawn hynny. Ni chroesawem symud i safle drutach o lawer rywle arall yng Nghaerdydd ychwaith. Yr oedd y grŵp Ceidwadol yn ffafrio Neuadd y Ddinas pan wnaethpwyd y penderfyniad gyntaf, oherwydd y statws a roddai hynny i'r Cynulliad. Fodd bynnag, mae'n debyg ei bod yn rhy hwyr ac mae'r costau'n rhy uchel erbyn hyn yn ôl pob tebyg. Gwariasom bron £10 miliwn ar yr adeilad hwn.

Brif Ysgrifennydd, mae a wnelo'r ddadl hon gymaint â'ch hygredd fel arweinydd ag â phrosiect adeiladu newydd. Ai llew ydych neu lygoden â synnwyr digrifwch? A ydych yn arweinydd sydd â'r hyn y mae ei angen i wneud penderfyniadau anodd y mae pobl Cymru am ichi eu gwneud, neu'n rhywun sydd yn anwladu ac yn ildio pan fo pethau'n dechrau mynd yn anodd? A ddefnyddiwch ffraethineb parod a dywediadau doniol i guddio gwendidau a diffyg penderfyniad? Yr ydych mewn picil. Nid oes ond un ffordd i chi o'r llanastr hwn, sydd o'ch gwneuthuriad

publish all the figures and abandon the project.

**Cynog Dafis:** Cynigiau welliant 2. Yng nghymal 2 dileer ‘y gallai’r adolygiad’ a gosoder ‘bod yr adolygiad yn debygol o’ yn ei le.

Cynigiau welliant 3. Yng nghymal 3 dileer ‘cyn gynted ag y bo modd’ a gosoder ‘ar frys’ yn ei le.

Cynigiau welliant 5. Yng nghymal 4 ar ôl y gair ‘penderfyniad’ ychwaneger ‘ar ddydd Mawrth 8 Mai 2000’.

Yr wyf yn falch o’r cyfle i siarad ar ran grŵp Plaid Cymru yn y ddadl annisgwyl hon. Fodd bynnag, nid wyf yn falch ei bod yn digwydd, oherwydd ei bod yn ddianghenraid.

Pan gyhoeddodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd ei fod yn gohirio’r prosiect hwn dair wythnos yn ôl, yr oedd yn sioc ac yn siom i lawer o bobl, gan gynnwys Aelodau grŵp Llafur y Cynulliad a mwyafrif yr Aelodau eraill. Dim ond y Torïaid oedd yn llawenhau. Heddiw maent yn clochdar. Fodd bynnag, yr wyf yn sicr bod rhai o’r rheini hyd yn oed yn teimlo cryn ddiffastod, ond na feiddiant ddangos hynny. Nid yw Rhodri Morgan wedi cyfiawnhau ei benderfyniad i ohirio’r prosiect. Y cyfan yr ydym wedi ei glywed yw pryderon ynglŷn â’r pellter rhwng yr adeilad hwn a Pharc Cathays. Ni yw hynny’n ystyriaeth o ddifrif.

Serch hynny, edrych ymlaen sydd yn bwysig heddiw. Efallai bod modd defnyddio’r gohiriad i bwmpas, er mwyn cyfiawnhau penderfyniad y Prif Ysgrifennydd. Man cychwyn y drafodaeth yw bod yn rhaid i Gymru gael adeilad i’w Chynulliad Cenedlaethol y gall hi fod yn falch ohono. Diraddiodd Rhodri Morgan yr agwedd honno drwy fynnu nad symbol o’r Gymru newydd yw adeilad y Cynulliad, ond rhywbeth swyddogaethol. Ni dderbyniaf y ddadl honno mewn perthynas â senedd-dy. Pa genedl—

**Alun Cairns:** A dderbyniwch mai gweithgareddau’r Cynulliad sydd yn bwysig, yn hytrach na phalas urddasol ym Mae

eich hun, os ydych i gadw ychydig o’ch hygrededd. Rhaid ichi gyhoeddi’r holl ffigurau a rhoi’r gorau i’r prosiect.

**Cynog Dafis:** I propose amendment 2. In clause 2 delete ‘might’ and replace with ‘is likely to’.

I propose amendment 3. In clause 3 delete ‘as quickly as possible’ and replace with ‘urgently’.

I propose amendment 5. In clause 4 after the word ‘decision’ add ‘on Tuesday 8 May 2000’.

I am glad of the opportunity to speak on behalf of the Plaid Cymru group in this unexpected debate. However, I am not pleased that it is occurring, because it is unnecessary.

When the First Secretary announced that he was postponing this project three weeks ago, it was a shock and a disappointment to many people, including Members of the Assembly Labour group and the majority of other Members. Only the Tories rejoiced. Today they are crowing. However, I am sure that even some of them are feeling quite disheartened, but they dare not show that. Rhodri Morgan has not justified his decision to postpone the project. All we have heard are concerns about the distance between this building and Cathays Park. That is not a serious consideration.

However, it is important to look forward today. Maybe we can use the postponement for a purpose, to justify the First Secretary’s decision. The starting point of the debate is that Wales must have a building for its National Assembly of which it can be proud. Rhodri Morgan debased that aspect by insisting that the Assembly building is not a symbol of the new Wales, but something functional. I do not accept that argument in relation to a parliament house. What kind of nation—

**Alun Cairns:** Do you accept that it is the deliberations of the Assembly that are important, rather than a grand palace in

Caerdydd neu ym Mharc Cathays, ac y dylem gael ein barnu ar yr hyn a wnawn, nid ar y lle yr eisteddwn.

**Cynog Dafis:** Fe'n bernir yn ôl ein gweithredoedd, wrth gwrs. Gwrandewch ar fy ngeiriau nesaf, Alun, i weld beth a feddyliwch ohonynt.

Pa genedl neu ranbarth gwerth ei halen a fyddai'n bodloni ar adeilad mor ddiolwg â Thŷ Crycywel fel senedd genedlaethol? Meddyliaf am rai o'r adeiladau seneddol yr wyf wedi eu gweld. Bûm yn y Folketing yn Copenhagen a thu allan i'r Dáil yn Nulyn. Yn ddiweddar, yr oeddwn tu allan i'r Generalitat yn Barcelona, prifddinas Catalonia. Mae senedd-dy Slofenia yn Ljubljana yn werth ei weld, ac felly hefyd yr Assemblée Nationale ym Mharis—adeilad sydd â'r un enw â'n Cynulliad Cenedlaethol ni. Mae'r rhain oll yn adeiladau urddasol sydd yn symbol o ddyheadau'r genedl ac o ddemocratiaeth. Beth sydd yn haeddu symbol nerthol yn fwy na democratiaeth? Mae'r adeiladau hyn yn ganolbwynt dyheadau cenedl ac yn destun balchder i'r dinasyddion. Ystyriwch Balas Westminster yn Llundain. Dyna un o'r senedd-dai lleiaf swynol a'r mwyaf gorwych, fel sydd yn addas i bencadlys ymerodrol. Ni chlywais unrhyw un o'r Blaid Doriaidd yn awgrymu y dylid torri gwariant ar gynnal a chadw y lle anhygoel hwnnw.

Mae'n iawn inni fod yn gyfrifol o ran gwariant cyhoeddus. Fodd bynnag, mewn difrif, a fyddem yn ystyried bod £26 miliwn, y swm a grybwyllwyd ddiwethaf, yn ormod am senedd-dy cenedlaethol? Y tro diwethaf imi siarad ar y pwnc hwn yn y Cynulliad, rhestrais beth o'r gwariant anhygoel ar Balas Westminster. Ni ddilynaf yr un trywydd heddiw. Fodd bynnag, gallwn eich gwahodd i gymharu cost adeiladu'r Cynulliad newydd â chost adeiladu'r stadiwm genedlaethol, £120 miliwn a mwy, neu Ganolfan y Mileniwm, £80 miliwn. Mae'r ddau yn dibynnu yn helaeth ar wario cyhoeddus sylweddol ar ffurf arian gan y Loteri—

**David Melding:** The problem with Cynog's speech is that the architects are probably listening and multiplying their costs at this

Cardiff Bay or Cathays Park, and that we should be judged on what we do, not on where we sit.

**Cynog Dafis:** We will be judged by our actions, of course. Listen to my next words, Alun, to see what you think of them.

What nation or region worth its salt would satisfy itself with such an unsightly building as Crickhowell House as its national parliament? I think of some of the parliamentary buildings that I have seen. I have been in the Folketing in Copenhagen and outside the Dáil in Dublin. Recently, I was outside the Generalitat in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. Slovenia's parliament in Ljubljana is worth seeing, as is the Assemblée Nationale in Paris—a building that has the same name as our National Assembly. These are all dignified buildings that are symbols of the nation's aspirations and of democracy. What deserves a powerful symbol more than democracy? These buildings are a focus to the nation's aspirations and are a source of pride to the citizens. Consider the Palace of Westminster in London. That is one of the least charming and most ornate parliament buildings, as befits an imperial headquarters. I did not hear any one of the Tory Party suggest that expenditure on maintaining that amazing place should be cut.

It is fitting for us to be responsible with public expenditure. However, seriously, would we consider that £26 million, the sum that was last mentioned, would be too much for a national parliament building? The last time that I spoke on this subject in the Assembly, I listed some of the incredible expenditure on the Palace of Westminster. I will not follow the same line today. However, I could invite you to compare the cost of building the new Assembly with the cost of building the national stadium, £120 million and more, or the Millennium Centre, £80 million. Both are dependent to a large extent on substantial public expenditure in the form of Lottery funding—

**David Melding:** Y broblem gydag araith Cynog yw bod y penseiri'n gwranddo ac yn lluosogi eu costau yr eiliad hon yn ôl pob

moment.

**Cynog Dafis:** Dof at hynny cyn diwedd fy araith. Mae'n bosibl siarad yn frwdfrydig am senedd-dy cenedlaethol heb wahodd y math hwnnw o sylw sbengllyd, â defnyddio iaith Ceredigion.

Go brin bod amheuaeth na fydd y buddsoddiad mewn adeilad teilwng yn talu. Dyna iaith y bydd y Blaid Geidwadol yn ei deall. Bydd adeilad o'r math hwn yn talu ar ei ganfed o ran twristiaeth, denu busnes i Gymru ac ati. Meddylwch am ymwelwyr tramor, mewnfuddsoddwyr potensial, sydd am weld senedd-dy Cymru. A allwch ddychmygu dod â hwy i weld Tŷ Crycywel? Dychmygwch, ar y llaw arall, ddod â hwy i weld y math o adeilad sydd gan Richard Rogers mewn golwg. Bûm yn frwd o blaid Neuadd y Ddinas ar un adeg, ac mae gennyf bob parch i'r sawl sydd yn parhau i ffafrio'r opsiwn hwnnw. Pan ddaeth yn glir nad oedd yr opsiwn hwnnw yn *runner* am bris credadwy, cefnogais Abertawe hyd yn oed. Nid wyf yn un o gefnogwyr mawr y math o ddatblygiad sydd wedi bod yn digwydd yn y bae. Mae llawer o gwestiynau i'w gofyn ynglŷn â phatrwm y datblygiad yma. Fodd bynnag, wedi dod yma, pwy a all wadu y cyffro sydd yma? Mae'r achos dros gael adeilad gan bensaer bydenwog sydd yn esiampl o bensaerniaeth gynaliadwy mor gryf nes ei fod yn llethol. Mae ffeithiau y gallwch eu hystyried wrth edrych ar yr adeilad. Y bwriad yw, er enghraifft, cynhyrchu adeilad sydd yn defnyddio llai na 50 y cant o ddefnydd ynni normal adeiladau tebyg. Mae honno'n ystyriaeth o ddatblygu cynaliadwy. Bydd allyrriadau carbon deuocsid yr adeilad newydd yn ddim, net. Bwriedir defnyddio ffynonellau ynni adnewyddol yn gyfan gwbl a defnyddio deunyddiau Cymreig yn helaeth.

**Peter Rogers:** When you discuss the efficiency of running the building, you cannot escape one point that has been made strongly today. Running this building and Cathays Park, and a debating chamber across the road from here, will double staffing and double all other costs. When we deserve and have earned a new building and have justified

tebyg.

**Cynog Dafis:** I will come to that before the end of my speech. It is possible to speak enthusiastically about a national parliament building without inviting that kind of *sylw sbengllyd*, or sneering remark, to use the language of Ceredigion.

There could hardly be a doubt that the investment in a fitting building would pay dividends. That is language that the Conservative Party will understand. A building of this kind will pay handsome dividends in the form of tourism, attracting business to Wales and so on. Think of foreign visitors, potential inward investors, who want to see Wales's parliament building. Can you imagine bringing them to see Crickhowell House? Imagine, on the other hand, bringing them to see the kind of building that Richard Rogers has in mind. I was much in favour of City Hall at one time, and I have every respect for those who still favour that option. When it became evident that that option was not a runner for a credible price, I even supported Swansea. I am not one of the great supporters of the kind of development that has been happening in the bay. There are many questions to be asked about the pattern of development here. However, having come here, who could deny the excitement here? The case for having a building by a world-renowned architect that is an example of sustainable architecture is so strong that it is overwhelming. There are facts that you can consider when looking at the building. The intention, for example, is to produce a building that uses less than 50 per cent of the normal energy use of similar buildings. That is a consideration of sustainable development. The new building's carbon dioxide emissions will be nil, net. It is intended to use renewable energy sources throughout and to make substantial use of Welsh materials.

**Peter Rogers:** Wrth drafod effeithlonrwydd rhedeg yr adeilad, ni allwch ddianc rhag un pwynt a wnaethpwyd yn gryf heddiw. Bydd cynnal yr adeilad hwn a Pharc Cathays, a siambr ddadlau ar ochr arall y ffordd oddi yma, yn dyblu'r staffio ac yn dyblu'r holl gostau eraill. Pan fyddwn yn teilyngu ac yn haeddu adeilad newydd ac wedi cyfiawnhau

the Assembly's existence, the building should house the whole Assembly on one site.

4:48 p.m.

**Cynog Dafis:** Nid wyf yn gwadu'r posibilrwydd y gellid datblygu'r adeilad hwn yn gartref i'r Cynulliad cyfan. Nid yw'r cwestiwn o weision sifil yn teithio yn ôl ac ymlaen o Barc Cathays i Fae Caerdydd dan sylw. Fodd bynnag, yn Llundain, mae staff y Llywodraeth yn teithio o'u hadrannau i San Steffan. Nid yw'r daith yn ddwy filltir ond mae'n gryn hanner milltir i rai. Mae hyn yn digwydd drwy'r amser a derbynnir y sefyllfa.

Dywedir nad oes cefnogaeth gyhoeddus i'r prosiect hwn. Mae gennyf ddau beth i'w dweud ynglŷn â hynny. Nid wyf yn gwybod am unrhyw arolwg barn ar deimladau'r cyhoedd ar y mater hwn, ond mewn achos o ddatblygiad newydd, clywir lleisiau gwrthwynebwyr yn uwch na lleisiau cefnogwyr. Mae hynny i'w ddisgwyl bob tro ac ystyrir anghytundeb yn hytrach na chytundeb yn fwy diddorol gan y wasg. Felly clywn nad oes cefnogaeth i'r prosiect.

Yn ail, mae'n rhaid inni bwysleisio mai adeilad i'r cyhoedd fydd yr adeilad hwn, i werin bobl Cymru, nid yr Aelodau. Rhaid inni gyflwyno a gwerthu'r adeilad yn y cyddestun hwnnw. Yr wyf yn fodlon proffwydo y bydd yr adeilad newydd yn destun balchder ac yn dynfa boblogaidd o fewn ychydig amser o'i gwblhau. Bydd y Ceidwadwyr wedyn yn difaru y safbwynt a gymerwyd ganddynt. Yr wyf â'r fraint o gadeirio Pwyllgor Pwnc y Cynulliad sydd â chyfrifoldeb am ddiwylliant a'r celfyddydau. Un o syniadau'r Pwyllgor a godwyd yn ystod yr ymchwiliad yw'r angen i'r Cynulliad gael polisi ar ddiwylliant a'r celfyddydau fel rhan o'i weithgareddau ei hun. Mae potensial ar gyfer defnyddio adeilad newydd y Cynulliad i arddangos talentau creadigol y genedl, yn gantorion, actorion ac arlunwyr. Gallai perfformwyr o bob math, yn broffesiynol ac amatur, plant ysgol, corau pensynwyr a sêr rhyngwladol ddefnyddio'r Cynulliad fel llwyfan i'w creadigedd. Edrychwch ar gynllun Richard Rogers a dychmygwch y defnydd y gellid ei wneud ohono at y math hwnnw o bwrpas.

bodolaeth y Cynulliad, dylai'r adeilad gynnwys y Cynulliad cyfan ar un safle.

**Cynog Dafis:** I do not deny the possibility that this building could be developed to house the whole Assembly. The question of civil servants travelling back and forth from Cathays Park to Cardiff Bay is not at issue. However, in London, Government staff travel from their departments to Westminster. It is not a two-mile journey but it is a good half a mile for some. It happens all of the time and the situation is accepted.

It is said that there is no public support for this project. I have two things to say about that. I do not know of any opinion poll on public feeling on this matter, but in the case of a new development, objectors' voices are heard louder than voices in support. That is par for the course and the press considers disagreement to be more interesting than agreement. Therefore, we hear that there is no support for this project.

Secondly, we must emphasise that this building will be one for the public, for the ordinary people of Wales, not the Members. We must present and sell the building in that context. I am willing to make a prophecy that the new building will be the subject of pride and a popular attraction within a short time of its completion. The Conservatives will then regret the standpoint that they have taken. I have the honour of chairing a Subject Committee that has responsibility for culture and the arts. One of the Committee's ideas raised during the review is the need for the Assembly to have a policy on culture and the arts as part of its own activities. There is potential to use the new Assembly building to exhibit the nation's creative talents, as singers, actors and artists. Performers of all kinds, professional and amateur, school children, pensioners choirs and international stars could all use the Assembly as a stage for their creativity. Look at Richard Rogers's design and imagine the use that could be made of it for that kind of purpose.

Dylid defnyddio'r cyfnod hwn o ohirio, sydd i barhau hyd at ddechrau Mai a dim hwy hyd y deallaf, i wneud tri pheth. Dylid sicrhau nad yw cost y prosiect yn mynd i godi'n barhaus, fel ddiwygddodd gyda gormod o adeiladau cyhoeddus. Mae hynny'n berygl, ac ymddengys ei fod yn digwydd yn yr Alban ar hyn o bryd. Yn ail, dylid sicrhau bod dyluniad dychmyglawn Richard Rogers yn gweithio'n ymarferol yn ogystal ag edrych yn brydferth. Yr wyf yn sicr y gellid gwneud hynny. Yn drydydd, dylid sicrhau bod anghenion y methodig o ran cyfleustra a gwedduster yn cael eu bodloni'n llawn. Gwn fod gan Anabledd Cymru rai cwestiynau ynglŷn â'r mater hwn ac yr wyf yn sicr bod modd eu hateb. Nid yw Plaid Cymru yn ystyried bod angen i'r broses fod yn un hirfaith. Credwn fod modd cwblhau'r adolygiad erbyn inni ddychwelyd ar ôl toriad y Pasg. Byddwn fel Cynulliad wedyn yn barod i fwrw ymlaen â'r cynllun cyffrous hwn.

Wrth droi at y gwelliannau, rhaid inni wrthod gwelliant 1 trist, negyddol ac oportiwnistaidd Glyn Davies. Mae'n chwith gennyf glywed yr hyn a ddywedodd wrth siarad ar y gwelliannau. Serch hynny, yr oedd ei feirniadaeth heddiw o'r Prif Ysgrifennydd yn nerthol a miniog. Ni fyddai unrhyw adeilad hardd neu waith o gelfyddyd a olygai wario arian cyhoeddus yn cael ei gyflawni pe baem yn derbyn y gwerthoedd a glywsom heddiw. Bydd angen arian ar wasanaethau cyhoeddus a phob math o bethau eraill bob amser. Wrth ddilyn egwyddor o'r fath ni châi adeilad cyhoeddus gwerth edrych arno ei godi fyth. Cefnogwn welliannau 4, 6 a 7 yn enw Peter Black, ar y ddealltwriaeth nad yw'r geiriau 'o fewn tri mis' yn golygu tri mis. Gellid cwblhau'r adolygiad o fewn mis a barn Plaid Cymru yw y dylid gwneud hynny.

**Peter Black:** I propose amendment 4. Delete clause 3 and replace with new clause 3

*'resolves that the review be completed within three months'.*

I propose amendment 6. In clause 4 insert 'publicly' between 'made' and 'available'.

I propose amendment 7. At end of motion add clause 5

This period of postponement, which is to last until the beginning of May and no longer as I understand, should be used to do three things. It should be ensured that the cost of the project does not rise continuously, as has happened with too many public buildings. That is a danger, and seems to be happening in Scotland at the moment. Secondly, it should be ensured that Richard Rogers's imaginative design in addition to looking beautiful works practically. I am sure that that can be done. Thirdly, it should be ensured that the needs of the disabled in terms of convenience and propriety are fully met. I know that Disability Wales have some questions about this matter and I am sure that they can be answered. Plaid Cymru does not consider that this needs to be a lengthy process. We believe that this review can be completed by the time we return after the Easter recess. As an Assembly, we will then be ready to forge ahead with this exciting scheme.

On the amendments, we must oppose Glyn Davies's sad, negative and opportunistic amendment 1. I am saddened to hear what he said in speaking on the amendments. However, his critique of the First Secretary today was powerful and incisive. No beautiful building or work of art that would entail spending public money would be achieved if we were to accept the values that we have heard today. Public services and all kinds of other things will always need money. Following such a principle would mean that a public building worth looking at would never be built. We support amendments 4, 6 and 7 in the name of Peter Black, on the understanding that the words 'within three months', do not mean three months. This review could be completed within a month and Plaid Cymru believes that it should be so.

**Peter Black:** Cynigiau welliant 4. Dileer cymal 3 a rhodder cymal 3 newydd yn ei le

*'yn penderfynu cwblhau'r adolygiad o fewn tri mis'.*

Cynigiau welliant 6. Yng nghymal 4 rhodder 'yn gyhoeddus' ar ôl 'ar gael'.

Cynigiau welliant 7. Ar ddiwedd y cynnig ychwaneger cymal 5



*'resolves that the review process itself be carried out with the maximum possible openness and transparency'.*

*'yn penderfynu bod y broses adolygu ei hun yn cael ei chynnal yn y dull mwyaf agored a thryloyw posibl'.*

I welcome the opportunity to debate this matter. When Ron Davies, as Secretary of State for Wales, chose the site for the Assembly, he did so on the assumption that we would have a new building that reflected a new self-confident Wales. Costs are a concern and we must be aware that a delay could add to those costs.

Croesawaf y cyfle i drafod y mater hwn. Pan ddewiswyd y safle ar gyfer y Cynulliad gan Ron Davies, fel Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru, gwnaeth hynny gan ragdybio y byddai gennym adeilad newydd a oedd yn adlewyrchu Cymru newydd hunanhyderus. Mae costau'n bryder a rhaid inni fod yn ymwybodol y gallai oedi ychwanegu at y costau hynny.

Although I support the new First Secretary's right to review his predecessor's decisions, we must be realistic about the options involved. We must avoid shelving the problem by default. The Assembly must decide the way forward positively after a full debate. It is not good enough to embark on an open-ended review in which the issue is allowed to drift. That may suit some people, but in the long term it leads the Assembly nowhere and leaves its position unresolved, ensuring that a future solution costs more.

Er fy mod yn cefnogi hawl y Prif Ysgrifennydd i adolygu penderfyniadau ei ragflaenydd, rhaid inni fod yn realistig ynghylch y dewisiadau sydd dan sylw. Rhaid inni osgoi claddu'r broblem drwy ei hanwybyddu. Rhaid i'r Cynulliad benderfynu ar y ffordd ymlaen yn gadarnhaol ar ôl dadl lawn. Nid yw'n ddigon da dechrau ar adolygiad penagored lle y caniateir i'r mater ddrifftio. Gallai hynny fod wrth fodd rhai, ond yn y tymor hir nid yw'n arwain y Cynulliad i unlle ac mae'n gadael ei sefyllfa heb ei datrys, gan sicrhau y bydd ateb yn y dyfodol yn costio mwy.

What are the options? We are told that the new building will now cost us £26.5 million. As regards running costs, that may save us money on an alternative option in terms of energy efficiency and the use of alternative energy sources and Welsh materials, which is important in a flagship building of this kind. With construction inflation at 5 per cent, a delay of six months, which is what Rhodri Morgan announced in his statement, could add up to £500,000 to the cost. That is unacceptable and we cannot go down that road.

Beth yw'r dewisiadau? Dywedir wrthym y bydd yr adeilad newydd bellach yn costio £26.5 miliwn i ni. O ran costau rhedeg, gallai hynny arbed arian i ni ar ddewis amgen o ran effeithlonrwydd ynni a'r defnydd o ffynonellau ynni amgen a deunyddiau o Gymru, sydd yn bwysig mewn adeilad symbolaidd o'r math hwn. Gyda chwyddiant adeiladu'n 5 y cant, gallai oedi o chwe mis, sef yr hyn a gyhoeddodd Rhodri Morgan yn ei ddatganiad, ychwanegu hyd at £500,000 at y gost. Mae hynny'n annerbyniol ac ni allwn ddilyn y llwybr hwnnw.

The second option is to stay here with all the limitations and constraints of this building. That may work in the short term, but Crickhowell House was only going to be a short-term option. It is unsustainable over a long time. That is why it was linked to a new building. The third option is City Hall, which will cost more than a new build. In addition, according to a report e-mailed to us earlier today, even after this expenditure, City Hall would have difficulty accommodating the

Yr ail ddewis yw aros yma gyda holl gyfyngiadau a rhwystrau'r adeilad hwn. Gallai hynny weithio yn y tymor byr, ond nid oedd Tŷ Crycywel ond i fod yn ddewis tymor byr. Mae'n anghynaliadwy dros amser hir. Dyna pam y cysylltwyd ef ag adeilad newydd. Y trydydd dewis yw Neuadd y Ddinas, a fydd yn costio'n fwy nag adeilad newydd. Yn ogystal, yn ôl adroddiad a anfonwyd drwy e-bost atom yn gynharach heddiw, hyd yn oed ar ôl y gwariant hwn,

originally forecast 280 Members and staff in the available space. There are 517 Members and staff in this building and the report anticipates that this could increase to 746. There is also a local difficulty in negotiating a fair price with Cardiff council and having to persuade Russell Goodway, in the midst of other controversy, that he should be charitable towards the Assembly. That is possibly a non-starter.

There are also other options that we should not rule out. If we are serious about achieving value for money, we must re-evaluate the other options—

**David Davies:** Do you agree that we should consider the option of staying in Crickhowell House and spending the money on a children's hospital for Wales—something that Wales is crying out for? Do you also agree that the majority of people in Wales would fully support that option and would see it as a positive contribution from the Assembly?

**Peter Black:** If David had listened to what I said, he would know that I mentioned the Crickhowell House option. That option must be examined along with the others. Crickhowell House is limited and we would soon find ourselves bursting at the seams, which would result in us proposing an alternative option in the future. I wonder what David's view is on Peter Rogers' option, which seemed to envisage putting forward Crickhowell House, Cathays Park and the new building as one new building, which would cost at least three times the cost of the proposed option for the building described before us? We all have many figures before us and this review is welcome and needs to be done. However, it must be done quickly and we must ensure that we get value for money. I assume that Crickhowell House is part of that review, as are the other options. We will have to see what comes out of it. I will not and I am not trying to pre-judge that review, now or in my amendments 4 and 6. The review must be open and transparent and done quickly, so that it does not cost us any more money if we decide to go ahead with the new building.

byddai'n anodd i Neuadd y Ddinas gynnwys y 280 o Aelodau a staff a ragwelwyd yn wreiddiol yn y lle oedd ar gael. Mae 517 o Aelodau a staff yn yr adeilad hwn ac mae'r adroddiad yn rhagweld y gallai hynny godi i 746. Mae anhawster lleol hefyd wrth negodi pris teg â chyngor Caerdydd a gorfod perswadio Russell Goodway, yng nghanol dadlau arall, y dylai fod yn hael wrth y Cynulliad. Mae'n bosibl na ddeuai dim o hynny byth.

Mae dewisiadau eraill hefyd na ddylem eu diystyru. Os ydym o ddifrif ynghylch sicrhau gwerth am arian, rhaid inni ailwerthuso'r dewisiadau eraill—

**David Davies:** A gytunwch y dylem ystyried y dewis o aros yn Nhŷ Crycywel a gwario'r arian ar ysbyty plant i Gymru—rhywbeth y mae taer angen amdano yng Nghymru? A gytunwch hefyd y byddai mwyafrif pobl Cymru'n llwyr gefnogi'r dewis hwnnw ac yn ei weld yn gyfraniad cadarnhaol gan y Cynulliad?

**Peter Black:** Pe bai David wedi gwrandao ar yr hyn a ddywedais, gwyddai fy mod wedi sôn am y dewis o Dŷ Crycywel. Rhaid archwilio'r dewis hwnnw ochr yn ochr â'r lleill. Mae Tŷ Crycywel yn gyfyngedig a gwelem cyn hir ein bod yn ei lenwi at yr ymylon, a fyddai'n arwain at gynnig dewis arall gennym yn y dyfodol. Tybed beth yw barn David ar ddewis Peter Rogers, a oedd fel petai'n rhagweld cyflwyno Tŷ Crycywel, adeilad Parc Cathays a'r adeilad newydd fel un adeilad newydd, a gostiai o leiaf dair gwaith cost y dewis a gynigir ar gyfer yr adeilad a ddisgrifir o'n blaen? Mae gan bob un ohonom lawer o ffigurau o'n blaen ac mae'r adolygiad hwn i'w groesawu ac mae angen ei gyflawni. Fodd bynnag, rhaid ei wneud yn gyflym a rhaid inni sicrhau y cawn werth am arian. Tybiaf fod Tŷ Crycywel yn rhan o'r adolygiad hwnnw, fel y mae'r dewisiadau eraill. Rhaid inni weld beth a ddaw ohono. Ni ddymunaf ac ni cheisiaf ragfarnu'r adolygiad hwnnw, yn awr nac yng ngwelliannau 4 a 6 o'm heiddo. Rhaid i'r adolygiad fod yn agored ac yn dryloyw a chael ei gyflawni'n gyflym, fel nad yw'n costio mwy o arian i ni os penderfynwn fwrw ymlaen â'r adeilad newydd.

4:58 p.m.

We must ensure that we are getting value for money when we make our decision, and above all that the process is open and transparent. Whatever decision is taken must be fair, based on sound analysis and give value for money. We must explain ourselves thoroughly and publish the figures and reasoning behind that decision. We need to set clear objectives for this review and a time-span in which it must be conducted. That is why I tabled amendment 4 saying that this review must be completed within three months. That should give us time to consider the report of the Auditor General for Wales on the new building and to examine it in the Audit Committee. All the information needed will be available and the decision can be taken in an informed and considered way. In response to Cynog's comments, three months should be the maximum time for this review and I hope that it can be concluded well before the end of that period.

I also tabled amendments 6 and 7 underlining the need for this information to be publicly available and for maximum openness and transparency. We are creating a new democracy in Wales, which opens up the dark recesses of Government to public scrutiny. What better way to demonstrate that than by the way in which we deal with our new building? The Liberal Democrats cannot, of course, support the Conservatives' amendment 1, as it pre-empts the review on which the First Secretary has embarked. I hope that all the other party leaders will be part of that review, including the Conservatives. Then we might achieve consensus on the outcome. Transparency, accountability, openness and clarity of purpose are all principles on which we have sought to ground this Assembly. Those principles must also apply to whichever place we finally call home.

**Lorraine Barrett:** First of all, it is a mistake to talk about the new building. We should talk about the new chamber or extension, because when Ron Davies first decided to

Rhaid inni sicrhau ein bod yn cael gwerth am arian pan wnawn ein penderfyniad, ac yn fwy na dim bod y broses yn agored ac yn dryloyw. Rhaid i ba bynnag benderfyniad a wneir fod yn deg, yn seiliedig ar ddadansoddiad cadarn a rhaid iddo roi gwerth am arian. Rhaid inni egluro'n hunain yn drwyadl a chyhoeddi'r ffigurau a'r rhesymau y tu ôl i'r penderfyniad hwnnw. Mae angen inni bennu amcanion eglur ar gyfer yr adolygiad hwn a chyfnod pan ydyw i'w gynnal. Dyna pam y cyflwynais welliant 4 sydd yn dweud bod rhaid cwblhau'r adolygiad oddi mewn i dri mis. Dylai hynny roi amser inni ystyried adroddiad Archwilydd Cyffredinol Cymru ar yr adeilad newydd ac edrych arno yn y Pwyllgor Archwilio. Bydd yr holl wybodaeth angenrheidiol ar gael a gellir gwneud y penderfyniad mewn modd gwybodus ac ystyriol. Mewn ymateb i sylwadau Cynog, tri mis yw'r cyfnod hwyaf y dylid ei ganiatáu ar gyfer yr adolygiad hwn a gobeithiaf y gellir ei gwblhau ymhell cyn diwedd y cyfnod hwnnw.

Cyflwynais welliannau 6 a 7 hefyd sydd yn tanlinellu'r angen i'r wybodaeth hon fod ar gael i'r cyhoedd ac am y dull mwyaf agored a thryloyw posibl. Yr ydym yn creu democratiaeth newydd yng Nghymru, sydd yn datgelu cilfachau tywyll Llywodraeth i sylw'r cyhoedd. Pa ffordd well o ddangos hynny na'r modd yr ymdriniwn â'n hadeilad newydd? Ni all y Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol gefnogi gwelliant 1 y Ceidwadwyr, wrth gwrs, gan ei fod yn achub y blaen ar yr adolygiad y mae'r Prif Ysgrifennydd wedi dechrau arno. Gobeithiaf y bydd yr holl arweinyddion plaid eraill yn rhan o'r adolygiad hwnnw, gan gynnwys y Ceidwadwyr. Mae'n bosibl wedyn y caem gonsensws ar y canlyniad. Mae tryloywder, atebolrwydd, bod yn agored ac eglurder amcan oll yn egwyddorion y ceisiasom seilio'r Cynulliad hwn arnynt. Rhaid i'r egwyddorion hynny fod yn berthnasol hefyd i ba bynnag le a alwn yn gartref yn y diwedd.

**Lorraine Barrett:** Yn gyntaf oll, camgymeriad yw sôn am yr adeilad newydd. Dylem sôn am y siambr neu'r estyniad newydd, oherwydd pan benderfynodd Ron

locate the Assembly in Cardiff Bay, it was on the understanding that we would use Crickhowell House for office staff accommodation and construct a temporary chamber. A permanent new chamber would then be built as an extension to this building, with associated committee rooms and public areas. I have said before—and I will not cover too much old ground—that I was disappointed with Rhodri's decision to put this project on hold. We have had debates and presentations on this issue and we have voted on it in this Chamber. We thought we were moving forward. I cannot understand why we are now at this impasse.

When the First Secretary responds, I hope that he can assure us that he is not considering City Hall. Other Members have mentioned this, so I will not go into too much detail, but the paper on the internet today, which sets out the background to the choice of building for the Assembly, clearly shows that City Hall is a more expensive option. More accommodation would need to be built for offices and we would be working from two or three sites. In addition, staff would have to share accommodation. Three Members would have to share a room and I hate to think who would be prepared to do that. I hope that City Hall is firmly out of the equation.

Let us consider this building without a new chamber. Cynog mentioned visitors from abroad. Yesterday, 70 students visited the Assembly. They came from Portugal, Spain, Italy, France and Penarth. It took them half an hour to get through the scanner. The foyer was a no-go area and possibly a safety risk. The reception and security staff were good-natured and helped me to get them through at a rate of knots, but it still took half an hour. I moved them through the Assembly hall and they looked at the paintings on the wall—I could not show them much else—and they sat at the back of the public gallery. If they had been in the gallery this afternoon they would have had the pleasure of looking at the back of our heads as the public here today could testify. That is not the way to conduct our new democracy.

Davies leoli'r Cynulliad ym Mae Caerdydd gyntaf, yr oedd hynny ar y ddealltwriaeth y defnyddiem Dŷ Crycywel i gynnwys y staff swyddfa ac y byddem yn adeiladu siambr dros dro. Byddai siambr newydd barhaol yn cael ei chodi wedyn fel estyniad i'r adeilad hwn, gydag ystafelloedd pwyllgor a manau cyhoeddus cysylltiedig. Dywedais o'r blaen—ac nid wyf am fynd dros ormod o hen dir—fy mod wedi siomi â phenderfyniad Rhodri i atal y prosiect hwn dros dro. Cawsom ddadleuon a chyflwyniadau ar y mater hwn a phleidleisiasom arno yn y Siambr hon. Tybiasom ein bod yn symud ymlaen. Ni allaf ddeall pam yr ydym yn y caethgyfle hwn.

Pan fydd y Prif Ysgrifennydd yn ymateb, gobeithiaf y gall ein sicrhau nad yw'n ystyried Neuadd y Ddinas. Mae Aelodau eraill wedi sôn am hyn, felly nid af i ormod o fanylion, ond mae'r papur ar y rhyngwrwyd heddiw, sydd yn cyflwyno'r cefndir i'r dewis o adeilad ar gyfer y Cynulliad, yn dangos yn eglur fod Neuadd y Ddinas yn ddewis drutach. Byddai angen adeiladu mwy o le i swyddfeydd a byddem yn gweithio o ddau neu dri safle. Yn ogystal, byddai'n rhaid i staff rannu ystafelloedd. Byddai'n rhaid i dri Aelod rannu ystafell ac mae'n gas gennyf feddwl pwy a fyddai'n barod i wneud hynny. Gobeithiaf fod Neuadd y Ddinas wedi ei gosod yn bendant o'r neilltu.

Gadewch inni ystyried yr adeilad hwn heb siambr newydd. Soniodd Cynog am ymwelwyr o dramor. Ddoe, ymwelodd 70 o fyfyrwyr â'r Cynulliad. Daethant o Bortiwgal, Sbaen, yr Eidal, Ffrainc a Phenarth. Cymerodd hanner awr iddynt fynd drwy'r sganiwr. Nid oedd modd dod i'r cyntedd ac yr oedd o bosibl yn berygl i ddiogelwch. Yr oedd staff y dderbynfa a'r staff diogelwch yn rhadlon a rhoesant gymorth imi ddod â hwy drwodd yn eithaf cyflym, ond cymerodd hanner awr er hynny. Fe'u symudais drwy fynedfa'r Cynulliad ac edrychasant ar y peintiadau ar y wal—ni allwn ddangos fawr ddim arall iddynt—ac eisteddasant yng nghefn yr oriel gyhoeddus. Pe buasant yn yr oriel y prynhawn yma caent y pleser o edrych ar gefn ein pennau fel y gallai'r cyhoedd sydd yma heddiw dystio. Nid dyma'r modd i gynnal ein democratiaeth newydd.

We have all acknowledged the failings of this Chamber, such as the pillars and the acoustics. However, nothing would be wasted in this building if we had a new chamber. There is already a shortage of accommodation. We have all had the experience of not being able to find anywhere to hold meetings with outside groups. As time goes on, there will be more interest from visitors and other organisations. This will be particularly true when redevelopments in the bay are complete. The piledriving has started and the hoardings are going up for the new millennium centre. We have the beautiful Pierhead building, which—Rhodri assures me—will open later in the year as a visitor and educational centre. If we were to move to City Hall or anywhere else in Cathays Park, we would still have the Pierhead building, which complicates matters.

The Mermaid Quay development is underway, but only half of the units are in use. I was told today that many potential investors who are at an advanced, delicate stage of negotiations have suspended their plans to locate here until a firm decision is made. Rhodri said earlier that the new Chamber is not intended to encourage businesses to invest in the bay. However, once the decision was made, many companies saw it as a good investment. They wanted to come here to be near the new Government of Wales.

Rhodri mentioned staff travelling between the bay and Cathays Park and brought County Hall into the equation. I fear the goal posts are moving and I cannot keep up. The delay is sending negative messages to investors and others and there is doubt and confusion. I urge Rhodri to move as quickly as possible.

I acknowledge, as we all do, that there are people who question whether we need a new Chamber or an extension. We could all find other things on which to spend the money. I am sure that the Conservative group could come up with wonderful things on which to spend the £300 million that their UK counterparts previously committed from the

Yr ydym i gyd wedi cydnabod diffygion y Siambr hon, fel y pileri a'r acwsteg. Fodd bynnag, nid âi dim yn yr adeilad hwn yn wastraff pe caem siambr newydd. Mae prinder lle eisoes. Yr ydym i gyd wedi cael y profiad o fethu â darganfod unman i gynnal cyfarfodydd â grwpiau o'r tu allan. Fel yr â amser heibio, bydd mwy o ddiddordeb ymysg ymwelwyr a chyrff eraill. Bydd hyn yn arbennig o wir ar ôl cwblhau ailddatblygiadau yn y bae. Mae'r gyrdd peiriant wedi dechrau gweithio ac mae'r palisau'n cael eu codi ar gyfer y ganolfan mileniwm newydd. Mae adeilad hardd y Pierhead gennym a fydd—mae Rhodri'n fy sicrhau—yn agor yn ddiweddarach yn y flwyddyn fel canolfan ar gyfer addysg ac ymwelwyr. Pe baem yn symud i Neuadd y Ddinas neu i rywle arall ym Mharc Cathays, byddai adeilad y Pierhead gennym o hyd, sydd yn cymhlethu materion.

Mae datblygiad Cei'r Fôr-forwyn yn mynd rhagddo, ond dim ond hanner yr unedau sydd ar waith. Dywedwyd wrthyf heddiw fod llawer o fuddsoddwyr posibl yr aeth y negodiadau â hwy yn bell ac i gyfnod tringar wedi atal eu cynlluniau i leoli yma hyd nes y gwneir penderfyniad pendant. Dywedodd Rhodri'n gynharach nad bwriad y Siambr newydd yw annog busnesau i fuddsoddi yn y bae. Fodd bynnag, ar ôl gwneud y penderfyniad, fe'i gwelwyd gan lawer o gwmnïau'n fuddsoddiad da. Yr oeddent am ddod yma i fod yn agos i Lywodraeth newydd Cymru.

Soniodd Rhodri am staff yn teithio rhwng y bae a Pharc Cathays a chymerodd Neuadd y Sir i ystyriaeth. Ofnaf fod yr amcanion yn newid ac ni allaf ddal i fyny. Mae'r oedi'n anfon negeseuon negyddol at fuddsoddwyr ac eraill ac mae amheuaeth a dryswch. Anogaf Rhodri i symud cyn gynted ag y bo modd.

Cydnabyddaf, fel yr ydym oll, fod pobl sydd yn amau a oes arnom angen Siambr newydd neu estyniad. Galleml oll ddod o hyd i bethau eraill i wario'r arian arnynt. Yr wyf yn sicr y gallai'r grŵp Ceidwadol feddwl am bethau rhyfeddol y gellid gwario arnynt y £300 miliwn a glustnodwyd cynt gan eu cymheiriaid dros y DU o gyllideb

UK Government's budget on accommodation for MPs. However, I have not heard their suggestions.

**Alun Cairns:** Will you give way?

**Lorraine Barrett:** I told myself that I would deny Alun Cairns—out of the entire Conservative group—the opportunity to speak. I will carry on, but maybe you can speak at the end.

The money could be spent on other things and we must ensure that the costs do not escalate out of control. If we are serious about our new Government of Wales and we have confidence in ourselves and our country and have aspirations for Wales's future, we must ensure that our Government is housed in a building that shows that confidence, makes that statement and puts Wales on the map. If we do not, we will be seen as a second rate organisation consigned to a basic office block. If other countries and other seats of Government in the UK can have landmark buildings, why should we not?

Please do not dither and delay, Rhodri. It means extra costs and I am not convinced that anything has changed since Alun Michael, as First Secretary, and Edwina Hart, as Finance Secretary, went through the figures, since the National Audit Office examined the books twice, nor since the Assembly voted to go ahead with the scheme.

**Alun Cairns:** It is a pleasure to be able to contribute to this debate once again. I thought I was having a *déjà vu* earlier. The First Secretary made his statement a couple of weeks ago and I thought we had gone over this ground once. However, I welcome that the First Secretary is moving at least half way around a u-turn and I look forward to him moving the rest of the way round when he faces up to the right and only decision to abandon the new Assembly building. Nonetheless, we accept that because of the position he has taken, he must take smaller steps to come around to the same way of thinking as the Welsh Conservative Party.

Llywodraeth y DU ar gyfer ystafelloedd i ASau. Fodd bynnag, ni chlywais eu hawgrymiadau.

**Alun Cairns:** A ydych yn fodlon ildio?

**Lorraine Barrett:** Dywedais wrthyf fy hun y byddwn yn gwrthod cyfle i siarad—o bawb yn y grŵp Ceidwadol—i Alun Cairns. Yr wyf am fynd ymlaen, ond efallai y cewch siarad ar y diwedd.

Gellid gwario'r arian ar bethau eraill a rhaid inni sicrhau na fydd y costau'n codi'n ddireolaeth. Os ydym o ddifrif ynghylch ein Llywodraeth newydd yng Nghymru ac os oes gennym hyder ynom ni ein hunain a'n gwlad a dyheadau ynghylch dyfodol Cymru, rhaid inni sicrhau bod ein Llywodraeth wedi ei chartrefu mewn adeilad sydd yn amlygu'r hyder hwnnw, yn datgan hynny ac yn rhoi Cymru ar y map. Os na wnawn hynny, fe'n gwelir yn gorff eilradd sydd wedi ei fwrw i floc swyddfeydd syml. Os caiff gwledydd eraill a chanolfannau Llywodraeth eraill yn y DU adeiladau nodedig, pam na chawn ni?

Peidiwch ag anwladu ac oedi, Rhodri, os gwelwch yn dda. Golyga gostau ychwanegol ac nid wyf yn argyhoeddedig bod dim wedi newid ers i Alun Michael, yn Brif Ysgrifennydd, ac Edwina Hart, yn Ysgrifennydd Cyllid, fynd drwy'r ffigurau, ers i'r Swyddfa Archwilio Genedlaethol archwilio'r llyfrau ddwywaith, nac ers i'r Cynulliad bleidleisio i fynd ymlaen â'r cynllun.

**Alun Cairns:** Pleser yw gallu cyfrannu i'r ddatl hon unwaith eto. Credais fy mod yn profi *déjà vu* yn gynharach. Gwnaeth y Prif Ysgrifennydd ei ddatganiad ychydig wythnosau'n ôl a chredais ein bod wedi mynd dros y tir hwn unwaith. Fodd bynnag, croesawaf y ffaith bod y Prif Ysgrifennydd yn symud o leiaf hanner y ffordd drwy dro pedol ac edrychaf ymlaen at ei weld yn symud gweddill y ffordd pan wyneba'r unig benderfyniad a'r penderfyniad cywir i roi'r gorau i adeilad newydd y Cynulliad. Er hynny, derbyniwn y bydd yn rhaid iddo gymryd camau llai, oherwydd y safbwynt a gymerodd, er mwyn dod i'r un meddwl â Phlaid Geidwadol Cymru.

It is a u-turn, because on 26 January the First Secretary approved the motion, which said that the Assembly noted the revised estimated cost of the scheme and agreed that the development should now proceed on the revised basis with the objective of having a fully functional building in place by August 2002. If it was right then, why is it wrong now? That must be answered and that is why we are half way around the u-turn to abandon the Cardiff Bay project.

5:08 p.m.

I was surprised by the First Secretary's argument earlier today. I was expecting him to put forward an argument on reconsidering the figures to ensure that they would not rise beyond the £26 million, or almost £36 million, that we have reached for the new building. It seems clear, however, that the First Secretary intends to move the Assembly building to Cathays Park from Cardiff Bay. He said that he wanted to reflect on the figures and have a good read through them. Is he saying that there was not adequate consideration when he voted on the motion on 26 January, which I highlighted earlier, to approve the new Assembly building in the car park on the land that has been purchased for £1 and that is not quite big enough for the new Assembly building?

No one would deny that our facilities here are excellent. Civil servants, officials and former Secretaries of State for Wales have worked hard to ensure that we have these excellent facilities. We are reputed to have the most advanced parliament or assembly building in the world in terms of information and communications technology. We are welcome to use those facilities and to do so to the maximum benefit of what we do or what we seek to achieve.

That is what it comes down to. I intervened during Cynog Dafis's speech because it is the actions of the Assembly that are important, not the palace, the building, the prestige and not the self-importance that we impose on ourselves or on each other. It is not the importance that we feel in the building in which we stand or in the seats in which we sit but what we seek to achieve. Since we have had a change of First Secretary, we have

Tro pedol ydyw, oherwydd ar 26 Ionawr cymeradwyodd y Prif Ysgrifennydd y cynnig, a ddywedodd fod y Cynulliad yn nodi cost amcangyfrifedig diwygiedig y cynllun ac yn cytuno y dylai'r datblygiad fynd ymlaen ar y sail ddiwygiedig gyda'r amcan o gael adeilad cwbl weithredol ar waith erbyn Awst 2002. Os oedd yn iawn bryd hynny, pam y mae'n anghywir yn awr? Rhaid ateb hynny a dyna pam yr ydym hanner ffordd drwy'r tro pedol i roi'r gorau i'r prosiect ym Mae Caerdydd.

Synnais at ddadl y Prif Ysgrifennydd yn gynharach heddiw. Yr oeddwn yn disgwyl iddo gyflwyno dadl ar ailystyried y ffigurau er mwyn sicrhau na fyddent yn codi'n uwch na'r £26 miliwn, neu bron i £36 miliwn, a gyraeddassom ar gyfer yr adeilad newydd. Ymddengys yn glir, fodd bynnag, bod y Prif Ysgrifennydd yn bwriadu symud adeilad y Cynulliad i Barc Cathays o Fae Caerdydd. Dywedodd ei fod yn dymuno ystyried y ffigurau a darllen drwyddynt yn drwyadl. A yw'n dweud na fu ystyriaeth ddigonol pan bleidleisiodd ar y cynnig ar 26 Ionawr, y tynnais sylw ato'n gynharach, i gymeradwyo adeilad newydd y Cynulliad ar y maes parcio ar y tir a brynwyd am £1 ac nad yw'n ddigon mawr yn hollol i adeilad newydd y Cynulliad?

Ni wadai neb fod ein cyfleusterau yma'n rhagorol. Gweithiodd gweision sifil, swyddogion a chyn Ysgrifenyddion Gwladol Cymru'n galed i sicrhau bod y cyfleusterau rhagorol hyn gennym. Dywedir mai gennym ni y mae'r adeilad senedd neu gynulliad mwyaf datblygedig yn y byd o ran technoleg gwybodaeth a chyfathrebu. Mae croeso inni ddefnyddio'r cyfleusterau hynny a gwneud hynny er y budd mwyaf i'r hyn y ceisiwn ei wneud neu ei gyflawni.

At hynny y mae'n dod. Ymyrrais yn ystod araith Cynog Dafis am mai gweithredoedd y Cynulliad sydd yn bwysig, nid y palas, yr adeilad, y bri ac nid yr hunanbwysigrwydd a orfodwn arnom ein hunain neu ar ein gilydd. Nid y pwysigrwydd a deimlwn yn yr adeilad lle y safwn neu yn y seddau lle yr eisteddwn ond yr hyn y ceisiwn ei gyflawni. Ers inni gael newid Prif Ysgrifennydd, ychydig y symudasom ymlaen ar Amcan 1, ac ychydig

moved little forward on Objective 1, and little forward—in his mind, and in the Labour Party's and all the other parties' minds—on the new Assembly building. All we have done is move backward in their argument but forward in our argument, and I welcome the u-turn.

The cancellation costs were mentioned in an intervention to the First Secretary. He responded and highlighted that in his mind there was no contract. I would be surprised if the architect and the group that were tasked to design the new building would feel the same way. They have put a lot of money and effort into the new building. I am sure that there would be challenges from the architects because of the shenanigans between either the former Secretary of State for Wales, Ron Davies or the former First Secretary or the existing First Secretary and Russell Goodway. If there are no contractual obligations, there might well be moral obligations from their point of view in the design of the new building.

**David Davies:** Is it not the case that when those architects—Tony Blair's chum, Lord Rogers was asked to draw up the design for this new building—went around the car park with a tape-measure, they did not get the measurements quite right and the overall design was too big for the space in which it was meant to go? Does Alun Cairns agree that it will be difficult for us to have confidence in these architects and in the proposed building if they cannot even get the measurements right in the first place?

**Alun Cairns:** You are absolutely right. It seems logical to anyone who seeks to build a house, in the most simple example, or to build a new assembly building, in a more complicated example, that the first thing to do would be to measure the available land and to design and propose a building that is fitting of that land and that can squeeze into it. Costs have been highlighted. There is only one thing that we can be sure of in terms of cost—as has been highlighted in so many public buildings—they will only go one way, and they are guaranteed to go up. The figure of £10 million was mentioned earlier by William Graham as the cost of the building that was proposed at the time of the

ymlaen—yn ei feddwl ef, ac ym meddwl y Blaid Lafur a'r holl bleidiau eraill—yr aethpwyd ar adeilad newydd y Cynulliad. Y cwbl a wnaethom yw symud yn ôl yn eu dadl hwy ond ymlaen yn ein dadl ni, a chroesawaf y tro pedol.

Soniwyd am y costau diddymu mewn ymyriad i'r Prif Ysgrifennydd. Ymatebodd a phwysleisiodd nad oedd contract yn ei farn ef. Synnwn pe bai'r pensaer a'r grŵp y rhoddwyd iddo'r gorchwyl o ddylunio'r adeilad newydd yn teimlo'r un fath. Rhoesant lawer o arian ac o ymdrech i'r adeilad newydd. Yr wyf yn sicr y byddai sialensau oddi wrth y penseiri oherwydd y castiau rhwng un ai cyn Ysgrifennydd Gwladol Cymru, Ron Davies neu'r cyn Brif Ysgrifennydd neu'r Prif Ysgrifennydd presennol a Russell Goodway. Os nad oes rhwymedigaethau contractiol, mae'n bosibl iawn y bydd rhwymedigaethau moesol o'u safbwynt hwy ynghylch dylunio'r adeilad newydd.

**David Davies:** Onid yw'n wir nad oedd y penseiri hynny—gofynnwyd i ffrind Tony Blair, yr Arglwydd Rogers baratoi'r dyluniad ar gyfer yr adeilad newydd hwn—pan aethant o gwmpas y maes parcio â thâp mesur, wedi gwneud y mesuriadau'n hollol iawn a bod y dyluniad cyfan yn rhy fawr i'r lle yr oedd i fod i fynd iddo? A yw Alun Cairns yn cytuno y bydd yn anodd inni deimlo hyder yn y penseiri hynny ac yn yr adaeilad arfaethedig os nad ydynt hyd yn oed yn gallu gwneud y mesuriadau'n iawn yn y lle cyntaf?

**Alun Cairns:** Yr ydych yn llygad eich lle. Ymddengys yn rhesymegol mai'r peth cyntaf a wnâi rhywun sydd yn ceisio codi tŷ, yn yr enghraifft symlaf, neu godi adeilad cynulliad newydd, mewn enghraifft fwy cymhleth, yw mesur y tir sydd ar gael a dylunio a chynnig adeilad sydd yn gweddu i'r tir hwnnw ac y gellir ei wasgu iddo. Tynnwyd sylw at gostau. Nid oes ond un peth y gallwn fod yn sicr ohono o ran cost—fel y pwysleiswyd yn achos cynifer o adeiladau cyhoeddus—sef na fyddant ond yn mynd i un cyfeiriad, a'u bod yn sicr o godi. Crybwyllwyd y ffigur o £10 miliwn yn gynharach gan William Graham fel cost yr adeilad a gynigiwyd ar adeg y refferendwm. Mae'r £10 miliwn hwnnw



referendum. That £10 million has now jumped to £26 million or in excess of £26 million and I would be surprised if there was any change from £30 million, or even £50 million.

Reference has been made to the spending by some of our Westminster colleagues on accommodation. However, is devolution not the right to decide how we spend the block grant that is given to Wales in a way that best serves the people of Wales and our constituents? The spending of any other government is their responsibility, not ours, and we do not want to be held responsible for spending in any other place.

Finally, I cannot believe the argument put forward by some Members in debates leading up to today's debate that these are spoiling tactics by the Welsh Conservative Party. We propose a practical, straightforward way of gaining the respect of the Welsh people. There is a feeling in many people's eyes—certainly not in the Welsh Conservative Party's eyes—that the Assembly has not lived up to its expectations. Would abandoning the new building not give us £30 million to invest in education and in the health service so that we could then seek to gain the respect of the Welsh people?

**Owen John Thomas:** One might ask who will inform this debate, and eventually the decisions, concerning the location and cost of the Assembly building. I ask because it seems to me that there are those for whom any decision would be unsatisfactory and, undoubtedly, the focus of future criticism. Many of these whingers were busy long before the First Secretary declared this hiatus in the already fractured and contentious proceedings.

There are mixed views too on the planned new chamber, described by one wit as

'a glasshouse with balls that will be dwarfed by Tŷ Crycywel and the Millennium Arts Centre and made to look ordinary alongside the Pierhead building'.

The more optimistic view, however, is that it

bellach wedi neidio i £26 miliwn neu'n fwy na £26 miliwn a byddwn yn synnu pe bai unrhyw newid o £30 miliwn, neu o £50 miliwn hyd yn oed.

Cyfeiriwyd at y gwariant ar ystafelloedd gan rai o'n cydweithwyr yn San Steffan. Fodd bynnag, onid datganoli yw'r hawl i benderfynu sut y gwariwn y grant bloc a roddir i Gymru mewn modd sydd o'r budd mwyaf i bobl Cymru a'n hetholwyr? Mae gwariant unrhyw lywodraeth arall yn gyfrifoldeb iddynt hwy, nid i ni, ac nid ydym am gael ein galw i gyfrif am wariant mewn unrhyw le arall.

Yn olaf, ni allaf gredu'r ddadl a gyflwynwyd gan rai Aelodau mewn dadleuon a arweiniodd at y ddadl heddiw mai tacteg sbwylio yw hon gan Blaid Geidwadol Cymru. Cynigiwn ffordd ymarferol, syml o ennill parch pobl Cymru. Mae teimlad yng ngolwg llawer—yn sicr nid yng ngolwg Plaid Geidwadol Cymru—nad yw'r Cynulliad wedi cyflawni ei addewid. Oni fyddai rhoi'r gorau i'r adeilad newydd yn rhoi £30 miliwn i'w fuddsoddi mewn addysg ac yn y gwasanaeth iechyd fel y gallem wedyn geisio ennill parch pobl Cymru?

**Owen John Thomas:** Gallai rhywun ofyn pwy a fydd yn goleuo'r ddadl hon, a'r penderfyniadau yn y pen draw, ynghylch lleoliad a chost adeilad y Cynulliad. Gofynnaf hynny oherwydd ymddengys i mi fod rhai y byddai unrhyw benderfyniad yn anfodddhaol ac a fyddai, mae'n siŵr, yn ffocws ar gyfer beirniadaeth yn y dyfodol. Yr oedd llawer o'r cwynwyr hyn wrthi ymhell cyn i'r Prif Ysgrifennydd gyhoeddi'r bwch hwn mewn trafodaethau sydd eisoes yn doredig ac yn gynhennus.

Mae barn gymysg hefyd ynghylch y siambr newydd arfaethedig, a ddisgrifiwyd gan un gŵr ffraeth yn

'dŷ gwydr â pheli a fydd yn fach o'i gymharu â Thŷ Crycywel a Chanolfan Gelfyddydau'r Mileniwm ac a welir yn ddi-nod ochr yn ochr ag adeilad y Pierhead'.

Y farn fwy optimistaidd, fodd bynnag, yw y

will enhance the built environment and project a modernistic and vibrant image of Wales, forming part of an exciting development stretching along the capital's waterfront. Whichever view Members prefer, it seems that the addition of a new chamber would certainly be an improvement on Tŷ Crycywel standing alone.

The real choice for the Assembly seems to be between the planned Cardiff Bay project and the City Hall. We will not know all the pros and cons of these options until a thorough investigation of the costs and other implications of both locations has been completed and published. As a Cardiffian, I am aware of the strong public support that has been expressed in favour of Cardiff City Hall. However, I am also aware of the emergence over the last 12 months of the growth of support for the counter attraction of the proposed waterfront chamber.

I am also aware of bay business people's concern for the effect that moving the Assembly could have upon the huge investment on the waterfront. When the bay plans were first laid the Assembly was not a part of them. In fact, many of those linked with Cardiff Bay Development Corporation were hostile even to the idea of devolution. Nevertheless, attitudes change with new circumstances, and many within the business sector in the capital now appreciate the added status created by the presence here of the Assembly.

There has been much secrecy and uncertainty about the details of both locations. A short delay to enlighten the Assembly and the general public on a matter of such lasting importance would not be amiss. However, even a short delay could have been avoided had Dafydd Wigley's request been accepted for full and proper consideration to be given, at the Assembly's inception, to the permanent location of the Assembly, together with details of costs and other implications. Unfortunately, Plaid Cymru's request was not taken up, but I congratulate the First Secretary on taking this brave step in deciding to uncover the full costs and

bydd yn gwella'r amgylchedd adeiledig ac yn cyfleu delwedd fodernaidd a bywiog o Gymru, gan fod yn rhan o ddatblygiad cyffrous sydd yn ymestyn ar hyd glannau'r brifddinas. Pa bynnag safbwynt sydd orau gan yr Aelodau, ymddengys y byddai ychwanegu siambr newydd yn sicr yn welliant ar Dŷ Crycywel yn sefyll ar ei ben ei hun.

Ymddengys fod y gwir ddewis i'r Cynulliad rhwng y prosiect a gynlluniwyd ym Mae Caerdydd a Neuadd y Ddinas. Ni fyddwn yn gwybod am holl fanteision ac anfantseision y dewisiadau hyn hyd nes y bydd ymchwiliad trwyadl i gostau a goblygiadau eraill y ddau leoliad wedi ei gwblhau a'i gyhoeddi. Fel brodor o Gaerdydd, yr wyf yn ymwybodol o'r gefnogaeth gyhoeddus gryf a fynegwyd o blaid Neuadd Ddinas Caerdydd. Fodd bynnag, yr wyf hefyd yn ymwybodol o'r cynnydd yn y gefnogaeth a ddaeth i'r amlwg dros y 12 mis diwethaf i wrthatyniad y siambr arfaethedig ar lan y dŵr.

Yr wyf hefyd yn ymwybodol o bryder pobl busnes y bae ynghylch effaith bosibl symud y Cynulliad ar y buddsoddiad anferth ar lan y dŵr. Pan osodwyd cynlluniau'r bae gyntaf nid oedd y Cynulliad yn rhan ohonynt. Mewn gwirionedd, yr oedd llawer o'r rhai a oedd yn gysylltiedig â Chorfforaeth Datblygu Bae Caerdydd yn elyniaethus hyd yn oed i'r syniad o ddatganoli. Er hynny, mae agweddau'n newid gydag amgylchiadau newydd, ac mae llawer oddi mewn i'r sector busnes yn y brifddinas bellach yn sylweddoli'r statws uwch a greir drwy bresenoldeb y Cynulliad yma.

Bu llawer o gyfrinachgarwch ac ansicrwydd ynghylch manylion y ddau leoliad. Ni fyddai dim o'i le ar oediad bach i oleuo'r Cynulliad a'r cyhoedd ar fater o bwysigrwydd parhaol fel hyn. Fodd bynnag, galleid bod wedi osgoi oediad byr hyd yn oed pe derbynesid cais Dafydd Wigley am roi ystyriaeth lawn a phriodol, wrth sefydlu'r Cynulliad, i leoliad parhaol y Cynulliad, ynghyd â manylion y costau a goblygiadau eraill. Yn anffodus, ni dderbyniwyd cais Plaid Cymru, ond llongyfarchaf y Prif Ysgrifennydd ar gymryd y cam dewr hwn wrth benderfynu datgelu holl gostau a goblygiadau'r dewisiadau cyn mynd ymhellach. Fodd bynnag, pwysaf arno i

implications of the options before proceeding further. However, I urge him to demand that the information is gathered quickly so that a report-back will be made to the Assembly on our return from the Easter recess.

5:18 p.m.

Advantage should be taken of the opportunity to introduce a new culture. It is time to replace old bureaucratic practices of verbosity, confusion and repetition with clarity and—dare I say it—transparency in the form of a coherent and concise presentation of the facts. I wish to see a solution that will provide people with an Assembly building of which we can be proud and one that in the future will be sufficiently imposing also to serve as our national parliament. Our built environment should reflect not only our past history but also our future aspirations.

**The First Secretary:** I am grateful to Owen John Thomas for those words of commendation for the decision—that I took some weeks ago—to park the project for a number of weeks to investigate and re-examine the figures and the comparisons. I assure him that it will be for the shortest possible period. I will hopefully return with a full set of figures shortly after the Easter recess.

I will try to address some of the points made during the debate. Glyn Davies says that the figures that were supplied this morning are not new. However, I am advised that they are new. If he wants to write to me to point out when he first received them—if it was before today—I shall be interested to find out. I am assured that they were new material and nobody else has made that same point. Lorraine Barrett appeared to confirm that they were new. She takes as much interest in this project as anybody.

Soniodd Cynog am y pellter o ddwy filltir. Meddyliodd fy mod yn gwneud gormod o ffwdan ynglŷn â'r ddwy filltir o bellter rhwng yr adeilad hwn â Pharc Cathays, sef lleoliad parhaol y gwasanath sifil, a'r pellter a ystyrir yn arferol yn Llundain rhwng y senedd, palas

fynnu y caiff yr wybodaeth ei chasglu'n gyflym fel yr adroddir yn ôl i'r Cynulliad pan ddychwelwn ar ôl toriad y Pasg.

Dylid achub ar y cyfle i gyflwyno diwylliant newydd. Mae'n bryd disodli hen ymarferiadau biwrocraidaidd o eiriogrwydd, dryswch ac ailadrodd a rhoi eglurder yn eu lle a—mentraf ddweud—tryloywder ar ffurf cyflwyniad cydlynol a chryno o'r ffeithiau. Dymunaf weld ateb a fydd yn rhoi i'r bobl adeilad Cynulliad y gallwn ymfalchïo ynddo ac un a fydd yn ddigon urddasol yn y dyfodol i wasanaethu hefyd fel ein senedd genedlaethol. Dylai ein hamgylchedd adeiledig adlewyrchu nid yn unig ein hanes ond hefyd ein dyheadau ar gyfer y dyfodol.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Yr wyf yn ddiolchgar i Owen John Thomas am y geiriau hynny o glod i'r penderfyniad—a gymerais rai wythnosau'n ôl—i barcio'r prosiect am nifer o wythnosau er mwyn ymchwilio ac ailarchwilio'r ffigurau a'r cymariaethau. Rhoddaf sicrwydd iddo mai am y cyfnod byrraf posibl y bydd hynny. Hyderaf y byddaf yn dychwelyd â set lawn o ffigurau ychydig ar ôl toriad y Pasg.

Ceisiasf ymdrin â rhai o'r pwyntiau a wnaethpwyd yn ystod y dadl. Dywed Glyn Davies nad yw'r ffigurau newydd a gyflenwyd y bore yma yn rhai newydd. Fodd bynnag, y cyngor a gefais yw eu bod yn rhai newydd. Os dymuna ysgrifennu ataf i nodi pa bryd y'u derbyniodd gyntaf—os oedd hynny cyn heddiw—bydd o ddiddordeb imi gael gwybod. Fe'm sicrhawyd eu bod yn ddeunydd newydd ac ni wnaeth neb arall yr un pwynt. Ymddangosai fod Lorraine Barrett yn cadarnhau eu bod yn newydd. Ymddiddora gymaint â neb yn y prosiect hwn.

Cynog mentioned the distance of two miles. He thought that I was making too much fuss about the distance of two miles between this building and Cathays Park, the permanent site of the civil service, and the distance considered normal in London between

San Steffan ac adeiladau megis y Trysorlys. Mae yna egwyddor bwysig ynglŷn â'r gwahaniaeth rhwng hanner milltir a dwy filltir, sef y gwahaniaeth rhwng pellter cerdded neu 'waco'—fel y dywedir yn ei sir enedigol—â'r pellter na fydddech yn gallu cerdded.

**Cynog Dafis:** Cerdded yw'r gair a ddefnyddir gennym. Mae 'waco' yn golygu rhywbeth arall. Yr ydym yn mynd am 'wac' yn y car.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae'n ddrwg gennyf. Nid wyf yn arbenigwr ar dafodiaith Ceredigion. Credaf fod Cynog yn derbyn yr egwyddor fod gwahaniaeth rhwng y pellter a ystyrir yn naturiol i gerdded, a dwy filltir, a ystyrir yn rhy bell i'w cherdded. Ni fyddai neb yn cerdded rhwng Tŷ Crycywel â Pharc Cathays. Yr wyf wedi camddehongli'r hyn a ddywedodd Cynog ar ddiwedd ei araith. Credais ei fod yn sôn am y posibilrwydd o'r gwasanaeth sifil i gyd yn symud i'r bae. Fodd bynnag, yr hyn sydd yn bwysig ynglŷn â'r ddadl hon yw beth yr ydym yn mynd i'w wneud ynglŷn â'r pellter hwn â'r aneffeithlonrwydd bod y gwasanaeth sifil ddwy filltir i ffwrdd o'r bae lle mae democratiaeth â'i chanolfan.

**Brian Hancock:** We talk about two miles. It is okay for schoolchildren to walk two miles when they are eight.

**The First Secretary:** I do not deny that. However, the issue is how much time is lost when civil servants move that sort of distance if anybody is seriously imagining civil servants are going to walk back and forth between here and Cathays Park. I take his point about schoolchildren. However, it is a point in relation to schoolchildren rather than civil servants. It does not alter the issue of the problem of distance, which we would be setting in stone as soon as we commit to the new building. Nobody is seriously suggesting that we should move the civil service to the bay. The civil service will always remain in Cathays Park

We must ask ourselves how this project has pre-occurred in asking for a new building. At the time the parameters were set for 280 people and 72,000 square feet. That has now

Parliament, the Palace of Westminster and buildings such as the Treasury. There is an important principle about the difference between half a mile and two miles, which is the difference between walking distance or *waco*— as they say in his native county—and the distance that you could not walk.

**Cynog Dafis:** *Cerdded* is the word we use for walking. *Waco* means something else. We go for a *wac*, a leisurely jaunt in a car.

**The First Secretary:** I apologise. I am not an expert on Cardiganshire dialect. I think Cynog accepts the principle that there is a difference between the distance that is considered to be a natural walking distance, and two miles, which is considered too far to walk. Nobody would walk between Crickhowell House and Cathays Park. I have misunderstood what Cynog said at the end of his speech. I thought that he was talking about the possibility of the whole of the civil service moving to the bay. However, what is important about this debate is what we are going to do about this distance and the inefficiency that the civil service is two miles away from the bay where democracy has its headquarters.

**Brian Hancock:** Yr ydym yn sôn am ddwy filltir. Mae'n iawn i blant ysgol gerdded dwy filltir pan ydynt yn wyth oed.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Ni wadaf hynny. Fodd bynnag, y mater yw pa faint o amser a gollir pan yw gweision sifil yn mynd pellter o'r fath os yw rhywun yn credu o ddifrif y bydd gweision sifil yn cerdded yn ôl ac ymlaen rhwng y lle hwn a Pharc Cathays. Derbyniaf ei bwynt am blant ysgol. Fodd bynnag, mae'n bwynt sydd yn ymwneud â phlant ysgol yn hytrach na gweision sifil. Nid yw'n newid natur y broblem pellter, y byddem yn ei gosod mewn carreg cyn gynted ag yr ymrwymwn i'r adeilad newydd. Nid oes neb yn awgrymu o ddifrif y dylem symud y gwasanaeth sifil i'r bae. Bydd y gwasanaeth sifil yn aros bob amser ym Mharc Cathays.

Rhaid inni ofyn i ni'n hunain sut y daeth y prosiect hwn i fod wrth ofyn am adeilad newydd. Ar y pryd gosodwyd y paramedrau ar gyfer 280 o bobl a 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr.

increased to 517 people, with the prospect of 746 people working in this building. Therefore, a pair of buildings of 160,000 square feet is required instead of the 72,000 square feet that was originally set. The answer is simple as far as I am aware. It is due to the demand set by the two-mile distance. More and more civil servants are being transferred to work in Crickhowell House to support the Assembly's activities. I ask myself at what stage we will know that we have reached stability so that we know how big a building is required. This would not be due to an increase in Assembly Members or support staff, but because we can never say that we have reached the stage at which we stop switching civil servants from Cathays Park to the bay. They are moved to the bay to be next to where the democratic part of our system of Government is located. We keep reassessing that figure and as yet we have not achieved stability, which is why the figure for occupation of the building has increased from 280 to 746. I want to examine that more closely over the next few weeks.

**William Graham:** I do not want to accuse you of straying from the point, but the Richard Rogers Partnership website to which I referred earlier, refers to an area of the new building that is 3,000 square metres.

**The First Secretary:** Sorry?

**William Graham:** You seem to be telling us so much about the size of these buildings and what has already been spent. We accept that. We ask you not to commit more money on the new building.

**The First Secretary:** The figures add up perfectly. These are precisely the figures to which I referred. When the decision was made to locate temporarily in this building and then permanently on site 1C with use of this building as a back-up, it was on the basis that the total space used—as I understand it—would be 72,000 square feet, of which 30,000 square feet—which is 3,000 square metres—would be in the new building. That has increased to the use of the whole of

Cynyddodd hynny bellach i 517 o bobl, gyda rhagolygon y bydd 746 o bobl yn gweithio yn yr adeilad hwn. Felly, mae angen pâr o adeiladau o 160,000 troedfedd sgwâr yn lle'r 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr a bennwyd yn wreiddiol. Mae'r ateb yn un syml hyd y gwn i. Mae o ganlyniad i'r galw a bennir gan y pellter o ddwy filltir. Trosglwyddir mwy a mwy o weision sifil i weithio yn Nhŷ Crycywel i gynnal gweithgareddau'r Cynulliad. Gofynnaf imi fy hun ar ba adeg y byddwn yn gwybod ein bod wedi cyrraedd sefydlogrwydd fel y gwyddom faint yr adeilad y mae ei angen. Ni fyddai hynny o ganlyniad i gynnydd yn nifer Aelodau'r Cynulliad neu staff ategol, ond am na allwn byth ddweud ein bod wedi cyrraedd cyfnod pan ydym yn rhoi'r gorau i symud gweision sifil o Barc Cathays i'r bae. Fe'u symudir i'r bae i fod yn agos i leoliad y rhan ddemocrataidd o'n system. Yr ydym yn parhau i ailasesu'r ffigur hwnnw a hyd yn hyn nid ydym wedi cyrraedd sefydlogrwydd, a dyna'r rheswm pam y mae'r ffigur am nifer y deiliaid yn yr adeilad wedi codi o 280 i 746. Yr wyf am edrych yn fanylach ar hynny dros yr wythnosau nesaf.

**William Graham:** Ni ddymunaf eich cyhuddo o grwydro oddi ar y pwynt, ond mae gwefan Partneriaeth Richard Rogers y cyfeiriais ati'n gynharach, yn cyfeirio at arwynebedd o 3,000 medr sgwâr i'r adeilad newydd.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae'n ddrwg gennyf?

**William Graham:** Ymddengys eich bod yn dweud llawer iawn wrthym am faint yr adeiladau hyn a'r hyn a wariwyd eisoes. Derbyniwn hynny. Gofynnwn ichi beidio â chlustnodi mwy o arian ar gyfer yr adeilad newydd.

**Y Prif Ysgrifennydd:** Mae'r ffigurau'n adio'n berffaith. Y rhain yw'r union ffigurau y cyfeiriais atynt. Pan wnaethpwyd y penderfyniad i ymleoli yn yr adeilad hwn dros dro ac wedyn yn barhaol ar safle 1C gan ddefnyddio'r adeilad hwn fel un wrth gefn, yr oedd hynny ar y sail y byddai cyfanswm y lle a ddefnyddir—fel y deallaf hynny—yn 72,000 troedfedd sgwâr, y byddai 30,000 troedfedd sgwâr ohono—sydd yn 3,000 medr sgwâr—yn yr adeilad newydd. Cynyddodd

Crickhowell House, which is 125,000 square feet, plus 30,000 square feet in the new building. That is a total of 155,000 square feet, which is over double the original specification. It behoves us to consider how the specification has doubled and how the deemed numbers of support staff, plus ourselves, has increased from 280 to 517 to 746. Is that the end of it? Can we bring to an end this instability between the numbers of civil servants deemed to need to be in Cathays Park and those deemed to need to be next to where our democratic activities take place here in the bay?

Disability Wales, I understand from Edwina, is consulting to give us a firm and final view on aspects relating to access for those with disabilities in the new building. Alun Cairns has given us his usual expertise on the subject of self-importance this afternoon. He has completely missed the point. I am not certain what he is trying to say. I think he is trying to say that since I have gone half way around his supposed u-turn, I must automatically go the rest of the way around it. That is the problem with the Conservatives' attitude towards this issue. I said that I am not willing to spend or authorise a further £1 million on progress. I want to examine some of the figures regarding the estimated cost and the aspects of inefficiency that have not been costed, between Cathays Park hosting the civil service and ourselves in the bay doing so. I mentioned the aspects of project creep in terms of numbers, of which I was not aware until a fortnight ago. You made plain that you were aware of them, but I was not. Those are the aspects that I need to re-examine during the Easter recess. In the light of all that, we recommend opposing Glyn Davies's amendment 1, because it is completely outside the spirit of my announcement a fortnight ago. We will support the other amendments. I believe that Cynog accepts that his amendment is defective, but we will try to live with the spirit of returning to consider the full figures after the Easter recess. I hope that we can vote along those lines.

hynny i gynnwys defnyddio'r cwbl o Dŷ Crycywel, sydd yn 125,000 troedfedd sgwâr, ynghyd â 30,000 troedfedd sgwâr yn yr adeilad newydd. Mae hynny'n gyfanswm o 155,000 troedfedd sgwâr, sydd dros ddwywaith y fanyleb wreiddiol. Dylem ystyried sut y mae'r fanyleb wedi dyblu a sut y mae niferoedd tybiedig y staff ategol, ynghyd â ni'n hunain, wedi codi o 280 i 517 i 746. Ai dyna ei diwedd hi? A allwn roi diwedd ar yr ansefydlogrwydd hwn rhwng niferoedd y gweision sifil y tybir bod eu hangen ym Mharc Cathays a'r rhai y tybir bod eu hangen i fod yn agos i'r lle y mae ein gweithgareddau democrataidd yn digwydd yma yn y bae?

Mae Anabledd Cymru, fel y deallaf oddi wrth Edwina, yn ymgynghori er mwyn rhoi barn bendant a therfynol i ni ar agweddau sydd yn ymwneud â mynediad i rai ag anableddau yn yr adeilad newydd. Mae Alun Cairns wedi rhoi ei arbenigedd arferol inni ar bwnc hunanbwysigrwydd y prynhawn yma. Mae wedi methu'r pwynt yn llwyr. Nid wyf yn sicr beth y mae'n ceisio ei ddweud. Credaf ei fod yn ceisio dweud y byddaf, gan fy mod wedi mynd hanner y ffordd drwy ei dro pedol tybiedig, yn gorfod mynd weddill y ffordd drwyddo'n awtomatig. Dyna'r broblem ag agwedd y Ceidwadwyr at y mater hwn. Dywedais nad wyf yn barod i wario neu awdurdodi £1 miliwn pellach i symud ymlaen. Dymunaf archwilio rhai o'r ffigurau ynghylch y gost amcangyfrifedig a'r agweddau ar aneffeithlonrwydd sydd heb eu costio, rhwng cartrefu'r gwasanaeth sifil ym Mharc Cathays a'i gartrefu gennym ni yn y bae. Soniais am yr agweddau ar ymgripiad prosiect o ran niferoedd nad oeddwn yn ymwybodol ohono hyd bythefnos yn ôl. Rhoesoch ar ddeall eich bod yn ymwybodol ohonynt, ond nid oeddwn i. Y rheini yw'r agweddau y bydd angen imi eu hailarchwilio yn ystod toriad y Pasg. Yng ngoleuni hynny i gyd, argymhellwn y dylid gwrthwynebu gwelliant 1 Glyn Davies, am ei fod yn gyfan gwbl y tu allan i ysbryd fy nghyhoeddiad bythefnos yn ôl. Byddwn yn cefnogi'r gwelliannau eraill. Credaf fod Cynog yn derbyn bod ei welliant ef yn ddiffygiol, ond byddwn yn ceisio cyd-fynd â'r ysbryd o ddod yn ôl i ystyried y ffigurau llawn ar ôl toriad y Pasg. Gobeithiaf y gallwn bleidleisio'n unol â hynny.

5:28 p.m.

*Gwelliant 1: O blaid 7, Ymatal 2, Yn erbyn 39.  
Amendment 1: For 7, Abstain 2, Against 39.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Bourne, Nick  
Cairns, Alun  
Davies, Glyn  
Graham, William  
Melding, David  
Morgan, Jonathan  
Rogers, Peter

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol yn erbyn:  
The following Members voted against:

Barrett, Lorraine  
Bates, Mick  
Black, Peter  
Chapman, Christine  
Dafis, Cynog  
Davies, Andrew  
Davies, Janet  
Davies, Ron  
Edwards, Richard  
Essex, Sue  
German, Michael  
Gibbons, Brian  
Griffiths, John  
Gwyther, Christine  
Halford, Alison  
Hancock, Brian  
Hart, Edwina  
Humphreys, Christine  
Jones, Ann  
Jones, Carwyn  
Jones, Elin  
Jones, Gareth  
Jones, Helen Mary  
Law, Peter  
Lewis, Huw  
Lloyd, David  
Marek, John  
Middlehurst, Tom  
Morgan, Rhodri  
Neagle, Lynne  
Pugh, Alun  
Randerson, Jenny  
Ryder, Janet  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Gwenda  
Thomas, Owen John  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

Ymataliodd yr aelodau canlynol:  
The following members abstained:

Davies, Jocelyn  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn

*Amendment rejected.*

*Gwrthodwyd y gwelliant.*

*Gwelliant 2: O blaid 42, Ymatal 7, Yn erbyn 0.  
Amendment 2: For 42, Abstain 7, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Ymataliodd yr Aelodau canlynol:  
The following Members abstained:

Barrett, Lorraine  
 Bates, Mick  
 Black, Peter  
 Chapman, Christine  
 Dafis, Cynog  
 Davies, Andrew  
 Davies, Geraint  
 Davies, Janet  
 Davies, Jocelyn  
 Davies, Ron  
 Edwards, Richard  
 Essex, Sue  
 German, Michael  
 Gibbons, Brian  
 Griffiths, John  
 Gwyther, Christine  
 Halford, Alison  
 Hancock, Brian  
 Hart, Edwina  
 Humphreys, Christine  
 Jones, Ann  
 Jones, Carwyn  
 Jones, Elin  
 Jones, Gareth  
 Jones, Helen Mary  
 Law, Peter  
 Lewis, Huw  
 Lloyd, David  
 Marek, John  
 Middlehurst, Tom  
 Morgan, Rhodri  
 Neagle, Lynne  
 Pugh, Alun  
 Randerson, Jenny  
 Ryder, Janet  
 Sinclair, Karen  
 Thomas, Gwenda  
 Thomas, Owen John  
 Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
 Wigley, Dafydd  
 Williams, Kirsty  
 Williams, Phil

Bourne, Nick  
 Cairns, Alun  
 Davies, Glyn  
 Graham, William  
 Melding, David  
 Morgan, Jonathan  
 Rogers, Peter

*Amendment adopted.*

*Derbyniwyd y gwelliant.*

*Gwelliant 3: O blaid 39, Ymatal 7, Yn erbyn 0.  
 Amendment 3: For 39, Abstain 7, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
 The following Members voted for:

Barrett, Lorraine  
 Bates, Mick  
 Black, Peter  
 Chapman, Christine  
 Dafis, Cynog  
 Davies, Andrew  
 Davies, Geraint  
 Davies, Janet  
 Davies, Jocelyn  
 Davies, Ron  
 Edwards, Richard  
 German, Michael  
 Gibbons, Brian  
 Griffiths, John  
 Gwyther, Christine

Ymataliodd yr Aelodau canlynol:  
 The following Members abstained:

Bourne, Nick  
 Cairns, Alun  
 Davies, Glyn  
 Graham, William  
 Melding, David  
 Morgan, Jonathan  
 Rogers, Peter



Halford, Alison  
 Hancock, Brian  
 Hart, Edwina  
 Humphreys, Christine  
 Jones, Ann  
 Jones, Carwyn  
 Jones, Elin  
 Jones, Gareth  
 Jones, Helen Mary  
 Law, Peter  
 Lewis, Huw  
 Lloyd, David  
 Marek, John  
 Neagle, Lynne  
 Pugh, Alun  
 Randerson, Jenny  
 Ryder, Janet  
 Sinclair, Karen  
 Thomas, Gwenda  
 Thomas, Owen John  
 Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
 Wigley, Dafydd  
 Williams, Kirsty  
 Williams, Phil

*Amendment adopted.*

*Derbyniwyd y gwelliant.*

*Gwelliant 4: O blaid 42, Ymatal 7, Yn erbyn 0.  
 Amendment 4: For 42, Abstain 7, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
 The following Members voted for:

Barrett, Lorraine  
 Bates, Mick  
 Black, Peter  
 Chapman, Christine  
 Dafis, Cynog  
 Davies, Andrew  
 Davies, Geraint  
 Davies, Janet  
 Davies, Jocelyn  
 Davies, Ron  
 Edwards, Richard  
 Essex, Sue  
 German, Michael  
 Gibbons, Brian  
 Griffiths, John  
 Gwyther, Christine  
 Halford, Alison  
 Hancock, Brian  
 Hart, Edwina  
 Humphreys, Christine  
 Jones, Ann  
 Jones, Carwyn  
 Jones, Elin  
 Jones, Gareth  
 Jones, Helen Mary  
 Law, Peter  
 Lewis, Huw  
 Lloyd, David  
 Marek, John  
 Middlehurst, Tom  
 Morgan, Rhodri  
 Neagle, Lynne  
 Pugh, Alun

Ymataliodd yr Aelodau canlynol:  
 The following Members abstained:

Bourne, Nick  
 Cairns, Alun  
 Davies, Glyn  
 Graham, William  
 Melding, David  
 Morgan, Jonathan  
 Rogers, Peter

Randerson, Jenny  
Ryder, Janet  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Gwenda  
Thomas, Owen John  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

*Amendment adopted.*

*Derbyniwyd y gwelliant.*

Tynnwyd gwelliant 5 yn ôl.  
Amendment 5 withdrawn.

*Gwelliant 6: O blaid 42, Ymatal 7, Yn erbyn 0.  
Amendment 6: For 42, Abstain 7, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Ymataliodd yr Aelodau canlynol:  
The following Members abstained:

Barrett, Lorraine  
Bates, Mick  
Black, Peter  
Chapman, Christine  
Dafis, Cynog  
Davies, Andrew  
Davies, Geraint  
Davies, Janet  
Davies, Jocelyn  
Davies, Ron  
Edwards, Richard  
Essex, Sue  
German, Michael  
Gibbons, Brian  
Griffiths, John  
Gwyther, Christine  
Halford, Alison  
Hancock, Brian  
Hart, Edwina  
Humphreys, Christine  
Jones, Ann  
Jones, Carwyn  
Jones, Elin  
Jones, Gareth  
Jones, Helen Mary  
Law, Peter  
Lewis, Huw  
Lloyd, David  
Marek, John  
Middlehurst, Tom  
Morgan, Rhodri  
Neagle, Lynne  
Pugh, Alun  
Randerson, Jenny  
Ryder, Janet  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Gwenda  
Thomas, Owen John  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

Bourne, Nick  
Cairns, Alun  
Davies, Glyn  
Graham, William  
Melding, David  
Morgan, Jonathan  
Rogers, Peter

*Amendment adopted.*

*Derbyniwyd y gwelliant.*

*Gwelliant 7: O blaid 42, Ymatal 6, Yn erbyn 0.  
Amendment 7: For 42, Abstain 6, Against 0.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Barrett, Lorraine  
Bates, Mick  
Black, Peter  
Chapman, Christine  
Dafis, Cynog  
Davies, Andrew  
Davies, Geraint  
Davies, Janet  
Davies, Jocelyn  
Davies, Ron  
Edwards, Richard  
Essex, Sue  
German, Michael  
Gibbons, Brian  
Griffiths, John  
Gwyther, Christine  
Halford, Alison  
Hancock, Brian  
Hart, Edwina  
Humphreys, Christine  
Jones, Ann  
Jones, Carwyn  
Jones, Elin  
Jones, Gareth  
Jones, Helen Mary  
Law, Peter  
Lewis, Huw  
Lloyd, David  
Marek, John  
Middlehurst, Tom  
Morgan, Rhodri  
Neagle, Lynne  
Pugh, Alun  
Randerson, Jenny  
Ryder, Janet  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Gwenda  
Thomas, Owen John  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

*Amendment adopted.*

Amended motion:

*that the Assembly*

*1. notes the First Secretary's initiative to review the costs and options for the new Assembly building;*

*2. notes that the review is likely to result in slippage in the previously agreed timetable;*

Ymataliodd yr Aelodau canlynol:  
The following Members abstained:

Bourne, Nick  
Davies, Glyn  
Graham, William  
Melding, David  
Morgan, Jonathan  
Rogers, Peter

*Derbyniwyd y gwelliant.*

Y cynnig wedi'i ddiwygio:

*bod y Cynulliad*

*1. yn nodi menter y Prif Ysgrifennydd i adolygu'r costau a'r opsiynau ar gyfer adeilad newydd y Cynulliad;*

*2. yn nodi bod yr adolygiad yn debygol o beri i'r amserlen y cytunwyd arni newid;*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>3. resolves that the review be completed within three months;</p> <p>4. requires that the findings of the review, and proposals for future action, will be brought back to the Assembly for decision, and that the key information which underpins them be made publicly available; and</p> <p>5. resolves that the review process itself be carried out with the maximum possible openness and transparency.</p> | <p>3. yn penderfynu cwblhau'r adolygiad o fewn tri mis;</p> <p>4. yn mynnu bod darganfyddiadau'r adolygiad, a chynigion ar gyfer gweithredu yn y dyfodol, yn dod yn ôl at y Cynulliad er mwyn iddo wneud penderfyniad, ac y dylai'r wybodaeth allweddol sydd yn sail iddynt fod ar gael yn gyhoeddus; a</p> <p>5. yn penderfynu bod y broses adolygu ei hun yn cael ei chynnal yn y dull mwyaf agored a thryloyw posibl.</p> |
|--|--|

*Cynnig wedi'i ddiwygio: O blaid 40, Ymatal 0, Yn erbyn 7.  
Amended motion: For 40, Abstain 0, Against 7.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol o blaid:  
The following Members voted for:

Barrett, Lorraine  
Bates, Mick  
Black, Peter  
Chapman, Christine  
Dafis, Cynog  
Davies, Andrew  
Davies, Geraint  
Davies, Janet  
Davies, Jocelyn  
Davies, Ron  
Edwards, Richard  
Essex, Sue  
German, Michael  
Gibbons, Brian  
Griffiths, John  
Gwyther, Christine  
Halford, Alison  
Hancock, Brian  
Hart, Edwina  
Humphreys, Christine  
Jones, Ann  
Jones, Carwyn  
Jones, Elin  
Jones, Gareth  
Jones, Helen Mary  
Law, Peter  
Lewis, Huw  
Lloyd, David  
Marek, John  
Middlehurst, Tom  
Morgan, Rhodri  
Neagle, Lynne  
Pugh, Alun  
Randerson, Jenny  
Sinclair, Karen  
Thomas, Gwenda  
Thomas, Rhodri Glyn  
Wigley, Dafydd  
Williams, Kirsty  
Williams, Phil

*Amended motion adopted.*

Pleidleisiodd yr Aelodau canlynol yn erbyn:  
The following Members voted against:

Bourne, Nick  
Cairns, Alun  
Davies, Glyn  
Graham, William  
Melding, David  
Morgan, Jonathan  
Rogers, Peter

*Derbyniwyd y cynnig wedi'i ddiwygio.*

**Y Llywydd:** Diolch i'r Aelodau am eu hamynedd yn ystod y drafodaeth. Dyna ddiwedd trafodaethau heddiw.

**The Presiding Officer:** I thank Members for their forbearance during the deliberations. That brings today's proceedings to a close.

*Daeth y cyfarfod i ben am 5.31 p.m.*  
*The session ended at 5.31 p.m.*