



Language, Identity & Cultural Rights and Devolution in Wales

A Comparative Study Visit Report
20th – 24th June 2012





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www.democraticprogress.org
info@democraticprogress.org
+44 (0)203 206 9939

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Foreword

DPI's aim is to create and foster an environment in which different parties share information, ideas, knowledge and concerns connected to the development of democratic solutions and outcomes. The objective of DPI's projects is to facilitate the operation of conflict resolution measures in conflicting societies. This is addressed through creating a platform for participants to meet with international experts, to draw upon comparative studies, as well as analyse and compare various mechanisms used to achieve positive results in similar cases. DPI's work supports the development of a pluralistic political arena capable of generating consensus and ownership over work on key issues surrounding democratic solutions at political and local levels.

DPI focuses on providing expertise, research and practical frameworks to encourage stronger public debates and involvements in promoting peace and democracy building internationally. Within this context DPI aims to contribute to the establishment of a structured public dialogue on peace and democratic advancement, as well as to create new and widen existing platforms for discussions on peace and democracy building. As part of DPI's role of reaching and securing these aims, DPI focuses on supporting a public atmosphere and environment of inclusion and frank, structured discussions whereby different parties are in the position to openly share knowledge, concerns and suggestions for democracy building and strengthening across multiple levels. DPI's objective throughout this process is to identify common

priorities and develop innovative approaches to participate in and influence the process of finding democratic solutions. DPI also aims to support and strengthen collaboration between academics, civil society and policy-makers through its projects and output.

This report details the activities and roundtable discussions experienced during DPI's Comparative Study visit to Cardiff, Wales from 20th June to 24th June 2012. The study focused on the subjects of Language, Identity and Cultural Rights and Devolution in Wales. It concludes DPI's series of Comparative Study visits to the United Kingdom and Ireland (including London, Edinburgh, Belfast and Dublin), all of which have been hosted by the governments of each location visited. We hope that this series of Comparative Studies will be valuable for participants, and that it will contribute to ongoing discussion in Turkey.

With thanks to Heena Shah and the staff of DPI for their assistance with this report. DPI also gives special thanks to the Welsh Government for their hosting of the visit, and to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for their facilitation of the visit.

Cengiz Çandar, Yılmaz Ensaroğlu, Prof. Dr. Mithat Sancar, Prof. Dr. Sevtap Yokuş, Bejan Matur, Kerim Yıldız:
DPI Council of Experts, August 2012

Wednesday 20th June – Welcome Reception at DPI Headquarters, followed by Introductory Talk by Ned Thomas¹

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion:

The Survival and Renaissance of the Welsh Language - setting the scene

With:

Ned Thomas

Venue: DPI Headquarters, London, United Kingdom

Moderated by Kerim Yildiz

Ned Thomas is a popular and renowned figure in Wales. He is the Founder and President of the Mercator Institute for Media, Languages and Culture, at Aberystwyth University in Wales. He was also, at different times, President of Welsh PEN, and a board member of Academi, which is now called Literature Wales, both literary associations of writers.

Ned Thomas' previous roles and achievements include his position on the Board of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages at the time of drafting of Council of Europe's Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, as well as his position on the drafting committee of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. Additionally, he is Former Director of the University of Wales Press, and the Founder-Editor of the English-language cultural magazine Planet - the Welsh Internationalist. His book in English, The Welsh Extremist - A Culture in Crisis (1971), was influential in the 1970s Welsh language movement, and his recent memoir, Bydoedd, was awarded Welsh-language Book of the Year in 2011. Ned Thomas has taught at Aberystwyth University in Wales; at the University of Salamanca in Spain and at Moscow State University, and was for a short period at the Maître de Conférences at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He has also been a journalist with Times Newspapers and Editor of the British Government's Russian-language quarterly magazine Angliya.



*Ned Thomas addresses the delegation at the DPI headquarters
in London*

Kerim Yildiz: Firstly, a warm welcome to you all to London, we are very happy to see you all here once again. The last time we met as a group in London was during our Comparative Study visit last summer. It is my pleasure to see you all again here at DPI and I look forward to working together in Wales over the next few days, and I am pleased to say that we have a full schedule, with numerous meetings planned with the Welsh Government over the coming days. Thank you all for taking time out of your busy schedules, to join us for this important and, what I hope will be a very valuable visit.

Now, I would like to introduce you to a very special individual, who has kindly agreed to join us this evening. A prominent and renowned figure in Welsh society, it is my pleasure to introduce Mr Ned Thomas. It is a privilege to have Ned here to speak to us, given his vast experience in the field of minority languages.



Ned Thomas speaking to participants at DPI's Headquarters in London

Ned Thomas: Thank you very much for that warm introduction and welcome to you all to the United Kingdom. When you go to Cardiff tomorrow, I am sure that you will be given a lot of statistics and detail about Welsh language and culture and about Wales as a whole. What I would like to do is provide you with some context in relation to Welsh history, politics, education and media in the Welsh language. I apologise if you are already familiar with some of what I shall say, but I thought it best to assume that you have no prior knowledge of Wales and of the Welsh language and culture.

First, on a personal note, let me mention that I was brought up in a Welsh speaking family; however, like many Welsh people, my parents moved to work outside Wales for much of their lives. I was brought up partly in Wales but most of the time outside Wales and even outside of Britain, when my father worked in post-war Germany. I had very little education in Welsh, even in the years I spent in Wales, since English was the language of education at my schools. However, I am now old enough to have children and grandchildren who have all received their education through the medium of Welsh. Things have changed a lot since the 1940s and 1950s compared to today; everywhere in Wales; you can now find a type of school both at primary and secondary level which teaches using the Welsh language as the medium of instruction. In other schools, where the medium of instruction is English, Welsh is now taught as an obligatory subject, where previously it was an option competing with French or German.

I understand that some of you have been to Northern Ireland and Scotland and must now be aware that the United Kingdom, unlike France, has evolved asymmetrically, with Wales joining with England at one point, Scotland and Ireland later, all under very different conditions. Then, in the twentieth century, part of Ireland became independent and nearer our own time, Scotland and Wales achieved differing degrees of regional autonomy through negotiated devolution settlements. There is no British written constitution as there is, for example, a Spanish constitution. English is not even the official language of Britain in a legal sense, though it is, of course, in point of fact. Britain is an '*ancien régime*' as they say

in French; there was no equivalent of the French Revolution to introduce a logical overall pattern and a written constitution.



**Britain is an ‘*ancien régime*’
as they say in French**

A positive point for a minority like the Welsh is that the British state has no problem with the idea of ‘*historic nations*’. The United Kingdom today includes England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This is visible, for example, in the Euro football competitions, or in rugby, where Wales and Scotland have their own teams. Other countries such as Spain do not allow for a Catalonian team or a Basque Country team. Though Britain will compete as the United Kingdom in the Olympics, but this is because of the rules of the Olympic Games not because of British rules.

Although Welsh is the strongest of the indigenous territorial languages of the United Kingdom after English, it is still very small in relative size. The population of Wales is roughly five per cent of the United Kingdom population, and since only 20 per cent of the Welsh population today speak Welsh, that makes Welsh-speakers approximately one per cent of the United Kingdom’s population. While the United Kingdom does not have a problem with the idea of ‘*historic nations*’, it does have a problem with languages. Since English is the ‘business language’ of the world, English people

sometimes find it difficult to believe that anyone would want to speak or learn another language, particularly a small language. Some would say that the English also find it difficult to learn other languages as a consequence of this mentality.

I described Welsh as an indigenous territorial language of the United Kingdom. There are also a great many immigrant languages spoken in Britain today, many of them, such as Punjabi and Gujarati, coming from south Asia. The United Kingdom has been relatively successful in absorbing immigrants into British society, while offering some recognition for the background languages. This is particularly evident within the judicial system, where translators are available for court proceedings. However, the demands of immigrant minorities and indigenous territorial minorities are very different; immigrants want a degree of assimilation and do not ask for road-signs in Gujarati or Punjabi on the streets of Britain, as Welsh-speakers do in Wales. However, Welsh-speakers wish to live their lives in Welsh within their own territory, as Gujaratis expect to do in Gujarat, not as they do in London.

As you can see from this copy of my recent book that I have brought with me, my autobiographical memoir is written in Welsh, and the Welsh language looks very different from English. Although it is an Indo-European language like English, English has more in common with German, as they both fall within the Germanic sub-group of the Indo-European family, than with the Celtic languages, of which Welsh is one. Welsh uses the Latin script like the rest of Western Europe, but English people are not

accustomed to reading Welsh and find it strange-looking, since the letters ‘y’ and ‘w’ represent vowel-sounds in Welsh but are consonants in English, so that some Welsh words appear to them to be made up entirely of consonants!

The other main languages of the Celtic family within the United Kingdom are Irish and Scottish Gaelic, but what sets Welsh apart from these other two is that, when the Romans conquered the greater part of England and Wales, they mixed with the Celtic tribes who occupied that territory but never reached Ireland or what is now Scotland. Although a Celtic language, modern Welsh contains many basic words borrowed from Latin in that early period. Our word for window is ‘*ffenstr*’, compared to the French ‘*fenêtre*’ or Italian ‘*finestra*’, and the number ‘*one hundred*’ in Welsh is ‘*cant*’. This is not surprising since our ancestors lived within the Roman Empire for 400 years before the English arrived. In this context, you may like to know that ‘*Caer Cystenin*’ is the Welsh name for Istanbul and means the castle of Constantine; ‘*Caer*’ comes from the Latin ‘*castra*’ meaning fort. London was then ‘*Londinium*’ in Latin, giving us ‘*Llundain*’ in modern Welsh. The language of what is now England was then called ‘*Brythonic*’, the ancestor of modern Welsh and the people who spoke this language gave their name to Britain. So you can say that Britain was there before England and that the ancestors of the modern Welsh were the founders of Britain. You will understand that this gives us a complex relationship with the idea of Britain.

When you see the word ‘*Welsb*’, you should know that this

is the English form of the word in some Germanic languages for ‘foreigner’. Rather than call ourselves ‘Welsh’, we, the speakers of Welsh refer to the people of Wales as ‘Cymry’, who live in ‘Cymru’, the Welsh word for ‘Wales’, and we speak ‘Cymraeg’, the Welsh language. Strictly speaking, the Germanic/English word “Welsh” is only found to refer to ‘foreigners’ who had lived within the Roman Empire. Today, if you go to the German speaking region in North Italy, they call Italian speakers ‘*die Wälsche*’.

I will now give you a brief history of Wales and some facts which are still very relevant today. The military conquest of Wales by Norman English kings was completed in 1282, but you could not say that the English state had conquered the Welsh state since modern centralised states did not yet exist; but at the end of the 15th century, the claimants to the English throne fought each other until no-one was left who had a better claim than a Welshman who had made a fortunate marriage to a widow with a claim to the throne. The Tudor dynasty, which ruled England and Wales from the end of 15th century, was therefore a Welsh Dynasty and in this sense, the Welsh felt that they had won.

Interestingly, this pattern was repeated at the beginning of the twentieth century when David Lloyd George, a controversial figure in the Middle East, became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. As Lloyd George was Welsh, it was a common sentiment amongst the Welsh people that they were ruling Britain again. However, it was the Welsh kings who established the centralised English state at the beginning of the 16th century, and as part of that process, dealt

a serious blow to the Welsh language. They banned the use of the Welsh language in the courts of justice in Wales, and from then on, within the Welsh aristocracy, a process of assimilation began. For centuries, the upper classes spoke English while the Welsh language was only retained by the ordinary people.

During the period of the industrial revolution and throughout the 19th century, people moved to South Wales due to the boom of the coal and steel industries. Without the growth of industry, Wales would have suffered from the large-scale emigration which occurred in Ireland. Instead, people moved to South Wales. In the early stages, this had a positive effect on Welsh culture but as industry grew, South Wales attracted people from England, Ireland, Scotland and even from Spain. It became a similar dynamic as in Chicago; a melting pot of peoples. When, in the late 19th century, compulsory state education was introduced in Britain, English was made the only language of education. In these circumstances, workers moving to Wales were assimilated into the English language rather than into Welsh, and Welsh children were punished for speaking Welsh in school. Another feature that kept Wales tied with Britain was the growth of heavy industry was the labour movement and the growth of trade unions, which were organised at a British level.

The beginning of the 20th century saw a cultural renaissance in Wales and a question often posed was, *why is there was not a political dimension to this romantic nationalism as happened among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe?* The answer to this

question is most probably that Wales was a founder-nation of the British Empire, which covered half the globe. This gave Welsh people, and Scottish people as well as English people, world-wide opportunities, but the price of this was to leave the Welsh language behind. One thing that can be said about the dynamics of Wales and England is that the Welsh were not discriminated against directly for being Welsh, as African-Americans were in America. They were, instead assimilated and only discriminated against if they refused to leave behind the Welsh language in order to achieve assimilation and access to the opportunities that were being offered.

The dominant atmosphere of the time meant that, if you spoke Welsh at home and learned English, you could then speak both English and Welsh and this could help you in your career and life. But in a mixed society with an English-only education system, it soon unfolded that children brought up speaking English at home would not learn Welsh and eventually the Welsh language lost ground. However, a turning-point came in 1926 when the Welsh Nationalist party was founded by a small group of literary people, which included one of the greatest Welsh writers of the twentieth century, Saunders Lewis. This may have been, in part, a response to the First World War. Lloyd-George, a Welshman as I have mentioned, was British Prime Minister at the time and had asked Wales to support the war on the grounds that it was a war to help small nations like Belgium. But in the middle of that war, a rebellion in Ireland was put down ruthlessly by British forces. These two things made some people in Welsh intellectual circles begin to think: we are a small nation ourselves, what about us?

The Welsh Nationalist Party, today called Plaid Cymru, remained up until the Second World War a party mainly concerned with the Welsh language. It was not until the 1960s that, under new leadership and having transformed itself into a party with a wide range of policies, it won its first seats in the House of Commons in London. However, by this time, the Welsh language had lost further ground. Saunders Lewis, the writer I have already mentioned, now no longer engaged in constitutional politics, in 1962 gave a famous radio lecture, proclaiming that the Welsh people could not wait for self-government to save the Welsh language and that the language was more important than self-government.

the Welsh took inspiration from Martin Luther King and Mahatma Ghandi in that they never used violence methods which might endanger people

Following this, a generation of young people began a series of non-violent campaigns of civil disobedience in defence of the Welsh language. It was a movement for civil rights but the struggle did not become violent as happened in Northern Ireland, which consequently gained more attention due to this fact. Rather, the Welsh took inspiration from Martin Luther King and Mahatma Ghandi in that they never used violence methods which might endanger people. I admire that generation of young people, many of whom were imprisoned, and their older supporters, both for what they achieved in transforming the situation of the Welsh language but also for not using violence.

I have worked with many European minority organisations over the years and, although each situation is different, I believe it is important to find a way of discussing language rights separate from political questions, though this can never be achieved absolutely. On the whole, minority languages do better when they exist within a constitutional context of local or regional autonomy, but this does not mean that speakers of minority languages should have no rights under other administrative arrangements. The three areas that the European Union and the Council of Europe have identified as crucial for the defence of territorial minority languages are education, media and the ability to deal with the authorities in your own language.

In Wales, education through the medium of Welsh began before the Second World War in primary schools and in the 1960s in secondary schools. The teaching of Welsh as a subject is clearly better than nothing, but in our experience is not very effective in preserving a language. Using the language as the medium of instruction not only gives the child a better command of the language but actually takes the focus away from the language as such normalises it, incorporating the Welsh language into Welsh life more generally. Today, it is quite normal in Wales for parents from the United States or Bangladesh, from England, Germany or Thailand and living in Wales, to send their children to schools where Welsh is the medium of instruction. The same process has gone even further in the Spanish Basque Country, where over half the children now receive their education through the Basque language.

As someone with a specialist interest in the media, I have witnessed the influence that the media, such as television, has had in increasing interest in minority languages, both in Wales and among other European minorities. Once a person is seen on a television soap to be talking in Welsh, it appears more acceptable and common to do so in real life. This visual presence has played a very important part in promoting minority languages such as Welsh since the 1980s, both among native-speakers of the language who now feel part of the modern world and among the majority population who may not understand the words but can see the images of newsreaders and sports personalities.

Let me move on to the effects of devolution in Wales. In the referendum of 1997, Wales voted, by a wafer-thin majority, in favour of having its own Assembly or Parliament. A second referendum in 2011 saw a much greater majority voting in favour of giving the Assembly legislative powers. Much of the ground gained for the Welsh language in the period before devolution had to be achieved by raising the level of protest to very high, because Welsh questions were so marginal to British politics. Once a question involving the Welsh language was put on the agenda, committees in London were often very reasonable in discussing it, but getting it on the agenda in the first place was extremely difficult. The great advantage of devolution is that language questions are always on the agenda in the Welsh National Assembly and are the subject of continuous discussion. The Welsh Language Act of 2011 has now made Welsh the official language of Wales, despite the fact that English is still not official, in the legal sense, in Britain.

Quite as important for the future of the Welsh language, as passing laws and codifying rights, have been enabling measures: small but important acts such as letting all expectant mothers know about the availability of Welsh-medium education wherever they may come from, or larger undertakings such as the foundation of a Welsh-medium college which will fund two hundred posts for the teaching of subjects at higher education level through the Welsh language.

The majority of the population of Wales does not speak Welsh, and while some of these are people who have recently moved to Wales, many more are people who may have the Welsh language somewhere in their background. They are rarely neutral in their attitude to the Welsh language; people who have lost a language can often feel hostility towards the lost language, perhaps out of guilt or because they need to justify the actions of their parents who may have decided to bring their children up in the majority language. In those circumstances, the minority language enters a downward spiral. Once you provide institutional support for the language in the education system, in the media and in administration, you make possible an upward spiral. There are parts of Wales where it is, today, not uncommon for grandparents, who speak Welsh, to speak to their grandchildren in Welsh while having to speak to their children, brought up and educated in an earlier period, in English.

To sum up, a great deal of ground has been won for Welsh in a period of language protest and then consolidated and extended in

the post-devolution period, but there are always new problems and I shall only have time to mention these briefly. Many of the victories for the Welsh were won in the public sector, but we live in a country and a period when there has been a great deal of privatization of public utilities. For example, the telephone used to be a national utility which was prepared to send bills in Welsh as well as English, but now, international private companies such as Vodafone are not subject to the same rules that were developed within the public sector. In response to these developments the Welsh Government now needs to put stronger rules in place through legislation.

A more intractable problem is immigration into Wales, and particularly into those areas where the Welsh language has been strongest. In England, immigration means immigration from Eastern Europe or the Indian sub-continent; in Welsh-speaking areas, it means immigration by, usually, well-off people from England. In small numbers they, or at least their children, can be absorbed into the Welsh language, but if they come in large numbers, they can change the linguistic character of a school and a neighborhood. However, the free movement of capital and labour is not only taken for granted within the United Kingdom but is one of the ground rules of the European Union.

The problem is compounded by the relative weakness of the Welsh economy. Someone selling a house in London and moving to Wales might have the money to buy two or three houses in Wales; local people on lower wages are then priced out of the housing market. This economic imbalance also means that too

many Welsh-speakers have had to leave the Welsh-speaking areas to find work. However, at least we now have some of the institutions in place which can help us deal with these problems and preserve the Welsh language.

I hope that I have provided some context for your visit to Wales. Thank you and enjoy your trip to Cardiff.

Kerim Yildiz: Thank you, your presentation was fascinating.

Kerim Yildiz opens the floor to questions:

Question: You mentioned Lloyd George as being the last liberal Prime Minister of Britain. What did you mean when you said that his first language was Welsh?

Ned Thomas: Lloyd George was born in the same area as my mother and was brought up in a Welsh speaking family. He was a very intellectual boy and learnt English at school. He then entered the Liberal party, which was very popular in Wales for religious reasons. The Welsh were Protestants from a different kind of Church denomination than the Church of England. Lloyd George's popularity grew after he was victorious in his success of disestablishing the Welsh Church of England. After this, the Queen was no longer the Queen of Wales.

Q: What is the church of Welsh people?

Ned Thomas: There are several Protestant sects that only exist in Wales, and are similar to the English congregation, but in Wales, these sects only operate in Welsh language. The negative aspect of this was that the sects were very puritan and didn't like music, dancing or popular culture. The positive aspect of this was that it encouraged men and women to read the bible in Welsh and that the bible should be taught in state education. Another positive aspect was that at the beginning of the 19th century, before state education was introduced, Norway and Wales had a higher rate of literacy because the Protestants believed that everyone should read for themselves.

Q: Are schools in English medium education and Welsh medium education compulsory?

Ned Thomas: Schools everywhere have the choice to teach through a Welsh or English medium at primary and secondary school level, however, parents who want their children to learn Welsh send them to Welsh medium schools.

Ned reads a section of his book in Welsh and receives a hearty round of applause from the participants.

Wednesday 20th June – Dinner at Lincoln’s Inn

Dinner at Lincoln’s Inn hosted by Sir Kieran Prendergast,² British diplomat, former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, and former Ambassador to Turkey.

Venue: **Lincoln’s Inn, London**

With:

Ned Thomas, Founder, Mercator Institute for Media, Languages and Culture, Wales

Jonathan Powell, Former Chief of Staff to Tony Blair and Director, Inter Mediate

David Reed, Head of Turkey Team, Europe Directorate Mediterranean, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Simon Chamberlain, Senior Research Analyst, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Sir Kieran Prendergast is Chairman of the Anglo-Turkish Society, a trustee of the Beit Trust, Senior Adviser at the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, a non-executive Director of London-based business intelligence firm Hakluyt and a member of the Advisory Council of Independent Diplomat. His previous posts and achievements include being Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Turkey from 1995 to 1997. Sir Kieran was also former Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs at the United Nations between 1997 and 2005.

Jonathan Ireland, Executive, Turkey Team, Europe Directorate
Mediterranean, Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Participants enjoy dinner at Lincolns Inn, London, hosted by Sir Kieran Prendergast



Jonathan Ireland, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Sir Kieran Prendergast and Cengiz Çandar at Lincoln's Inn, London

Thursday 21st June – Welcome Lunch at St David's Hotel

Welcome by Colette Tumelty, Welsh Government Protocol

The delegation was warmly welcomed to Cardiff by Protocol Official Colette Tumelty and her colleagues in the Welsh Government, at St. David's Hotel, Cardiff Bay.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

St David's Hotel & Spa in Cardiff, Wales

Thursday 21st June – Introduction and Welcome to Wales

With

David Richards, Director, Permanent Secretary's Office, Welsh Government

Venue: **Media Briefing Room, Senedd, (the Welsh National Assembly), Cardiff Bay, Cardiff, Wales**

Moderated by Kerim Yildiz



The delegation at Cardiff Bay

The 1998 Government of Wales Act led to the creation of the National Assembly for Wales. The National Assembly for Wales is made up of 60 Assembly Members elected by the public. The Government of Wales Act 2006 later established the Welsh Government, an executive body separate from the legislature, the National Assembly for Wales. The First Minister and Cabinet together form the Welsh Government. Currently the Welsh Government includes 11 Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Its work affects most aspects of day-to-day life in Wales, such as health, education, transport and local government. The Welsh Government is separate from the British Government, which retains responsibility for the United Kingdom in wide areas such as tax, defence, foreign policy and benefits.

The National Assembly for Wales is able to make laws directly on all of the 20 areas for which the Welsh Government has responsibility. It no longer needs to seek the approval of the United Kingdom Government before doing so. The 20 devolved areas, including agriculture, education, the environment, health, housing and local government, are set out in Schedule 7 of the Government of Wales Act 2006.

The Welsh Government contains three main political parties: the Liberal Democrat Party, the Conservative Party and Plaid Cymru. The political parties are the equivalent to United Kingdom Labour party, Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats, however, the Welsh parties differ in that the leading party does not govern the United Kingdom, but only on devolved matters in Wales.



The Director of the Permanent Secretary's Office, David Richards, warmly welcomes the delegation as they take their seats for the Roundtable with the party leaders in Wales

David Richards: Welcome to you all to Wales and thank you for coming. Please let me introduce you to your speakers this afternoon: Kirsty Williams, leader of the Liberal Democrat Party, Andrew RT Davies, leader of the Conservative Party and Bethan Jenkins, Assembly Member of Plaid Cymru party. We are all delighted to have you as our guests and wish you all a fruitful visit. I am now going to hand you over to the party leaders of the Welsh Assembly.

Thursday 21st June – Session 1: Roundtable Meeting with Party Leaders, Media Briefing Room, Senedd, (the Welsh National Assembly), Cardiff Bay

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion

With

Kirsty Williams,³ Leader of the Liberal Democrat Party

Andrew RT Davies,⁴ Leader of the Conservative Party

Bethan Jenkins,⁵ Assembly Member of Plaid Cymru Party

Kirsty Williams AM is leader of the Welsh Liberal Democrats and the Member of the Welsh Assembly for Brecon and Radnorshire. During her time in the National Assembly for Wales, Kirsty has combined her dedication to constituency work with a number of roles within the Liberal Democrat Assembly Group. Kirsty has previously been Party spokesperson for health, finance, rural affairs and the environment. In 2008, she was elected Leader of the Welsh Liberal Democrats gaining 60 per cent of the vote. Kirsty was formerly Deputy President of the Party from 1998 to 2000.

Andrew Robert Tudor Davies is a British politician, who has been a Conservative Party member of the National Assembly for Wales since May 2007. He was elected leader of the Welsh Conservatives on 14 July 2011. Andrew also currently sits on the Assembly's Petitions Committee. Andrew's former roles include Shadow Minister for Health and Social Services from February 2009 to November 2010. He also served as Shadow Minister for Education from June 2008 to February 2009 and served as Shadow Transport Minister from July 2007 to June 2008.

Bethan Jenkins was elected as a Plaid Cymru Assembly Member for South Wales West, in 2007. Bethan sits on the Assembly's Petitions Committee, the Audit Committee and the Communities and Culture Committee, and she is the Plaid Cymru Spokesperson on Child Poverty and cultural issues. She is founder member and chair of the Cross Party Groups on Eating Disorders and on Human Rights.

Venue: **Media Briefing Room, Senedd, (the Welsh National Assembly), Cardiff Bay, Cardiff**

Moderated by Kerim Yildiz



Media Briefing Room, Senedd, Cardiff Bay with Andrew RT Davies, Kirsty Williams and Bethan Jenkins

Andrew RT Davies: Hello, I am Andrew Davies, Leader of the Welsh Conservative Party of the Welsh Assembly. We are the official opposition to the Labour Party, because we are the second largest party in Wales and we are the only centre-right party in Wales. I was elected to the Assembly in 2007. I am also a farmer in a family business located in the electoral region, in which I am elected, by an element of proportional representation; some members are elected via the system and others elected on a proportional representation system. I look forward to hearing the questions that you will put

forward to us and hopefully I will be able to fully inform you with answers during this meeting.

Kirsty Williams: Hello, I am Kirsty Williams, Leader of Welsh Liberal Democrats in Wales, which is currently the smallest party in Wales. We have three members in Parliament in Westminster and five members here in the Welsh Assembly. Following the Assembly Referendum in 1997, I was appointed to the National Assembly Advisory Group by the Secretary of State for Wales and I have been an Assembly member since the Assembly was created in 1999. I represent the constituencies of Bracken and Radnorshire, which are large, rural constituencies that cover most of Wales; therefore I represent more sheep than people.

One and a half years ago, I was elected leader of the Welsh Liberal Democrat party and became the first woman to have led a party in Wales. In relation to devolution; the Liberal Democrats alone have campaigned for powers in Parliament for over 200 years. We are an active party, having campaigned for the 'yes' vote every time there has been referendum in Wales and we have secured a law-making Parliament in Wales at last in 2011. However, we would like devolution to go further and we want to see greater powers regarding finance to be devolved to Wales. In relation to the Welsh language, the Liberal Democrats' views are that they want to secure further powers within the Welsh Assembly and increase the prominence of Welsh spoken in Wales.

It is a very interesting time to be a Liberal Democrat, because whilst

we are the opposition here, my colleagues in London are the ruling party, as part of the coalition government with the Conservative Party. This does not always make our lives easy but we will talk more about that later.

Bethan Jenkins: Welcome, my name is Bethan Jenkins and I am here on behalf the Plaid Cymru party in Wales. We were elected in 2007 and currently, I am the youngest member in the National Assembly of Wales. My party was initially established as a Welsh language pressure group but we also believe in independence for Wales. So, like Kirsty Williams said, we are very supportive for any additional powers to be devolved to National Assembly; to make the institution as strong as possible. We have eleven members in Wales elected through the National Assembly of Wales, three in Westminster Parliament and we ultimately want to re-establish ourselves as the leading party in Wales. To clarify, we were in coalition with the Labour party for the last four years in the National Assembly, but the political picture has since changed and we are now the opposition. So, I look forward to your questions on devolution in Wales and on the Welsh language. I hope you enjoy your visit here today.



The delegation and Party Leaders in the Media Briefing Room, the Senedd (the Welsh National Assembly)

Kerim Yildiz opens the floor for questions:

Question: What is the general situation in Wales and what are the main issues of debate in the Welsh National Assembly; the main issues of conflict?

Andrew RT Davies: We have 60 members in the Welsh Assembly, of which the government then has 40 ministers elected via the first-past-the-post system and 20 via proportional representation. Since 1999, the Labour party have been governing, either in coalition or on their own, for the complete period of devolution. The settlement that we have worked out politically is completely different from the situation in 1999 in that in the years up until 2007, the Welsh Assembly and government were one body and jointly spent money that was sent down from Westminster, without powers to make any laws. In 2007, the third Assembly acquired the ability to make legislation for first time and split off from the government formally

into an executive body and a government body in its own right and that period lasted until the last election of 2011.

Q: What do you mean by the ‘third Assembly’?

Andrew RT Davies: Since the election in 2011, we have entered the fourth assembly, which has conferred primary law making powers on the Welsh Assembly for the first time after a public referendum. These laws can only be made in areas in which we have confidence.

Kirsty Williams: We have a list of areas that we can pass laws on, such as health, economic development, education and tourism. However, matters such as taxation, foreign affairs, welfare and police are still decided by Westminster. From the Liberal Democrats’ point of view, the big debate here is that since Wales has a weak economy and thus has defended schools and health services, the economy should be an area which we have confidence in; however, the outcome of this is yet to be seen.

Bethan Jenkins: From our perspective, we would obviously like more powers to be devolved, especially in the areas of natural resources, taxation and criminal justice.

Kirsty Williams: The Westminster government has set up a commission called the Silk Commission, which is currently looking at whether more powers should be given to the Welsh Assembly. Following this, the Commission will then make a report on whether powers in other areas should also be devolved.

Q: Who are the members of the Silk Commission?

Kirsty Williams: The Silk Commission was set up by the coalition government of Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrat Party in London as part of the Liberal Democrats' campaign to give more power to Wales. This was made up on a cross party basis where each party in Wales is able to nominate one person and there are independent people in the commission who do not belong to any party.

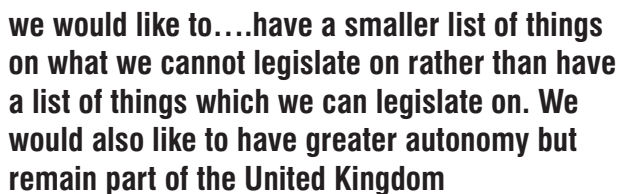
Andrew RT Davies: I would also like to add that devolution is obviously a very new concept for the United Kingdom, and whilst we sit in this building and talk about additional powers, one of the big unresolved issues is English devolution and the way England settles its political destiny. On the basis that England is governed from the Westminster Parliament, that is the Parliament of all MPs in the United Kingdom, you now have the situation where healthcare, for example, is devolved to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland and yet members of Parliament from those countries vote on health services given to English constituents!

The point I want to make is, as the unionist party, it is very difficult to argue for our Party and for individuals within our party. Yet as Welsh Conservatives, we have considerable autonomy to set our own policies in Wales.

Q: What do you want from the devolution process?

Kirsty Williams: The Liberal Democrats believe in a federal system which would settle some of the issues that Andrew Davies has been

talking about, which would be to give greater autonomy to Wales but keep Wales as part of the United Kingdom. However, in this situation, the people of Wales would find themselves stuck in the middle of the Conservative Party and Plaid Cymru, because Plaid Cymru wants independence and the Conservative Party would like devolution to stop where it is and the Liberal Democrats would like devolution to go further and to include wider devolved powers.



we would like to....have a smaller list of things on what we cannot legislate on rather than have a list of things which we can legislate on. We would also like to have greater autonomy but remain part of the United Kingdom

Q: Do you want devolution to be broader?

Kirsty Williams: What we would like to see is for Wales to obtain greater autonomy and to have a smaller list of things on what we *cannot* legislate on rather than have a list of things which we *can* legislate on. We would also like to have greater autonomy but remain part of the United Kingdom.

Q: Concerning language rights, could you please tell us about the education system in Wales and the Welsh language?

Bethan Jenkins: This is now the case that it is possible for the education system to be taught through the Welsh language, meaning that all education is taught in Welsh; through a Welsh medium of instruction. Clearly, it is an option for parents to send

their children to Welsh medium schools but they can also decide to send their children to English medium schools where Welsh would be taught as a second language.

Q: What about in university?

Bethan Jenkins: University education in Welsh is growing by the year and it is seen as a positive thing to have two languages at university level and afterwards. Welsh courses do exist in universities and Welsh federal colleges also provide further opportunities to study Welsh at university. This federal body has already been established and has so far been successful in its aims.

Q: But it is not compulsory to have Welsh as a language like in the Republic of Ireland where students are required to pass their Irish exam?

Andrew RT Davies: At secondary level, you do have to pass the Welsh exam and Welsh at GCSE level is compulsory. At 16 years of age, when you take your first structured exam in the public sector, you have to take Welsh; however, this is not the case in private schools.

Bethan Jenkins: Just to add to that, unfortunately, it is not compulsory to take the full GCSE, as there are short courses and long courses. Many schools opt to take a short course in order to get highest possible grades.

Kirsty Williams: It is true that it can be difficult in some parts of Wales to have access to a full Welsh medium education. In the area

I represent, partially because there are not many Welsh speakers there, it is difficult to provide full Welsh medium education due to the lack of demand and so we are campaigning for this. For instance, my children went to a Welsh medium primary school but when they got to the age of 11, there was no Welsh medium secondary school for them to go to and the situation remains today, though we are campaigning to change this.

Q: Are the media and publications produced in the Welsh language?

Bethan Jenkins: We had, at beginning of party's creation in the 1960s, campaigned to create a Welsh language channel for Wales which did not exist at the time. We campaigned for political and direct action and established S4C, the Welsh channel for Wales.

Andrew RT Davies: We take the view that Margaret Thatcher created S4C when she was in power.

Bethan Jenkins: We also have a magazine called 'Golwg' which comes out on a weekly basis and a newspaper called 'Y Cymro' alongside other small papers that come out on a regular basis. The BBC also has provision on radio and online channels through the medium of Welsh and more online technology is being developed.

Andrew RT Davies: A point more generally on the media in Wales; it is a real problem for us to try and get Welsh issues into the media because it is a small media outlet, with fewer current affairs and news for us to work with. Two things that I would like to emphasise are that firstly, 89 per cent of people when polled in Wales said

that they get their news from a London based source; therefore 11 per cent only get it from a Welsh news source. Secondly, the newspaper that would call itself the national newspaper in Wales only sells only 20,000 copies a day and so is not read widely across Wales.

Q: Why do you say that?

Andrew RT Davies: In North Wales, it is not read very widely, so regrettably, in my view, we do not have a truly ‘national’ newspaper in Wales.

Q: Is there any political meaning attached to ‘North Wales’ and ‘South Wales’?

Andrew RT Davies: No, this is just a geographical divide, not a political one.

Kirsty Williams: People would identify themselves as being from North Wales but there is no cultural or ethnic difference. In every country, depending where you are from, you identify yourself from that part of the country. However, one thing that everyone agrees on is that you have to be suspicious of the capital!

Bethan Jenkins: I want to emphasise there is no ethnic divide between the South and North. We are one nation with different people and religions.

Q: When you are pursuing language policy, do you attach more importance to national identity and do you feel that this aided membership to your party?

Bethan Jenkins: Not necessarily, I think they are inter-related, but if you look at what is happening in Scotland at the moment, there is more excitement for having greater powers and autonomy. In my opinion, if Scotland has a referendum which leads to independence, we, in Wales, will also have to discuss what Britain will look like if they do.

Q: My first question is, are you in favour of independence for Wales and how realistic is it to be an independent state which is separate from United Kingdom? Does this mean that you also want to be separate from Europe?

My second question is, what is the Labour party's stance on independence?

Kirsty Williams: In relation to the Labour party, the Labour party in Wales want more power than the Labour party politicians in Westminster, but this is a question for them to answer.

In relation to independence, this is a question for the people of Wales, just like Scotland is planning to ask the Scottish people in a few years. I would ask the people of Wales in a referendum if they supported it and I would also recognise that we would have to be a party of government to propose that referendum. We are looking to develop more powers over the next few years rather than push for such a referendum, but to answer the point regarding the European Union, we would see ourselves as party to the European Union and as being inter-dependant with others parties in the European Union.

Q: Is Wales a member of the Eurozone?

Bethan Jenkins: The Silk Commission is currently looking into these issues such as joining the euro and greater involvement in the European Union.

Andrew RT Davies: Any poll taken shows that the vote for a referendum is between 7 to 12 per cent of the population of Wales.

Q: At what age do children start school? By this I mean main primary school education.

Andrew RT Davies: Four years old.

Q: Please can you repeat what you said about primary and secondary school education and university education in Welsh? Can children change from Welsh to English medium education at any point? Also, at the end of school, how many languages do the children speak?

Andrew RT Davies: Regarding formal education where you are legally bound to be in school, this is between 4 to 16 years of age and that is split into two categories of school; primary and secondary school. When you move from the primary sector to secondary sector at the age of 11, it is a legal requirement in the state sector that English and Welsh are taken up to the age of 16. In this situation, English is parallel with Welsh; both languages are called 'core' subjects.

Kirsty Williams: If a child goes into a Welsh medium school, they

do not start English lessons until they are seven years old. This is to ensure children going to Welsh medium schools are immersed into the Welsh language and do not formally study two languages until they are older.

Q: Is this the same for English schools? At what age do they learn a third language?

Kirsty Williams: Not until secondary school.

Andrew RT Davies: Due to the fact that they are learning Welsh, there is no compulsion to learn French, Spanish or German.

Q: Is there any distinction between the dialects in North and South Wales?

Bethan Jenkins: Yes, but it is understandable.

Q: From the taxes collected from Westminster, what amount is sent to Wales from the budget?

Kirsty Williams: We do not collect tax here.

Andrew RT Davies: Think of the figure '456'; we raise *four* per cent of income of United Kingdom, we have in Wales *five* per cent of population of the United Kingdom but we get back spent of Wales, *six* per cent.

Q: Wales is a popular place for students to go to university; are there any Welsh medium universities and if so, what is the rate of

English lessons in that university and what about students coming from outside of Wales?

Kirsty Williams: There are no Welsh language universities but there are some courses in some universities that are delivered through the medium of Welsh.

Q: Is there a reason for which the Welsh language is not adapted to higher education?

Kirsty Williams: This is because of Wales' history; as more children are educated through the medium of Welsh, when they get the age of 18, there will be more of a demand for Welsh universities. Until recently, there has not been a lot of demand, however.

Bethan Jenkins: This is an important point, because I went to university and studied at a Welsh medium secondary school. However, I found that at university, there were not many choices of courses available in Welsh so I campaigned for more courses through the Welsh medium.

Q: On the way to revolution, were there any small or big groups which used violence to defend Wales? What are your views on the Irish Republican Army?

Andrew RT Davies: In my opinion, they are terrorists.

Q: I have been to Scotland and Northern Ireland before but here, the devolution process is based on language and language rights.

Please could you talk about the political process which took you to devolution?

Kirsty Williams: I think that for a long time the majority of people in Wales did not favour devolution. In 1979, in a referendum, the people in Wales voted 'no'. It is only relatively recently that there has been growth in demand across a wider selection of the public. This is evident from the 1997 referendum which established the Welsh Assembly albeit victory was only by a couple of thousand of people.

Andrew RT Davies: It was won by 6,000 people.

Kirsty Williams: The issue of language rights has not been an issue that has divided the country to create that level of violence. Devolution has been a very slow process, but now, the Welsh Assembly is here and there is a mainstream political consensus to keep it. Even the Conservatives, who used to be opposed the Welsh Assembly, are now very much in favour of it, so Wales as a whole wants to keep it.

Andrew RT Davies: In relation to Kirsty's point, it is important, because as an Assembly Member and as a democrat also, it troubles me that we have had four Assembly elections and, at most, we have managed to secure 42 to 43 per cent of the population to vote in our elections. What this shows is that we are not getting a majority participation in these elections. The change in the constitutional system last year for primary law making powers only attracted 33 per cent of the electorate. I do not want that to seem like talking

down on Wales or the devolution settlement. It is important that all politicians in Wales focus on working to secure greater public participation, given that the National Assembly runs the economy, rural affairs, media and education.

Bethan Jenkins: On the question of Northern Ireland, we cannot compare Wales with Northern Ireland because our history of pacifism is stronger. Also, one must bear in mind that Ireland is not a united country; it has six counties separated, so that has created additional tensions over the years.

Q: Are there any barriers to the public administration of the Welsh language?

Andrew RT Davies: The law is that Welsh is of equal status to English.

Q: What is the percentage of Welsh speakers in the United Kingdom?

Andrew RT Davies: I would say this is approximately 20 per cent.

Q: What is the percentage, then, of Welsh people in Wales and outside?

Andrew RT Davies: England and Wales is one union so we cannot discriminate in this sense.

Q: Are Welsh people 100 per cent of the Welsh population?

Bethan Jenkins: There are many people from all over the world in Wales.

Andrew RT Davies: Wales makes up five per cent of the United Kingdom.

Q: In court, in other parts of the United Kingdom, can a Welsh person speak Welsh?

Andrew RT Davies: No, they must speak in English.

Kirsty Williams: Welsh can only be spoken in a Welsh court in Wales.

Kerim Yildiz: Thank you very much.

Thursday 21st June – Private tour of the Senedd (the Welsh National Assembly)

The delegation received a private tour of the Senedd, the Welsh National Assembly.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

The Senedd Building, Cardiff

The Senedd, equivalent to the American Senate or United Kingdom Parliament, is also known as the National Welsh Assembly building, and houses the debating chamber and three committee rooms for the National Assembly for Wales in Cardiff. The 5,308 square metres, 57,100 square feet, Senedd building was opened by Queen Elizabeth II on 1st March 2006 and its total cost was £69.6 million, which included £49.7 million in construction costs. The Senedd is part of the National Assembly estate that includes Tŷ Hywel and the Pierhead Building.

Thursday 21st June – Session 2: Roundtable Meeting with Edwina Hart, MBE, AM Media Briefing Room, Senedd (the Welsh National Assembly)

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion

With

Edwina Hart, MBE, AM,⁶ Minister for Business, Enterprise,
Technology and Science, Welsh government

Venue: **Media Briefing Room, Senedd, (the Welsh National
Assembly), Cardiff Bay, Cardiff**

Moderated by Kerim Yildiz

Edwina Hart is the Assembly Member for Gower. She received an MBE in 1998 for her trade union services and her extensive work in the trade union movement. Edwina also served as a member of the Broadcasting Council for Wales and the Wales Millennium Centre.

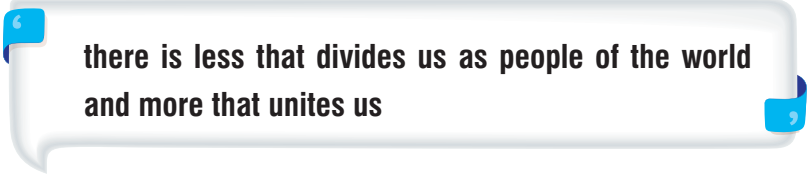
Edwina was elected to the first Assembly in 1999 and became the Assembly's first Finance Secretary. In 2000, this was changed to include responsibility for local government and she became Minister for Finance and Local Government. After the 2003 Assembly election, Edwina took on the newly created Social Justice portfolio and became the Assembly's first Social Justice and Regeneration Minister.

After being elected to serve a third four year term in 2007, Edwina became the Minister for Health and Social Services and following re-election in May 2011, she became the Minister for Business, Enterprise, Technology and Science.



Edwina Hart, Welsh Labour Minister for Business and Enterprise, with DPI Director Kerim Yildiz and Nazmi Gür, Vice-President of the BDP

Kerim Yildiz: Thank you very much for attending this conference and particular thanks to the Welsh government for hosting us here in Cardiff. This is our fourth comparative study within the United Kingdom, the first of which took place in London followed by visits to Belfast and Edinburgh and our most recent comparative study, which was hosted by the Irish government, took place in Dublin, in the Republic of Ireland. This is the last leg of the United Kingdom comparative study series. We are very grateful for your participation and the experiences that you will share with us from within the Welsh government.



**there is less that divides us as people of the world
and more that unites us**

Edwina Hart: Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak to you this afternoon and let me warmly welcome you to the Welsh National Assembly. It is always a pleasure to meet people from other countries and share mutual experiences, because I think there is less that divides us as people of the world and more that unites us.

During this talk, I will discuss the way in which Wales arrived at the devolution settlement that has been negotiated today. Devolution was not an immediate agreement; it has been an evolving process in terms of legislation and in 1998, the Government of Wales Act granted the Welsh Assembly power to pass further legislation and led to the creation of the National Assembly in 1999. Since then, further powers have been granted to us following the referendum in 2011, which conferred primary law making powers on the Welsh Assembly. We are now likely to begin talking about further fiscal and financial powers being devolved to the National Assembly; the Silk Commission is currently looking into this.

Devolution is something many people in Wales have wanted, as demonstrated by the creation of the National Assembly in 1999. However, it took Wales a long time to be competent enough to go

through the devolution process and to ask for powers to be granted from Westminster. Previously, many people felt that the devolution process would not be a success and many people, some of them politicians, hoped that it would not be a success. Nevertheless, there was a visible determination across the political parties in Wales, where differences were put aside in favour of a common aim to ensure that what the people of Wales wanted could be delivered by people elected to represent Wales in the democratic process. What was very interesting in the 2011 referendum, regarding further powers being devolved to Wales, was that all of the parties wanted further powers and so this appeared to be an inevitable part of Wales' future. Wales looks towards the United Kingdom government to provide us with these further powers, in relation to money and taxation. We would like to see this development and we are looking at a common agenda. If you saw the National Assembly in action, the way we work and discuss devolution, you would witness all the disagreements regarding health and education coming to the fore. We are an open forum where debate and opinions are welcomed.

What is evident from Wales' devolution journey is that devolution is a very complex process within the United Kingdom as a whole, and each part of the United Kingdom which is devolved has a different settlement. As you will be aware, Scotland has a far better settlement with regards to the extent of what they are able to do; in relation to Wales, the Northern Ireland settlement is also different. These settlements have all developed at different paces, following numerous negotiations as to how each country

wanted to proceed. The interesting aspect here is that there is very little discussion about whether the regions in England wish to be devolved. There was an initial discussion within the North East of England, but ultimately the discussions dissolved as, I think, what England was offered in terms of devolution was not sufficient.



I believe that devolution has enhanced the meaning of democracy in Wales

We are very proud that we now control matters within Wales, which relate to education and family life; I believe that we are much closer to the people of Wales now because of this. One might go a step further and say that the Welsh Assembly members themselves are far more accessible to the electorate than in the English system. Within the Welsh Assembly, I have responsibilities for business and economy in Wales and companies have commented that they can access ministers regarding discussions on the economy and training more easily than ever before. As Wales is not ruled by Westminster in areas which concern daily life, I believe that devolution has enhanced the meaning of democracy in Wales.

If anyone has questions regarding devolution or anything discussed today, or about Welsh political life in general or the Welsh Assembly, please feel free to ask me.



The delegation at the Senedd building, Cardiff

Kerim Yildiz opens the floor for questions:

Question: Are police, guards and soldiers within Wales' control under the devolution agreement?

Edwina Hart: Defence and police are not devolved matters so no, they are not under Wales' control, but in terms of police, there was previously a democratic control on police, by local government who deliver the police force. That system has now been changed by the current United Kingdom government, who have decided that police commissioners should be elected, and this applies to

Wales and England. This is a fundamental change in terms of policing within the United Kingdom and the socialist party in the Westminster Parliament has opposed this legislation, largely because they felt it would be mixing politics with the police service. Overall, we have good relationship with the police, because we have issues in common with them, for example, in deciding how the budget should be spent, but wider control is firmly in the hands of the United Kingdom government.

Q: Are the police officers appointed by the Welsh government or are only the Chiefs appointed by the Welsh government?

Edwina Hart: Police officers are appointed in the local areas and Police Constables are elected. The nomination process for Police Commissioners and Chief Constables are decided via elections.

Q: In Wales, is there any other police force other than government police?

Edwina Hart: No, we do not have any local government police; we only have one police force. Of course, we also have the military, but we do not have a regional police force like in other parts of Europe.

Q: I can see in Wales that devolution is based on language rights. In previous meetings and other comparative studies, however, we have been told that only a rate of 7 to 12 per cent is in favour of independence in the polls. Why is this? Are there any economic reasons for this figure?

Edwina Hart: I do not think that there is an issue regarding language rights; I think language should be a separate issue outside of party politics. All of the major advances regarding language policy in Wales have been undertaken by socialist governments and, if I were to be party political right now, I would say that I would regard my party to be a party of Wales, and we have always supported language rights. We have to recognise in terms of our border that we have good economic ties with England, although we enjoy it when the Welsh beat the English at rugby! Ultimately, we have a very harmonious relationship with England. We must also recognise the economic implications of separating with England as, right now, our economies are intertwined. At the end of the day, what most people want out of life are a good job, good health and a good family life and so these are the issues that we concentrate on in the National Assembly.

It has to be said that, if something were to change in the Scottish devolution agreement; if the Scottish voted for further independence, then this would inevitably spark further debate in Wales. However, we must recognise that in the current economic climate and with Europe's current situation, the difficulties of small nations surviving economically are very large.

Q: Ms Hart, you are a member of Labour party in Wales. What part of Wales are you looking to change?

Edwina Hart: As a party, we understand the important need for having an industrial base to the economy. Criticism of the United

Kingdom has generally been that it has not focused on industry based policy; that it looks more towards financial services and less so on the manufacturing side. As a government in Wales, we are determined to have a mixed economy and are prepared to support businesses, financially, following the recession. In nine key sectors, we can choose the winners of the future in terms of trade and link our skills training into that agenda. Due to the attitude of the banks on lending businesses money, we also work on schemes that assist businesses with grants and repayable finance. In terms of the economy, with changes to arrangements by the United Kingdom government in the financial sector, there has been a 40 per cent cut in capital projects, so we are trying to grow in line with industry developments, and by industry, I also include trade unions.

Q: My first question is whether there were any discrimination or discriminatory policies by the United Kingdom government towards Welsh people in the past, before 1999?

My second question is, when you established the Welsh Assembly, what was the first subject on your agenda?

Edwina Hart: Firstly, I must point out that the Welsh National Assembly is not a Parliament. I think it is very important to recognise the history of Wales' relationship with the United Kingdom. Before devolution, parents thought that their children should speak English and not Welsh, because they thought that they were more likely to succeed in life and so the Welsh language has come into serious difficulty in the last century. I do not think

that there was a persecution due to the language, but think that this, rather, is a class issue. One must recognise that the word ‘*democracy*’ has a different meaning to different people, especially if you are a woman in Western Europe. When we established the Welsh Assembly, we had key issues to address, such as equality of opportunity and sustainability and that affected all our policies.

one must recognise that the word ‘democracy’ has a different meaning to different people

To answer your second question, I was Finance Minister in the first administration and I can confirm that we entered into many discussions regarding budget allocations and the development of policy, no one thing stood out at the time.

Q: What is the difference between an English and a Welsh person?

there is a greater understanding of the role of the collective in Wales; there is less individualism.

Edwina Hart: We are a nation with a passion and soul and we are still quite grounded in our communities. Also, I think that even though Welsh society has changed, a lot of people still know their neighbours, which is not the case everywhere anymore. I also think that there is a greater understanding of the role of the collective in Wales; there is less individualism.

Q: Please can you describe the relationship between the Welsh Labour party and the Westminster Labour party?

Edwina Hart: We are one national party but here in Wales, we decide on our policy agenda on areas that are devolved matters. We also participate in the party structure on making policy decisions which relate to the whole of the United Kingdom. I cannot say that this is very easy, because members of Parliament have the main function and we are sometimes perhaps seen as the ‘new kids on the block’, that is, we do not quite know what we are doing, but after 13 years, we are starting to educate those who previously did not support us, showing them that we are equally as competent as them.

In addition to this, in 1999, there was also talk of gender balance. The style implemented in the Welsh Assembly celebrated gender equality more formally than in Westminster Parliament. In my opinion, I do think that women do business differently; I think this made a difference and I think you can appreciate that in the Welsh Assembly there are not as many MPs as in Westminster. Looking at Welsh politics and the people who came into the Welsh Assembly in 1999, we had people who had a range of life experiences. These included the Chief Executive of Equal Opportunities in Wales. This is a broad description of Welsh Assembly life in Wales, because when I was asked earlier about issues regarding childcare, for example, these issues have become fundamental here in Welsh political life. When you understand the issues which surround

childcare and how crucial it is to the economy, more importance is attributed to it in a discussion.

Q: I am curious as to what your perception is of Turkey and what you think its achievements and shortcomings are?

Edwina Hart: I am not arrogant enough to comment on any nation's perceived shortcomings. We do have a great relationship with Turkey and we have had officials who recently went on a trade delegation visit with the Lord Mayor of London. We are also very certainly keen on maintaining economic and cultural ties.

It is important to understand each other because we all have different histories. In a perfect world, no nation would have baggage or anything to work out. I am a firm believer that it is nice to know what is going on elsewhere but decisions you take must be suitable for your own nation. What is crucial to this process is equality of opportunity and fairness.

Q: Are you interested in the foreign policy of the United Kingdom?

Edwina Hart: Yes! But as a government minister, I can only talk about it in party discussions and privately. We have relationships beyond trade, culture and education but foreign policy is a matter for Westminster.

Q: Is it right to say that as the recession in Europe is increasing, *devolution* demands will be increasing while *independence* demands will be decreasing?

Edwina Hart: I am not sure about that; I have returned today from Catalonia and interesting discussions with the Catalonian government are taking place. Catalonia has issues with the Spanish government, as Catalonia is one of the wealthier areas in Spain. Some discussions we had focused on whether they should stop further powers being given to the Catalonian government because of the recession. It will be interesting to see how, in these recessionary times, the debate will pan out in Scotland. However, I have to be honest, when I am in the streets shopping, for example, no one is rushing to talk to me about political settlements. The only things they are concerned about are matters such as their factory staying open. It is very interesting to look across these discussions and I am sure many PhD theses will be done on this in the future.

Q: You mentioned the issue of gender balance earlier; has the policy towards this changed since devolution?

Edwina Hart: When I first came into the Welsh National Assembly, the Labour party said we would have a balance regarding the candidates up for selection. The Welsh National Assembly was very successful in terms of who was elected in 1999, and the nationalist party also took certain measures regarding list seats we had. We recognised the need to have candidates who reflected the actual composition of the Welsh government. I still remain very committed to that agenda today, but over last few years, through normal selection systems, we have less women coming in. In my opinion, this situation needs to be rebalanced by going back to all-women shortlists; women's equality issues across the Welsh

Assembly must remain in line with each other to accomplish this.

Q: In relation to the European Union, what is Wales' position? What is Wales' current relationship with the European Union?

Edwina Hart: The way the settlement agreement works in the United Kingdom is that we have separate settlements with the European Union and our ministers are able to discuss agricultural policy, language and a range of other issues. However, it is the United Kingdom government which acts on behalf of the four nations of the United Kingdom. In the future, if Scotland becomes independent, this dynamic will change and it will be interesting to see how this issue develops, as Scotland has indicated towards independence. However, one must also bear in mind that if you want to join the European Union, you have to be in Europe and our position is that we are part of the United Kingdom.

Q: Does Wales get regional help from Europe?

Edwina Hart: We have been part of the European structural funds for the last two rounds. Due to Wales' decline of steel and coal mines and the economic downturn, some areas in Wales are now the poorest in Europe. Looking at the United Kingdom, it is evident that the majority of money is being spent in the South East of England, in London in particular. The European Union is helping to redress this balance, through the use of structural funds.

Kerim Yildiz: Thank you very much indeed for your time and for your very useful talk.

Thursday 21st June – Evening Reception hosted by the Welsh Government, Wales Millennium Centre

With

Bet Davies: Tour Manager, Wales Millennium Centre

Huw Onllwyn-Jones, Head of Welsh Language Unit

Ifona Deeley/Sandra Stephenson: International Relations Officer,
Welsh Government

Wales Arts International Representatives

Nick Capaldi, Arts Council for Wales

Venue: **Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff**



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

The Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff

The Wales Millennium Centre presents an eclectic and interesting range of art forms, remaining true to its original vision of bringing the best of the world to Wales and showcasing the best of Wales to the world. In its first six years, the Wales Millennium Centre has already established a track record of excellence and a reputation amongst artists and producers as one of the world's leading centres for the performing arts

Following an evening reception hosted by the Welsh government, the delegation was offered the opportunity to view an opera production, Mandela Trilogy, which had premiered at the Wales Millennium Centre earlier that week.

The opera told the story of Nelson Mandela's life throughout the course of South African history.

Friday 22nd June – Session 3: Roundtable meeting with Theodore Huckle QC, Cathay’s Park, Welsh Government

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion: *The role of Counsel General, powers and legal aspects of Welsh Government*

With

Theodore Huckle QC⁷

Venue: Welsh Government building, Cathay’s Park, Cardiff

Moderated by Kerim Yildiz

Theodore Huckle was appointed Counsel General in 2011. In 2008, Mr Huckle was instrumental in establishing Civitas Law chambers as the first specialist civil law chambers in Wales. In early 2011 he was the first member of Civitas Law chambers to take Silk and is the only barrister in a Welsh chamber who has been appointed Queen’s Counsel in 2011.



Theodore Huckle QC and Kerim Yildiz

Theodore Huckle QC: Good morning everyone, or ‘*bore da*’, which is ‘good morning’ in Welsh. Ladies and gentlemen, we will begin with a talk from me and then I am willing to answer any questions you may have, bearing in mind I know you will be hearing a more detailed explanation of the devolution settlement in Wales later today.

Wales is leading the way on cultural and linguistic rights

Welcome to Wales; ‘*Croeso I Gymru*’. It is a great pleasure to be invited to speak to you today. I am going to talk about the Welsh

government and my role as Counsel General, which is a relatively new position for me. I am very excited to be part of government at this time and see the new Welsh National Assembly as an opportunity to do innovative things for Wales. Wales is no longer bound by England in relation to certain matters and Wales is leading the way on cultural and linguistic rights. These matters are very important to the devolution settlement in Wales and set the foundation for any further settlement between the Welsh Assembly and Westminster Parliament.

In relation to Wales' legal landscape, I will now give you a brief history of devolution in Wales. Before 1997, the United Kingdom Parliament passed laws for England and Wales, and the Welsh Office administered Wales as a department of United Kingdom government. In 1997, there was a referendum as to whether powers should be devolved to Wales; a 'yes' vote was returned and the Welsh Assembly was set up in response to this. It is remarkable that this was only 13 years ago. Initially, the Welsh Assembly was set up as a corporate body, which included the legislature and the executive body but from 2006 to 2007, this was replaced by the new National Assembly and the Welsh Assembly. This was a new system of government and public bodies as separate entities. The Welsh Assembly is currently made up of 60 members who are elected by the public, the First Minister, cabinet ministers and other non-elected members, including myself.

Between 2006 and 2007, the Welsh Assembly was able to pass measures on matters excluding defence and taxation, but

before devolution, these measures could only be passed after going through a lengthy approval process from the United Kingdom Parliament. Last year, the further referendum as to whether the Welsh Assembly should be able to make and pass acts, resulted in the 'yes' vote, so now the Welsh Assembly can make laws on areas such as education, health and the economy without needing the prior consent of the United Kingdom Parliament. Certain matters of United Kingdom national nature remain within Westminster's remit, but it is correct to say that the matters that affect people's everyday lives here in Wales, the more important things one may argue, are very much within the devolved subject areas, such as education and healthcare.

In relation to the type of laws the Welsh government has been making and is planning to make, we are already making progress in increasing the prominence of the Welsh language, which is an important subject. Currently, only 20 per cent of the Welsh population speak Welsh and this figure has been increasing as has demand for Welsh education. Last year, the Welsh Assembly passed the Welsh Language Act 2011 to make Welsh the national language of Wales. In addition to this, the Welsh Language Partnership Council and the established role of the Welsh Language Commissioner have now replaced the Welsh Language Board.

There have also been measures to introduce language standards, which public bodies are required to comply with. Hopefully, by doing all we can to protect the Welsh language, it will grow in opportunity and become more widely used. The

Welsh Assembly will also be proposing laws in other areas, such as the Human Transplantation Wales Bill, which will allow patients to opt out of treatment for medical purposes, aiming to increase the number of organs available for donation.

Turning to my post of Counsel General, who I am and what I do. The role of Counsel General in its present form is contained in the Government of Wales Act 2006 and is controlled in Standing Order 5. I am the third since then to hold the post, appointed by the Queen in June last year, having been designated on 27 May 2011. Previous Counsel Generals have been the current First Minister of Wales, Carwyn Jones, and the current Minister for Environment, John Griffiths. Unlike my predecessors, they were both lawyers but were not in practise. I am a member of the Welsh Government and also, by concession of First Minister, I can still practise as a barrister. I was called to bar in 1995 and took Silk, becoming a QC, last year. I continue to practice in Cardiff chambers on matters such as the developing legal structures in Wales and focus on civil matters.

My role, first and foremost, is to act as the senior legal advisor to the Welsh Government. I am consulted on legal matters which are of particular complexity or over-sensitive. I can also represent in courts and can act in the public interest, relating to matters where First Minister and Cabinet Ministers have functions. I do not have portfolio but on certain areas of policy I am asked to take the lead. This position is very well supported by the Welsh government and a high quality legal department, which includes

experts in public law, created by the Welsh devolution settlement and architects of the Government of Wales Act.

I may also be asked for my opinion on certain legal or complex questions, politically controversial matters or those which have the widest implications. I am not subject to political interest; my responsibility is to provide objective legal advice so the Welsh government is can make an unbiased decision. I may also be required to propose a Welsh Assembly act, at the point where it was a bill to being passed as an act by Welsh Assembly. At that point, I may also be required to refer a bill or provision to the Supreme Court for a decision on legal competence, though I hope it does not have to happen often.

As Counsel General, I am a devolved law officer for Wales. This position is the nearest equivalent to the Attorney General role in the United Kingdom Parliament, though my role is more limited, reflecting the limitations of the devolution settlement. I have meetings and discussions with other law officers in the United Kingdom, the Attorney General himself and the Attorney General in Scotland and Northern Ireland. I also hold meetings and discussions with judges and others involved in the administration of justice. As Counsel General, I have statutory powers with all matters in Wales and often report on behalf of the Welsh Assembly and consultation where legal matters affecting the administration of justice arise. I am the administrator of justice though the administration of justice is not a devolved area yet but I can still make representations where necessary.

I am not an Assembly Member but in the Assembly, I am one of few people allowed in chamber who is not a member; this short list includes myself, the Queen, and the Secretary of State for Wales and not many more. I have ability to enter, not to participate in debates, but to observe and listen. In some sense, I am accountable to the Welsh Assembly for how I exercise the independent statutory functions which the role attracts. Importantly, I may be asked questions about those aspects of the role by Assembly Members and am required on a four weekly basis to go to the Welsh Assembly to answer questions.

I have various statutory powers under the Government of Wales Act. I may introduce an Assembly bill, though I have not done so in a while and have no intention to do so. However, this is largely dependent on whether the First Minister asks me to do so, on how we consolidate legislation found in England and Wales, and whether we are interested to try to bring those provisions under one roof. That sort of bill, in a fast track manner, may be the type of thing the First Minister wants me to introduce. I do not consider that to be an independent function however, as in those circumstances, I would only act when asked. Separate, for example, of my independent powers and function, if the Attorney General and I may refer to Supreme Court a question regarding any Assembly bill as to whether it is within the Welsh Assembly's competence. I am obliged and bound on occasions to think it necessary to refer bills to Supreme Court; as a lawyer and advocate, I look forward to those occasions but I am not sure the same can be said of the First Minister.

As Counsel General, I can bring legal proceedings regarding devolution issues. To have devolution of powers decided or to defend proceedings, these issues will include questions of whether Welsh ministers have acted within their devolved powers. I could, as could the Attorney General, require this to be referred to the Supreme Court, depending on what I see appropriate, though this has not happened, yet the Attorney General and I agree that this will be only a matter of time.

It is not always easy to identify which laws apply in Wales. The ability of the public to access legislation and see what applies to Wales is very important and so we are taking various measures to ensure Welsh law is clear, accessible and in the Welsh language, as opposed to solely in English. More importantly at the moment, we have just closed a three month consultation on Wednesday as to whether Wales should have a separate judicial system. This is a very important constitutional debate and arises due to the Wales' unusual position in that it has two separate legislatures whom pass laws for Wales; Westminster and the Welsh Assembly. Both laws apply to all of England and Wales but they may be restricted in their territorial effect. Just as Westminster can pass laws on just Wales, or solely on England, those provisions become part of the laws for England and Wales. In this respect, the Welsh Assembly thinks this differs from the normal federal system, like in India or the United States of America and rather, we are in a unique position which gives rise to considerable complexities as to which law applies. In response to this predicament, the Welsh Assembly is currently discussing ways in which a more formal and separate

system of laws can be established in Wales.

I hope that I have given you a flavour of my role and that I have shown you that there are exciting times ahead. We expect there will be challenges in the future and we look forward to taking them on.



The delegation at Welsh Government Buildings in Cathays Park, Cardiff

Kerim Yildiz then opens the floor for questions:

Question: Can you explain why in Wales there is no Minister of Justice? Would you say that you hold the role equivalent to the Minister of Justice?

Theodore Huckle QC: Yes, I would say that. Justice is not a devolved area and it is perhaps easier to say that while justice is not a devolved area, most of the devolved subject areas which the Welsh Assembly can act on have aspects of justice considerations within them. For example, criminal law is not a devolved area but the Welsh Assembly makes criminal provisions all the time in relation to fisheries, for example. For now, it is best to concentrate on the administration of justice, policing and on the provision create a separate legal jurisdiction. Beyond this, the ambit of Welsh law making powers, in order to fulfil a policy requirement and to make provisions under those heading require passing laws under court process, allows for this but within certain limitations.

Q: Do all procedures come from the United Kingdom and Westminster?

Theodore Huckle QC: In relation to implementing procedures, there are certain tribunals which are devolved in Wales and others which are not. One of things which we are focusing on at the moment is seeking to follow what is already done in England to rationalise the system and bring Wales within remit of Her Majesty's system. Some areas of judicial law making that are within the control of Westminster are an issue for the courts, not the Welsh Assembly.

Q: Are there any judicial thoughts or affairs which are directly established and under the responsibility of the Welsh Assembly?

Theodore Huckle QC: Others in the room may have better answer, but as far as I understand, there are not. However, it is important to point out that the administrative courts, a division of the High Court in England and Wales which deal with public law matters and also deal with issues arising in Wales, has an office in Cardiff; this is an ideal template for illustrating how courts can easily administer from Cardiff and Wales. For instance, the office is running a section of the court in Wales though still operating as part of the High Court administration and part of the Ministry of Justice.

Q: Firstly, what is the most controversial issue in Welsh society and how is it debated?

Secondly, in 20 years' time, how far do you think the Welsh National Assembly will have got in their agenda?

Theodore Huckle QC: To answer your first question, my involvement in this process began on my birthday last year. Before that, I was just a barrister in private practise, so I will give caution in giving you any careful analysis. As a member of public in Wales before I was appointed Counsel General, like in any country with particular linguist and cultural parts, there was quite a lot of suspicion in certain areas of the devolution settlement, in particular, in the English speaking communities in Wales which are the majority, but if you like more culturally aligned to England, in some ways. It is right to say that the decision to accept devolution was a close run thing, as no vast majority existed in the late 1990s. Over the last

12 years, people have become accustomed to the fact that Wales has more power in Welsh society. The process was accelerated following the Government of Wales Act 2011 and the fact that the Welsh Assembly, which is similar to Parliament if you will, was set up which illuminated the on-going debate of the structure of United Kingdom and its constitutional arrangements. Research indicates that the people in Wales are becoming more in favour of the devolution process and if you look at the result of the referendum last year, for example, the Welsh Assembly gained powers to pass legislation because the public showed more of an appetite to have further devolved powers. Devolution is a process not an event and I detect an increasing appetite for it. It is not right to not mention financial issues, as to how matters are funded and paid for, as issues arise as to the share of overall United Kingdom funds that are allocated to the United Kingdom and Wales.

The Silk Commission is looking at the financial aspects of devolution and there is a strong view in the Welsh government that the arrangement of funding in Wales needs serious restructuring in Wales' favour. That is something that is currently being considered before we go on to consider the legal and constitutional structure of the United Kingdom. By way of example, some people would say we do not want to be distanced from England because they will discontinue the funding that Wales benefit from. England has always had the ability to run its own affairs and funds and so we must thread ground very carefully in this respect.

Regarding any controversial issues, it is probably more than anything that people are used to what they are used to. If one operates in a way for 100 years, it takes time to change. The development of devolution over the last 13 years is remarkable and I am astonished by how much has been achieved for Wales in 13 years.

To answer your second question as to what position we will be in in 20 years' time, my answer is that we will have to wait and see.

Q: What about direction?

Theodore Huckle QC: In my view, the allocation of control of Welsh affairs will continue, but we must also consider the Scottish question, which is a more fluid settlement than in Wales. In Wales, the polls held suggest that there is no real appetite for succession from the European Union or to be an independent state. Whether this changes or not, I do not know. However, at the moment, I feel that the people want more control over their affairs but very much want to remain part of the United Kingdom.

Q: Are you represented in Wales and in Welsh society?

How do you feel and what is your relationship with the Labour party when you are referring matters to the Supreme Court?

Also, you are not a single man army – how large is the team working with you?

Theodore Huckle QC: To answer your first question, I am not represented in Wales at all. The Queen appointed me in a royal appointment, like the First Minister and after that, I act only within Wales and the devolved government. I am a member of the devolved government by political appointment of the incumbent government. An additional aspect to the appointment of Counsel General is that royal appointment must be approved by the Welsh Assembly and termination of the appointment must be agreed by the Welsh Assembly.

In relation to my office, it has started to grow; it currently includes myself and the private secretary, David Richards. There are more resources available to me and I have enormous support from the Welsh Government Legal Services, but I am independent from them and give advice to the Welsh Government independently. We work very closely together but I am not part of them; they are not part of my department as such. We are currently in the midst of appointing a deputy legal director to report directly to me as a lawyer. It is worth noting that if one looks to the Lord Advocate in Scotland and Ireland, they are staffed by substantial numbers of people. Although I do not think my office will grow to that extent yet, I do think that it will grow.

Q: What about football, do you support England or Wales?

Theodore Huckle QC: There are differing views in Wales. If you ask many of my friends what soccer or rugby team he supports, they would say Wales and any team playing England. I, however, take

the view that we are part of the United Kingdom and if one team of the United Kingdom is doing well, I would be content. I would be happy if any United Kingdom team goes on to win the European championship, however, it would be more difficult if Scotland and England were playing each other.

Q: Is there any public debate against your position?

Theodore Huckle QC: There was discussion surrounding the fact that I was not a public lawyer. I did not understand why that was an issue, because if you look at the appointment of Attorney General, historically he will not be a public lawyer, just a general lawyer. If you look at Dominic Grieve QC MP, the present Attorney General, he is not a public lawyer, though in this role, you do learn a lot about being a public lawyer. What the profession does not understand is the ability of lawyers to learn about public law, though this issue has not been raised since.

Q: Are there any unelected persons in government and in the Welsh Assembly?

Theodore Huckle QC: Yes, there are and I have no objection to that. Dominic Grieve is a Member of Parliament and he is not a lawyer and likewise Gareth Williams, a Welsh barrister and Labour politician who was Leader of the House of Lords, Lord President of the Council and a member of the Cabinet, was also appointed from outside the practising profession. People appointed from outside the practising profession are usually given a Middle Lord or

Lady title. There is no necessary linkage between a political elected position and the official role.

Kerim Yildiz: Thank you for the information you have provided us with. The United Kingdom legal system is very complex and the information provided on the devolution process will aid us when discussing the allocation of powers in Turkey. I am sure that we will continue to learn about the devolution process and from you.

Friday 22nd June – Session 4: Presentation and Roundtable Discussion with Welsh Government Inter-Governmental Relations and Constitutional Affairs team

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion: *Where we are now with Devolution in Wales*

With

Andrew Felton,⁸ Head of Inter-Governmental Relations, the Welsh Government

Sarah Canning, Constitutional Affairs and Inter-Governmental Relations, the Welsh Government

Venue: **Welsh Government Buildings, Cathay's Park, Cardiff**

Moderated by Catriona Vine, Deputy Director - Director of Programmes

Andrew Felton is Head of Inter-Governmental Relations and Sarah Canning sits in the Constitutional Affairs and Inter-Governmental Relations group within the Welsh Government. Both the speakers are part of the joint secretariat of the Joint Ministerial Committee, a forum which brings together Ministers from the United Kingdom Government, the Welsh Government, the Scottish Government and the Northern Ireland Executive to discuss matters of common interest, review the workings of devolution and seek to resolve disagreements and disputes between the administrations.



Andrew Felton and Sarah Canning address the delegation

Andrew Felton: Please let me give a warm welcome to those of you who I have not met and to those of you I met last night at the Wales Millennium Centre. Sarah and I are going to build upon what the Counsel General has outlined and tell you more about the devolution settlement. It has been a very interesting journey and I will spend some time assessing where we are and where we will be heading in relation to the United Kingdom government and Welsh government.

I will first provide a historical background; Wales is a fairly small nation of three million people, covering 20,000 square kilometres. The administrative setup is 22 local authority areas in Wales, with many in former industrial areas, which allows for a big mix of geography and history. The key drive for devolution is the Welsh

language and this is a strong part of Welsh society. There is also a very distinctive Welsh culture, which is rooted in the Welsh language and it is true to say that culture, identity and language are at the heart of devolution. Having been around the United Kingdom and Ireland, you will have seen that the motives for devolution in different parts of the United Kingdom are very different and therefore the devolution settlements have differed. Wales has set up the Welsh Assembly and since 1999 has begun to develop very different solutions to economic and social challenges.

Devolution is not just about the last 13 years; for example, the establishment of the Welsh Office, a small department of the United Kingdom government, was set up in 1964, nearly 40 years ago. This office had many functions but was still part of the United Kingdom government. In 1989, a referendum for devolution was put to the public of Wales, but as in Scotland, the turnout was 50 per cent and of that, there was a substantial ‘*no*’ vote.

In 1997, there was a referendum in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland and the turnout in Wales was 50.1 per cent, a result which was very close indeed. Just 50.53 per cent voted in favour of devolution in Wales and the final result from Carmarthenshire tipped it for National Assembly of Wales. This is also comparable to the very dramatic result in Scotland which had 75 to 70 per cent of the vote in favour of the referendum which led to the ‘*yes*’ vote.

What is fantastic about this process is the support received

for devolution in Wales; the understanding of what devolution actually means for Wales has increased substantially in the last ten to twelve years. Opinion polls suggest that the Welsh public is in favour of keeping the current settlement or expanding it, with 70 to 75 per cent in favour of further devolved powers in Wales. Legally, the Government of Wales Act 1998 set up a National Assembly for Wales as a single corporate body, in contrast to the position of the equivalents in Scotland and Northern Ireland. The Welsh Assembly and the executive arm of the government are separate bodies but are still part of the United Kingdom and of the same organisation. The legal powers that the Assembly had been operating in May 1999 were very limited and it only had the ability to pass secondary legislation, not primary legislation. That power, to create primary legislation, has only come in the last five years; though it is a limited power it does make a significant difference in Wales but this is relatively small in comparison to the powers given to Scotland and Northern Ireland.

I would just like to add that the devolution referendums between 1999 and 2007 and then again in 2011 have all built upon the further powers desired by Wales. Thank you very much for listening to me.

Sarah Canning: Hello, or '*Helô*' in Welsh. The first phase of Welsh devolution spanned over an eight year period, between 1999 and 2007. During this period, as Andrew explained, Wales had limited legislative powers in relation to policy, education, agriculture and economic development and could only pass subordinate

legislation. In other words, the Welsh government worked as a large government department but the direction of policy matters was decided by Westminster.

The Welsh Assembly was initially set up as a corporate body, with no separate executive or legislature. This set-up included limitations, as initially the Welsh Assembly could not pass primary legislation for itself; it had to ask the United Kingdom government for this. So when we compared ourselves with Scotland and Northern Ireland, Wales was in a more limited position to develop our own policies and take things forward. It soon became clear that we needed these vital powers and in 2006, the Government of Wales Act ignited the second phase of devolution for us. Three major achievements resulted from this Act; the first was that it provided for a formal separation of the executive and legislature. Secondly, it established an in-between system for passing primary legislation and Wales received further powers in some areas to pass primary legislation, these are what we call '*Assembly measures*'. Thirdly, the Welsh Assembly was also granted wider powers to pass legislation in areas such as education. During 1999 to 2007, the Welsh Assembly had no primary legislative powers over areas such as policy, however, Wales is now in a position to take forward primary legislation in all those areas; this then saw the beginning of the third phase of the devolution journey.

Andrew Felton: As a reflection on devolution and on where we are on the key issues; 20 years ago, things were very different but because we have moved so quickly, the process of devolution in Wales has been fascinating. The three settlements in the United Kingdom are very different to one another, but one thing that we all have in common is the way in which we relate to each other as governments. Various inter-governmental forums were set up at the start of devolution to provide a means by which to discuss big policy issues and promote effective governance. These provide forums for disputes, discussing different approaches and for different parties coming into power. What we want to do going forward is to create a coherent system for the current United Kingdom population, which is over 60 million people. What we have is a '*Memorandum of Understanding*', which is an overarching document setting out the principles to establish good administrative practise. Separately, but linked to the Memorandum of Understanding, are the bilateral agreements between the United Kingdom government departments, which reiterate this in greater detail, and highlight different policy interactions and the dependencies as to what the role of the United Kingdom government is.

A key part of the Memorandum of Understanding is the establishment of the Joint Ministerial Committee, which is one of the most significant inter-governmental forums and which has become more significant in the past four or five years. Following some very significant changes, the Scottish National Party came to power in 2007 following the Labour administration in Edinburgh

and the Plaid Cymru and Labour coalition in Wales in 2007. A number of different political parties meant that the Joint Ministerial Committee assumed more importance in bringing ministers and senior officials together, to iron out their differences. The First Minister of Scotland, the First Minister of Wales, and the First Minister and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland have overall responsibility within their respective administrations for the Memorandum of Understanding and its associated overarching concordats.

The Joint Ministerial Committee meets once a year in a plenary format to discuss issues of economy and finance. Twice a year, the Joint Ministerial Committee has a domestic meeting, chaired by the Deputy Prime Minister, focused on non-devolved issues such as welfare reforms – it is widely felt that the Joint Ministerial Committee has had a major impact in devolved areas. Finally, the Joint Ministerial Committee in Europe is chaired by the Foreign Secretary, which establishes a United Kingdom position as a member state in the European Council Meetings.

In relation to finance, this is not an area that I lead on, but the Welsh budget devolves from the treasury, which is currently £16 billion as calculated using the Barnett formula, which is based on spending decisions of the United Kingdom department. From this, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland receive equal shares of funding. It is for the Finance Ministers to meet a number of times a year to discuss this issue, and the Silk Commission is currently in the middle of a large debate regarding Wales' need to be funded on

a fair funding basis.

Sarah Canning: To finish off, I will now discuss the powers exercised by the Welsh Assembly since 2011. Since 2011, the Welsh Assembly has been able to pass legislation in over 20 policy areas. It is interesting that devolution has gone through three stages, but the Welsh Assembly still does not have the same powers as Scotland or Northern Ireland. In Scotland and Northern Ireland, things work differently as instead of giving them specific subjects on what they *can* do, certain matters are simply reserved to Westminster. The effects of that are that the Welsh Assembly has more limited powers and a more limited range of areas in which it can act. Having worked on constitutional issues for a long while now, when we held the referendum last year, we thought that we would have had all powers by then. The Silk Commission was set up by the Secretary of State for Wales to focus on finance issues, and next year, it will look at the devolution settlement itself; it is important to recommend proposals to the United Kingdom government. In the spring of 2014 we will have another referendum; we expect that any changes from that referendum will take effect when the new government comes into power in 2015. Thank you and I am happy to now answer any questions that you may have.



Andrew Felton and Sarah Canning of the Welsh Government with

*Nazmi Gür, Vice-President of the Peace and Democracy Party
(BDP), and*

*BDP MP Ayla Akat at Welsh Government buildings, Cathay's Park,
Cardiff*

Catriona Vine opens the floor for questions:

Question: Firstly, how has devolution affected the quality of life in Wales in socio-economic terms?

Secondly, why is the Silk Commission called so?

Thirdly, how long is the Memorandum of Understanding; does it contain a few principles or is it very detailed?

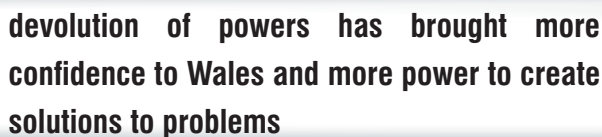
Sarah Canning: To answer your second question first, the Silk Commission is a name abbreviated to mean the Commission on devolution of Wales, and is chaired by a man called Paul Silk, hence it is being referred to after him.

To now answer your first question on the impact of devolution on the Welsh people, I think it is fair to say that Assembly Members may have different views about devolution, but one thing which has certainly become clear is that in the areas of health and education, things are done very differently in Wales. Regarding healthcare, we have maintained less of a market approach in relation to provision of health services and there are noticeable differences as to how we provide welfare in Wales. For example, all medical prescriptions are free to people in Wales, but in England, they are only free up until the age of 18 years, therefore the way welfare is delivered in England involves more private enterprise. In England, however, one may argue that this allows for more money to be spent in other areas of the health service. Social research data in Wales indicates that people are happy with the way the Welsh

Assembly handles matters in education and health. We handle matters very differently in Wales, for example, in relation to the recent leak from the United Kingdom government about changing the education system back to O-levels from GCSE, the current mode of examination for 16 year olds. There is currently a lot of controversy surrounding education at the moment and we are happy that we have control of this area in Wales.

Q: Is education one of the devolved areas that Wales can act on?

Sarah Canning: Not directly, we must still look towards the laws and policies of the United Kingdom and see if they fit, although we always have to be aware. A ripple effect of us bringing a policy out is that it brings the topic into sharp focus as to how it is done elsewhere. We benefit hugely from Scotland, England and Ireland doing things differently because it may show solutions for any problems starting off in devolution. We now have the Children's Commission for Wales and during devolution we had the Older People's Commission for Wales.



devolution of powers has brought more confidence to Wales and more power to create solutions to problems

A key distinction in Welsh policy is that, being a smaller nation of three million people, we have the advantage of scale. People know each other and the government better. We have also put in place local service boards and have brought authorities, boards and

people closer together, which helps with designing more efficient services. Devolution of powers has brought more confidence to Wales and more power to create solutions to problems. Language is also fundamental to that as is the bilingual system of working.

Q: Has devolution had an impact on the self-confidence on people - is there a way to measure this?

Sarah Canning: There is social research available, which we can send to you electronically, regarding confidence levels and people's confidence in the Welsh Assembly. Regarding personal confidence, there is no scientific data available but there seems to be more of an interest in devolution for Wales. Cardiff has changed a lot, with more new buildings, such as the Wales Millennium Centre and the Senedd building; these are flagship buildings for people to feel proud of.

Andrew Felton: To answer your question about the Memorandum of Understanding, this is a very significant document which goes into great detail. There are concordats within this on matters such as European Union policy, financial assistance to industry and also protocol relating to avoiding unresolved intergovernmental disagreements; it is a very comprehensive document.

Q: Is the language of the legislative body English or Welsh?

Sarah Canning: All National Assembly legislation is in both English and Welsh and there has been a programme over the last ten to twelve years on recruiting skilled, bilingual lawyers for drafting

purposes. We also deal with United Kingdom legislation, which is only in English in England but here it is in both English and Welsh.

Q: When education through a Welsh medium first began, what was the main language used when it was first rolled out? Was the language of teaching or the content of the curriculum changed to Welsh immediately?

Secondly, in the rest of the United Kingdom, are there any schools which teach through the medium of Welsh?

Thirdly, under what conditions can you make a referendum?

Sarah Canning: To answer your first question, Welsh medium education in Wales was available prior to devolution, but in a more limited form. When I was in school, in the 1970s and the 1980s, there were only two subjects taught in Welsh and the rest were taught in English. Today, schools have the option of having every subject taught in Welsh and this is a choice for parents. This provision was included in the Government of Wales Act 1998, stating that public life would be treated with a sense of equality. Devolution has helped to consolidate the position of Welsh medium education and has given every child the right to it.

To answer your second question on whether there have been any controls on the standard of teaching, the standard is the same for English and Welsh medium schools. Obviously, in Welsh medium schools, everyone is taught English as well so everyone

is bilingual. Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education and Training in Wales, known as ESTYN, is a body which regulates and inspects all school standards and uses the same standards across both parts of the education system. Also, there has been no problem in finding teachers because even in the early 1900s, there was a high supply of teachers in Wales who spoke both Welsh and English, so there have been no problems in resourcing that. Regarding training teachers, although most are Welsh language speakers, they are required to undergo teachers' training courses.

To answer your final question as to whether there are Welsh medium schools outside of Wales, I know that there is a Welsh medium primary school, in Ealing in London, which comes under the English education system. This has not got anything to do with the Welsh Assembly but rather from demand in that area for Welsh medium education. Also, in Patagonia in South America, there are Welsh medium schools due to high demand in that region.

Q: My first question is, what is the nature of resources in Wales, do you have total authority over them, for example, over coal or docklands?

My second question is, during election campaigning in England, how do the parties talk about devolution? Do they show support for devolution in election debates, for example?

My third question is whether there is a specific amount secured for Wales in the budget?

Sarah Canning: To answer your first question on our resources and control over them, the Welsh Assembly has no control over Wales' resources, for example, over energy or water. We have some powers in relation to energy and energy conservation, efficiency and reducing carbon emissions, but we cannot lay claim to all the coal in the land. Similarly, regarding water, this is another area which is very complicated. The Westminster Parliament has stated that if Wales tries to pass any law which would affect the water supply to England, the law would be struck out.

Andrew Felton: To answer your final question in relation to financial resources, money is distributed via the Barnett formula and it is our choice how we spend it. In response to your second question, in the United Kingdom during election campaigns, generally speaking, all mainstream political parties are in favour of devolution. This change has recently seen further support across the United Kingdom. I also do not doubt that when politicians are doing their rounds in Wales, there is a definite emphasis on Wales and devolution issues as well as general United Kingdom issues, such as welfare reform and taxation.

Sarah Canning: Before the referendum in 1997, some parties were against devolution but they have since changed their views and devolution in Wales is now widely accepted.

To answer your question about referendums and how they are generated, this is a matter for the government to decide to put a referendum to the public. Parliament could decide this at any

time and there are provisions in the Government of Wales Act 2006 to have a specific referendum for greater powers in the Welsh Assembly.

In relation to how the people react to the amount of money given to Wales, this has been assessed through social research available to the public. In England, there is higher proportion of people who think that Wales has placed itself in a better situation than England and people also think the same about Scotland, but this is a very complicated picture. A few months back, Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, stated that Wales utilises the money given to it in a more efficient manner than England did, and that the Welsh people see more of that money. I think there is a need for a re-balance; Wales has more access to natural resources, like water for example, but economically is not as strong as England. If we start messing with the financial system, in my view, the entire devolution settlement may fall apart.

Q: Can you please explain, psychologically or politically, why you describe people as either Welsh or English speaking people? How do people in Britain describe you?

Andrew Felton: I am English but have lived in Wales for some years and am very committed to Wales. Though this distinction is not a very big issue, some people say they are Welsh, quite rightly, or English, quite rightly, but others think of themselves as British. To add on this point, an important consideration within the devolution settlement is that Wales has a very poor border control

between England. This is particularly true of Southeast Wales and the Southwest of England, i.e. between Swansea, Cardiff, Bristol and Gloucester; there are tens of thousands of people crossing the border. In places like the English midlands, in schools, hospitals, services and jobs, people are travelling in both directions, which is very different from Scotland, where the population is very small on both sides of the border.

Sarah Canning: Welsh speaking or English speaking people are defined as such for education policy purposes. You would not say you are a Welsh speaking person; you would say you are Welsh. The distinction is for governmental purposes.

Catriona Vine: Thank you both very much and we shall continue discussions over coffee.

Friday 22nd June – Session 5: Roundtable Meeting with Huw Onllwyn Jones, Head of the Welsh Language Unit, Court Room, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Presentation and Roundtable Discussion: *Welsh Language and identity - How Welsh Language has progressed in Wales.*

With

Huw Onllwyn Jones,⁹ Head of the Welsh Language Unit, the Welsh Government

Venue: **Court Room, National Museum**

Moderated by Catriona Vine, Deputy Director - Director of Programmes

The Welsh Language Unit administers the process of preparing subordinate legislation which may include legislation for language standards recommended by the Commissioner, in accordance with the Welsh Language Measure. It also provides advice to Government Ministers and leads the work of developing the Assembly Government's ability to work through the medium of Welsh.



Huw Onllwyn Jones addresses the delegation in the National Museum in Wales

Huw Onllwyn Jones: Welcome to Wales and to Cardiff, our capital city. I am the Head of the Welsh Language Unit in the Welsh Assembly and I will give you a brief background of the Welsh language and what the Welsh Language Unit is doing to promote and support it.

I will give you a brief history of Wales - please ask questions at any time. The Welsh language is a very old language, dating back over 1,000 years and of course spoken throughout Wales and across substantial parts of what is now England. However, the history of the language over the last 1,000 years or so has been one of decline. A significant impact on the language has been the Act of Union in the 16th century, which made Wales and England a political and legal entity, but unfortunately for the language, that Act outlawed

the use of Welsh in public life, stating that it could not be used for official purposes whatsoever. This led to the decline of the status of the language and to the way it was regarded by the middle classes, and by those who wanted to get on in society; the mentality was that English was the way forward.

The Welsh language was in decline until the 19th century and early 20th century, when the industrialisation of South Wales and of coal mining began. Many people moved into Wales at this time to get jobs in the coal mines, so this contributed to a further decline in the use of Welsh, and communities went from being Welsh speaking communities to losing the language in a generation. Fortunately, in 1962, a lecturer and historian, Saunders Lewis, gave a broadcast on BBC Radio Wales on the fate of the language. This was a key event for Wales and a wake up call for Welsh speakers expressing that the language was dying and if something was not done about it, it would be gone. This led to the establishment of the Welsh Language Society, in 1962, and they followed a course of political lobbying but also some civil types of protest, for example, not paying bills unless they were received in Welsh, and spraying English road signs with green paint. Following these acts, you then had ordinary citizens, who found themselves in court for various reasons. This led to the first piece of legislation in support of the Welsh language: the Language Act 1987, which gave people the right to use Welsh in court. The Home Office and judges at the time recognised that Welsh speakers who spoke little English were at a disadvantage when being represented in court and so the Act also allowed for Welsh versions of other documents and with these

changes, Welsh medium education began to grow.

When I was a young boy many years ago, I attended the only Welsh language primary school in Cardiff; children came from all over the city, normally in council buses. The situation has changed, and we now have 15 Welsh medium schools in Cardiff and Welsh medium education is run tremendously across Wales. We have also had the establishment of the Welsh language television channel, S4C; Welsh radio stations and the organisation of the Welsh League of Youth, which has gone from strength to strength and has 50,000 young members. This demonstrates that the growth of Welsh education came from English speaking parents wanting their children to learn Welsh. They saw this as an advantage for the child to be bilingual in life and thought that their kids should speak Welsh.

In 1993, the introduction of the Welsh Language Act tackled the people's demands for services in local authorities to be in Welsh. This placed a duty on public bodies to produce Welsh language speeches setting out how, over time, they would improve the opportunities to speak Welsh. The Act has been very successful and has led to a significant increase in the services available, though it is not watertight and you cannot be sure that in an organisation you are going to get that service in Welsh every time.

Last year, the Welsh Assembly strengthened the legislation with a huge measure called the Welsh Language Measure

2011, and it is bilingual. This established the role of the Welsh Language Commissioner, and provides a system where the old Welsh language schemes will be replaced by Welsh language standards. The hope is that it will be clearer, and the Commissioner will put in place a more robust system of enforcement and will use it if public bodies fail to deliver. However, it remains that the duties imposed must be reasonable and proportional. This is a new initiative, with the role of the Commissioner established on 1st April 2012, and we look forward to seeing her work over the years with regards to Welsh language standards.

The government has been very supportive of Welsh language standards; on 1st March 2012, (St. David's day, the national day of Wales), the Welsh Assembly published a new five year strategy for the Welsh language, focusing on Welsh in the family home and in the work place to encourage parents to use the Welsh language at home. There is evidence that when a Welsh speaker lives with a partner who does not speak Welsh, in 50 per cent of those families, Welsh is not used at home, and evidence shows that having Welsh spoken at home makes you much more comfortable in using the language. The strategy also considers the promotion and support of the lives of Welsh people. The problem we have is that a large proportion of children who attend Welsh medium schools come from English speaking families and so do not have the opportunity to speak Welsh at home. Although we have sporting activities, theatre and music in Welsh, the five year strategy is aimed at replacing what we have lost in Wales and what we continue to

lose; as a result, in many of our communities a high percentage of people speak Welsh now.

Another issue is that that we still have a lot of people moving to Wales from England, because many regard Wales as a nice place to live. For instance, one can sell a house in London and then buy a bigger house in Wales with the same money. People are now moving into rural areas, which were previously strong in terms of Welsh language and culture but as a consequence are now being diluted. The strategy also looks at Welsh language services and at the private sector bodies, public bodies and increasing use of Welsh in the workplace. The theory follows that, as you spend most of your adult life at work, if you speak Welsh in the workplace, this will be a cost-free way of learning and speaking Welsh. The strategy also considers general issues such as the media; books; magazines; television; radio and that translation is good and that Welsh is used more in information and technology. Those are the types of support that we provide in increasing the prominence of Welsh in Wales, though we do not use a lot of money for policy as we have to consider matters relating to the economy. One gap we have identified, however, is the lack of evidence regarding how well the projects we fund work in promoting the use of Welsh. From here, we can then go to the ministers to ask for further funding, but my hope is of course for more money to be invested in this area.

I am now more than happy to answer any of your questions.

Kerim Yildiz opens the floor for questions:

Question: It is good to see you are committed to preserving the Welsh language and culture, but I am surprised to hear that you would consider moving from England to rural areas of Wales dilutes the culture and language of Wales and view this as a cause of the problem. Is this a common sentiment in Wales?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: Everybody is welcome to move to Wales and I love the cultural diversity seen in Cardiff today, however, it is simply a fact of life that if you have a small village, for example, in rural West Wales, where 80 per cent of people spoke Welsh ten years ago and it has now decreased, this becomes a problem. Therefore, projects and welcome packs are now distributed which explain to new movers about the community culture, the Welsh language and to encourage them to learn the Welsh language themselves and send their children to Welsh medium schools. We consider ourselves and always aim to be a very welcoming society here in Wales.

Q: This is a very nationalistic trend, do you not fear becoming too nationalistic?

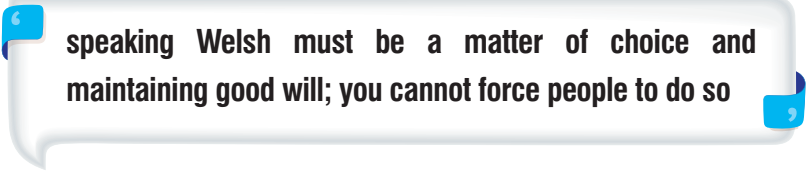
Huw Onllwyn Jones: Over the years, the devolution policies regarding Welsh language have grown stronger and the government views it as being very important to maintain the good will of those who do not speak Welsh, because Welsh is a minority language and so we must work across community boundaries to ensure it thrives. This is a process that has been developing in Wales for a long time

now; I started off in the civil service and now, as Head of the Welsh Language Unit, Wales has reached a devolution settlement which has seen growth in Welsh legislation and will hopefully implement further changes. In 1997, there was a very reluctant acceptance of devolution but the last referendum highlighted that the public agreed with the legislature having more powers. There is a stronger Welsh identity developing today but I hope it is one that accepts diversity.

Q: It was confirmed yesterday that one fifth of the Welsh population speaks Welsh and that 80 per cent does not speak Welsh, is this not a cause for concern? Given that Welsh medium schools disseminated a lot since devolution, one fifth is not a high figure. With the remaining 80 per cent, is there a prospect to increase this one fifth?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: The Welsh language is not something you can force down people's throats. While a lot of surveys regarding aptitudes amongst both Welsh and English speakers revealed that people want the prominence of the language to increase, we do not want to create targets. Instead of targets, we want to create a supportive environment where parents have the choice of encouraging their children and families to speak Welsh. While only 20 per cent of the population speak Welsh, there is a huge growth in 5 to 15 year olds speaking Welsh. The language is still in a very fragile state. If you come from a mainly English speaking family, when you are out in the school yard, you will revert to language of the home. Only seven per cent of three year olds live

in families that speak Welsh. Speaking Welsh must be a matter of choice and maintaining good will; you cannot force people to do so.



speaking Welsh must be a matter of choice and maintaining good will; you cannot force people to do so

Q: How did you arrive at the figure of 20 per cent?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: This is a census question and every ten years, people in households are asked whether they speak Welsh. The figures obtained are not very accurate, as whether you are or are not a Welsh speaker is down to one's own perception of one's ability to speak Welsh. Everyone in Wales can speak a little bit of Welsh but the level of fluency is another factor that you have to consider.

Q: As far as I understand, in order for Welsh to survive, some other things are important. This strategy is in place, but, my first question is, can all people of Welsh origin speak Welsh and do they all wish to send their children to Welsh medium schools?

My second question is, for a language to survive, besides community involvement and activities, there should also be books in the Welsh language. How many are there and what about other literature, such as magazines? We have journalists and poets within this delegation who I am sure are interested to learn whether there is such a thing as Welsh poetry?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: We have some beautiful poetry in Wales and give high regard to culture and poetry. We have a big cultural festival in Wales called the *National Eisteddfod*, which is split into two. The first is for young people and the second is for adults. One of the main competitions is that the best poem written receives a prize. There is also a prize for the best piece of prose. This is a national event and it is a great honour in Wales to be awarded a prize in the *Eisteddfod*. We also have, in Welsh, the equivalent to poems in pubs, which is a lovely and healthy part of our culture.

All those who consider themselves as being from Wales, although they cannot all speak Welsh, they still consider themselves to be Welsh. Do they all want to send their children to Welsh medium schools? No, but some do and this trend is growing.

In relation to books, the government provides a grant for Welsh language literature. Every year, 250 to 300 Welsh language literature titles are published for children and adults. In a good year, 300 books are published, but at the same time, there are Welsh language text books produced in schools and also a small range of magazines, and newspapers. There is also an attempt to move into e-publishing. Obviously, compared to the provisions in England, this is very small and it is very difficult for languages like Welsh to compete with England in relation to films, music and the like, which are enormous industries, however, all do exist in Welsh.

Q: Regarding devolution, was the Welsh language the only factor that pushed devolution? There were some demands for language

rights, and arrangements were made for usage of the language, and after that devolution took place, this is how we perceive things. The subject that has been confusing me is that in Northern Ireland, there was a conflict situation. I am sure there are different factors affecting the process; you have a similar culture, but in Northern Ireland they did not base demands on language rights in devolution like Wales has. Were there not any violent conflicts during devolution?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: Devolution was not all about Welsh language rights. There are many other reasons why people wanted self-governance, and the language issue played a very small part in obtaining devolution. Having said that, the language issue has over the years played a part in developing separate policies in Wales, because while we are part of the United Kingdom government, we have different policies for education and this is evident, in that Welsh language education only exists in Wales. Therefore, the Welsh Assembly developed a portfolio of different policies in Wales and this has strengthened the Welsh government in the United Kingdom, as it has more powers for Wales to deal with this specifically.

The situation in Northern Ireland is very different; there are much more deep seated feelings between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Historically and politically, there has been a very different and much more combustible mix of issues. Wales has always gone about the Welsh language issue in a polite and civilised way and the reaction of this has been very positive.

The situation in Northern Ireland is different today still; I met a civil servant there recently who is trying to develop a strategy for Irish Scots, so the situation is very different indeed. What suffers under this are those who want to speak the language. For someone like me who is a Welsh speaker, I try not to regard this as a political matter, but rather regard Welsh as a part of who I am and as part of my life. When you cannot use your language, you feel a part of you is being put aside and I have always tried to ensure what is reasonable and proportionate for this government to do, bearing in mind the needs and aspirations of those who do not speak Welsh.

Q: This new Welsh language strategy has quite a strong slogan: *A language for living*; what is the role of Westminster in this new strategy? Do they support or finance it? How do you finance this strategy? Is the Welsh language strong enough to resist the English language?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: As I have said, the Welsh language is in a fragile state and it is a miracle that it has survived as far as it has. It is part of the DNA of who you are if you do speak Welsh. Westminster is very supportive and in 1993 Westminster introduced the Welsh Language Act, which put Welsh language schemes on the agenda. The new Welsh language measures were required to comply with Welsh language standards, but there is a big difference here in that local authorities can act on their own while United Kingdom ministers must agree on everything before going forward.

Regarding funding, the 1993 Act provides for public bodies to

mainstream the costs in what they do. They have to find the money to do so out of the budget, and policy is a very important as part of this. However, a lot of this strategy can be carried out at no cost; for example, if you speak Welsh in the office, or advertise for a post which states that knowledge of Welsh is desirable, you increase the prominence of Welsh in the workplace. This is just one factor to consider amongst others. If you get a Welsh speaker to do a job, you are not paying extra to promote the Welsh language.

Q: You previously said that migration from England to Wales has increased. My first question is, do you have any statistics about immigration into Wales, such as whether they are of Welsh origin or not?

My second question is what are the reasons for which people are migrating to Wales? Are there economic factors, such as it is cheaper to live in Wales or are people coming here with nationalistic feelings because they have Welsh origins?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: In relation to migration statistics, it is interesting in that if one creates a list of countries according to what proportion of people were born in that country and continue to live there, Wales would be third on that list. The majority of this includes people who are from England and have moved into Wales and people who have retired and move into Wales later in life, especially on the coast of North Wales. It also includes people making a lifestyle change, who want to leave the busy city of London or any city in England, with the countryside being seen

as an attractive feature. However, we also have the issue of Welsh speakers leaving Wales' rural areas, preferring the city life and so moving to Cardiff, Swansea or even cities in England. Therefore, while I do not believe that people migrate to Wales for nationalistic reasons, I do believe that lifestyle choices are an important consideration in this matter. It stands that all people are welcome but it causes problems for the Welsh language.

Q: I have a question about literature and the poets or novelists that are writing in Welsh or in English. Are there any feelings of superiority among those writing in Welsh rather than in English?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: No, not that I am aware of. The Welsh Books Council funds Welsh and English literature in Wales and when you have many poets both from England and Wales; it is difficult for those who write in Welsh to say that they are superior. R.S. Thomas is a highly regarded Welsh poet, who writes in English, and is recognised as so here in Wales.

There is an organisation known as the Academy, which has The Book of the Year awards and has a shortlist of Welsh language and English language books. There is equal prize money and equal treatment for both English and Welsh literates.

Q: My first question is that in Cardiff, there are only 15 primary schools providing Welsh medium education. Have you found any evidence of discrimination in working life for children who graduate from a Welsh medium school in comparison to those who graduate from an English medium school?

My second question is whether, in university, it would be more effective for the survival and expansion of the language if there was a university department which gave Welsh medium education as opposed to having Welsh medium education from the age of four?

My third question is whether you think implementation of this strategy would be more successful if you have had an increased budget for it?

Huw Onllwyn Jones: To answer your first question, though you say we ‘only’ have 15 Welsh medium schools, I think that this is a good number, as it grew from one school when I was in primary school. It is true that there has been some concern about local authorities being slow to respond to demands for Welsh medium education. It is difficult to decide whether you close an English medium school to create a Welsh medium school and the authorities must act according to what the public demands. There is also a Bill going through the Welsh Assembly at the moment, which will put duties on authorities to respond to such demands at a faster rate.

In relation to discrimination, when I was young, the local children from Welsh schools would come and say things in Welsh and that would be a rare thing that people were surprised by. However, families have now invested in the idea of speaking Welsh, and with 15 schools across Cardiff, I believe that is a great figure. Now Welsh is not a ‘secret language’ to gossip in, it is more widespread and used in professional life also; there is no ‘us’ and ‘them’, we are united. But, of course, we still need to be very careful

and sensitive if we want to increase opportunities to speak Welsh. Universities and higher education institutions do lag behind in relation to the Welsh language provision, but we have established a federal college to provide more courses through the medium of Welsh.

To answer your final question regarding the budget for the strategy, when the Welsh Language Commission was established, the board was a body and the commissioner took on a regulatory role. When you have a language board, people are caught between a rock and a hard place, they go to the board who cannot give you money and the government would say this was for the board to decide. Now, however, we have direct ministerial action and a financial budget and so are responsible for the Welsh Language Unit. Finally, I would of course say that we need more money!

Friday 22nd June – Private Tour of Museum, National Museum of Wales

Venue: **National Museum of Wales, Cardiff**

The delegation received a private tour of the collections of National Museum of Wales.



The delegation enjoy a privately guided tour of the collections of National Museum of Wales in Cardiff



Kerim Yildiz and Justice and Development Party (AK Party) MP Prof. Dr. Mehmet Tekelio lu enjoy a private tour of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Friday 22nd June – Session 6: Roundtable Discussion with Damien O’Brien, Chief Executive Business Enterprise, Technology and Science Department, Welsh Government

Roundtable Discussion: *Economy and European Structural Funds
in Wales*

With

Damien O’Brien,¹⁰ Chief Executive Business Enterprise,
Technology and Science Department, Welsh Government

Venue: **Court Room, National Museum, Cardiff**

Moderated by Catriona Vine, Deputy Director - Director of
Programmes

The Directorate for Business, Enterprise, Technology and Science delivers the economic agenda and promotes the sustainability of agriculture, fisheries and food and their associated supply chains across Wales.

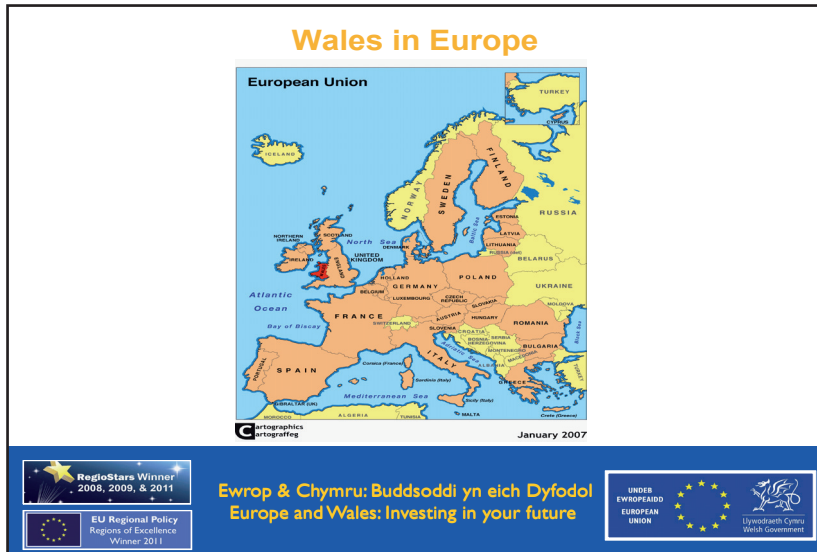


Roundtable meeting on the Welsh Economy with Damien O'Brien, Chief Executive of the Business Enterprise, Technology and Science Department

Catriona Vine: Please may I introduce to you all Damian O'Brien, the Chief Executive of the Business Enterprise, Technology and Science Department in the Welsh Government. Mr O'Brien will talk to you about economy and structural funds in Wales. He will then take any questions that you may have.

Damien O'Brien: Good afternoon, I am delighted to be able to join you. Wales gets a lot of European Union funding and I will talk about this in the context of the economic problems that Wales is facing and currently trying to tackle. I will refer to economic

challenges that Wales is facing, how money is spent in Wales and its relationship with the United Kingdom government.



Slide 1: Map of Wales in the context of the European Union

On the far right side of the map, in Slide 1, you can see your home country, Turkey. As you can see, Wales is very much on the margins of Europe, on the far left side of the map, and that presents economic challenges in relation to access of markets.


The arrangement within the United Kingdom is that European Union policy is the responsibility of the United Kingdom government. The terminology used is that it is a non-devolved area, but as an administration of the Welsh government, we work very closely with the United Kingdom government to influence the United Kingdom's position on a variety of European Union


policies and we can also promote the interests of Wales and see that our aims are being furthered.

The United Kingdom government legally delegates responsibility to the Welsh government, to the Scottish government and to the Northern Ireland Executive for the management of European programmes. Wales is responsible for developing its own programmes, managing the implementation of programmes and reporting to the European Commission. We do this within the context of an overall United Kingdom framework but the programmes in Wales are very much designed and implemented in Wales for the Welsh people.


European Structural Funds and Welsh European Funding Office

- Part of the Welsh Government – Department for Business, Enterprise, Technology and Science
- Managing and Certifying Authorities for the Structural Funds in Wales
- Approx 160 staff across 4 offices responsible for policy, liaison with Ministers, programme management, payments, verification, publicity etc






RegioStars Winner
2008, 2009, & 2011



EU Regional Policy
Regions of Excellence
Winner 2011

Ewrop & Chymru: Buddsoddi yn eich Dyfodol
Europe and Wales: Investing in your future

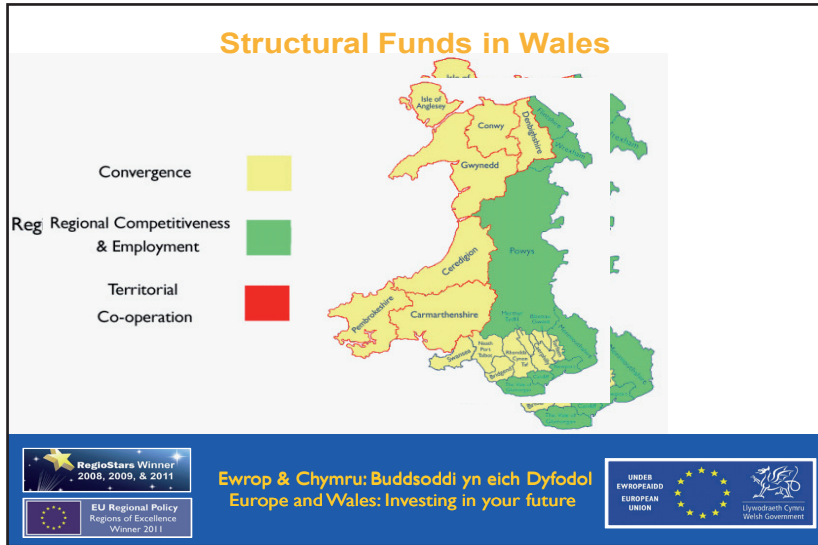


UNDES
EWROPEAIDD
EUROPEAN
UNION

Llywodraeth Cymru
Welsh Government

Slide 2: The National Assembly in Wales

The picture in Slide 2 is of the National Assembly for Wales, in Cardiff Bay. The Welsh European Funding Office is what I am responsible for in particular, within the Welsh government. Organisationally, it sits within the Business Enterprise, Technology and Science Department but due to the nature of our work, we work with all government departments. In fact, our biggest customer is the Department of Education. We also provide funding to higher education institutions, local government, the voluntary sector and a wide range of organisations that form a partnership in Wales for implementing the European programmes. The Welsh European Funding Office, WEFO, is also responsible for managing programmes and drawing down the money from the European Commission. We currently employ approximately 160 staff spread across four offices in Wales.

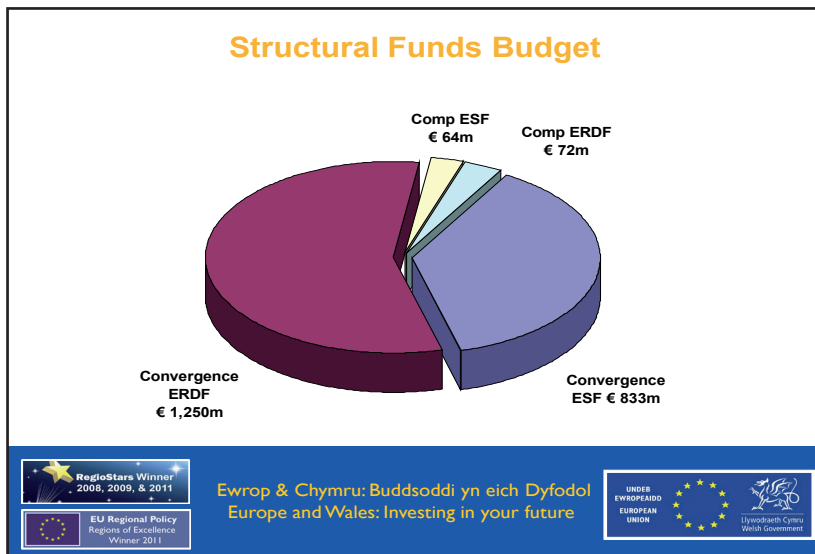


Slide 3: European Union Structural Funds in Wales

This slide provides an indication of the structural fund regions in Wales; the region in yellow is the convergence regions, one of the least developed regions in the European Union which therefore gets the highest level of European Union funding. Some of you will know that regions that have an average Gross Domestic Product, GDP, of below 75 per cent of the European Union average qualify for the highest level of European Union funding. The red line divides Wales, with the left side making up two thirds of Wales and is called West Wales and the Valleys. This proportion of the geographical land and of the population benefits from the highest level of European Union funding and has a GDP of under 70 per cent of the European Union average. The green region is the East Wales region, which includes Cardiff, Newport and the

conservations near North Wales and so are economically more prosperous, with a GDP of 102 per cent of the European Union average. This region, therefore, qualifies for less funding and the use to which the money can be put to here is more limited.

Also, along the red line covering part of the West Wales region, there is a programme, the Territorial Cooperation Programme, which links the rest of Wales to the East of Ireland. This is one of the European Union's maritime border programmes which utilises Wales' strong cultural links with Ireland and allows both countries to exploit economic and trade links. Wales also receives money under rural programmes and fisheries programmes but the European Union structural funds are the biggest contributor of funding that comes into Wales.



Slide 4: Structural Funds Budget in the United Kingdom

In Slide 4, it is evident that the United Kingdom receives €10.6 billion in European Union structural funds and Wales receives €2.2 billion of that sum. Therefore, Wales receive approximately 20 per cent of the funding that comes to the United Kingdom but only has five per cent of the population. The budget for Wales is therefore €2.2 billion and most of it goes to the convergence region in West Wales and the Valleys. There are two funding instruments in Wales; the first is the European Regional Development Fund, the EDFT, which generates capital funds and initiatives that support competitiveness, investments in the environment and the regeneration of some of our poorest communities, which can be seen in the purple and dark red regions. The blue segment is the

European Social Fund, which is aimed at helping people get back to work and improving their skills and the other two smaller slices of pie chart go to East Wales, because it is economically stronger.


Economic & Labour Market Analyses

The historic gap in employment rates between Wales and the UK has narrowed since 2002

Issues


- Employment rate still below UK
- High rates of economic inactivity especially in South Wales Valleys
- Adverse skills profile
- No strong agglomeration effects, particularly in West Wales and Valleys region.

| Labour Market - Latest Feb 2012 to Apr 2012 Claimant count - May 2012 | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Wales | UK |
| Employment Rate (levels) | 68.0 1,331,000 | 70.6 29,281,000 |
| Unemployment Rate (levels) | 9.0 132,000 | 8.2 2,615,000 |
| Inactivity Rate (levels) | 25.2 477,000 | 23.0 9,229,000 |
| Claimant Count Rate (levels) | 5.6 80,000 | 4.9 1,599,300 |



RegioStars Winner
2006, 2009, & 2011

Ewrop & Chymru: Buddsoddi yn eich Dyfodol
Europe and Wales: Investing in your future



UNRES
EWROPEAID
EUROPEAN
UNION

Slide 5: Economic and Labour Market Analysis of the United Kingdom

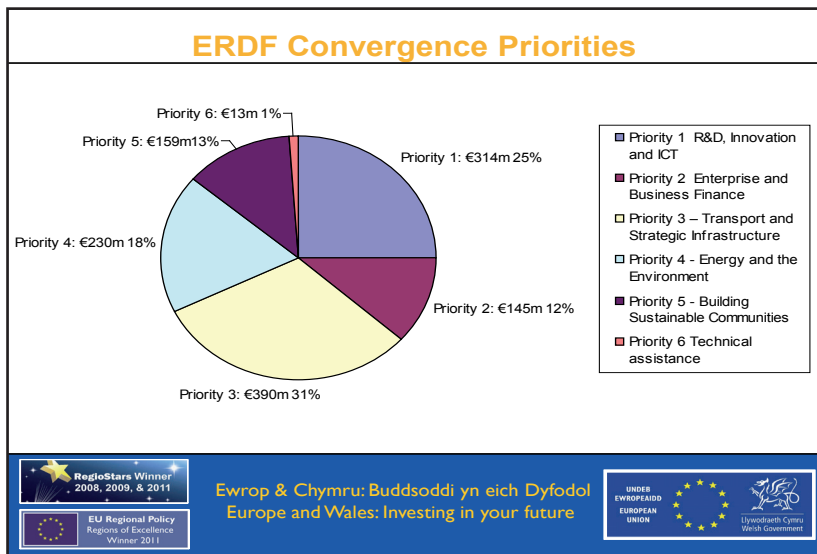
Slide 5 provides an indication of the economic and labour market issues that Wales is currently facing. The employment rate is 68 per cent, which is slightly lower than the European average and is of course lower than the United Kingdom average. The aim across the European Union is to achieve a 75 per cent rate of employment and although unemployment has risen quite sharply over recent years, it is still below the United Kingdom average; nine per cent in Wales and 10.5 per cent across the European Union. We also

have a particular problem with youth unemployment, like many countries do. It stands at 23 per cent in Wales and represents a quarter of the youth population. In Spain, for example, it is over 40 per cent and in Ireland it is over 30 per cent, which gives you a picture of the effects of the recession that many countries, including Wales, are still experiencing.

Another key challenge that Wales faces is high levels of inactivity; people who are not in work and not looking for work. This reflects the decline of our traditional industries in Wales, as the Welsh traditionally relied on heavy industry. Some of those communities which were previously the home of the heavy industries have never recovered from this loss of emphasis on heavy industry. In the town in which my main office is based, Merthyr Tydfil, 30 miles north of Cardiff, a quarter of the adult population is on sickness pay or incapacity benefits.

In Wales, we also experience lower skills levels amongst a significant proportion of the population. One out of five adults have problems in basic reading and writing, but at the higher end of skills spectrum, our position is improving considerably. Amongst other issues we face, Wales also experiences low levels of Research and Development; R&D, partially due to the fact that most of our businesses are small businesses and most of the head offices tend to be based in England. Therefore, across the European Union, there is a target to achieve investment of three per cent of the GDP in R&D. Across the United Kingdom, for instance, it is one per cent and in Wales it is less than one per cent.

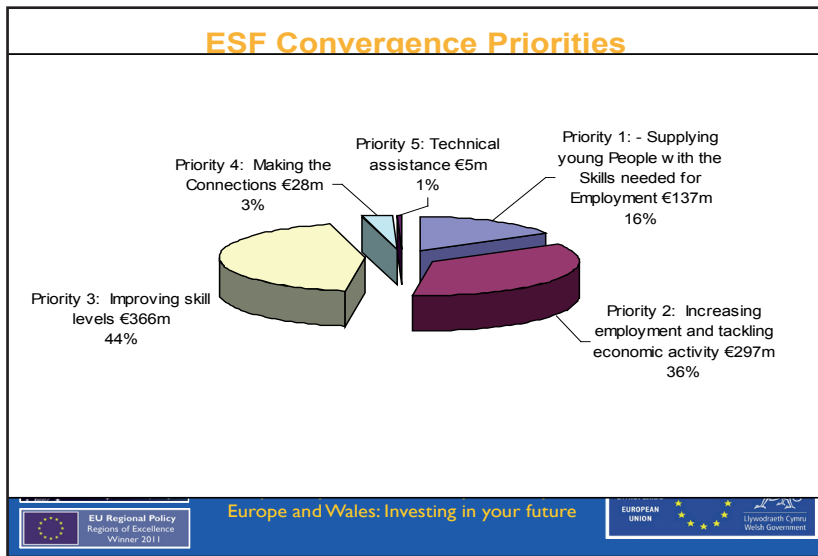
It is clear that we have a lack of agglomeration in Wales, in that we do not have any large cities, like in Europe. Our largest city is Cardiff, which has a population of under 350,000, is not as big as any European city. Therefore, it is this lack of agglomeration which needs to be rectified in order to attract big businesses and help to drive the economy.



Slide 6: European Regional Development Fund Convergence Priorities

Slide 6 shows the ERDF programme in West Wales and the Valleys, and provides an indication of how the money is distributed amongst a wide range of activities in Wales. As you can see, the largest amount of money goes into infrastructure, which mainly

includes investments in roads, public transport, business sites and broadband and ICT networks. The next biggest area of investment is R&D, Innovation and ICT, followed by higher education, where a lot of money goes into higher education institutions to increase capacity, in relation to research and businesses. Other areas include renewable energy, which has a significant amount invested into it, and we also have investments aimed at improving the competitiveness in businesses; encouraging start-ups, new businesses and also to regenerate poorer communities.



Slide 7: European Social Fund Convergence Priorities


Slide 7 contains a breakdown of the European Social Fund programme and, as you can see, there are three main areas of

investment. The biggest area is improving skills; both in the lower and higher end of the skills spectrum. The next is employment and helping people furthest from the labour market. We also have a programme that prioritises the needs of young people in Wales. Due to our history of under-achievement in schools, the European Commission has allowed us to reach down to the school system down to the age of 11, to develop the curriculum and open up a wider range of learning opportunities.

Key Indicator Achievements


| Output achievements | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| ERDF Programmes | | | ESF Programmes | | |
| | Actual | OP Target | | Actual | OP Target |
| Enterprises assisted | 8,340 | 15,900 | Participants assisted | 321,072 | 294,100 |
| Enterprises created | 2,450 | 5,604 | Participants entering employment | 40,962 | 31,000 |
| Jobs (gross) created | 11,831 | 38,540 | Participants gaining qualifications | 92,785 | 89,180 |

Source: WEFO, 15/06/2012 n.b. figures are based on achieved data submitted by project sponsors




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Slide 8: Key Indicator of Achievements via European Union Structural Funds

In Slide 8, the table should provide an indication of the targets agreed with the European Commission and the progress that the Welsh National Assembly is making against those targets. On the

right hand side of table, you can see that we are exceeding most of the targets regarding employment but this also reflects weaknesses in the labour market. There are a lot more people who are unemployed and need assistance and it is very difficult to achieve the ERDF targets, because it is more difficult to create jobs in the recession; the emphasis is on protecting jobs rather than creating them at the moment. This is the same for new enterprises, which need finance to run.


Risks to Programme delivery

- Continuing relevance of Programme strategy
- Pressures on public and private match funding
- Euro exchange rate
- Procurement
- Non-compliance with EU regulations and audit requirements




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Slide 9: Risks to Programme Delivery

Slide 9 highlights some of the risks associated with implementing these programmes. First of all, in relation to the relevance of the programme strategy; the world we lived in during 2006, when we negotiated these programmes, is different to the world we

live in today, in 2012. We have had to re-negotiate our current programmes on two separate occasions over that five or six year period reflecting the fact that unemployment has gone up and economic circumstances have changed dramatically.

The state of the economy has also put pressure on matched funding, as the European Commission does not provide financial assistance in every area. They co-finance projects and we finance the rest. In West Wales, we raise 40 per cent of the finance and East Wales, we raise 50 per cent of the finance, but with pressures on public finances this has become increasingly difficult. We have been reasonably successful in securing private sector money to invest in these areas, as about one third of our total finance comes from the private sector.

Another risk we have is that because Wales is not part of the Eurozone, we must manage the exchange rate risk. The European Commission funds us in Euros but we enter into agreements with organisations in Sterling, therefore, movements within those exchange rates present advantages and disadvantages. Each time the rate changes by one per cent, Wales either loses or gains £12 million. This is a grave concern but there is not much we can do about it. I have explained to the European Commission how problematic this can be, they used to say 'join the Euro', but less so now!

Procurement is also a challenge for us. Under our previous round of programmes prior to 2006, we supported approximately

3,000 projects across Wales. Under our current programme period, we will fund 300 projects; we have a similar amount of money but are distributing the money in a more strategic manner and a re-focused number of projects. We still have 1,000 private sector organisations involved in implementing our programmes and have 450 voluntary and third sector organisations implementing our programmes. This is all done through procurement. One advantage of procurement is that if they make a profit, they can keep it. Within the private sector, any profits they make we take back, because we are only allowed to fund the gap regarding overall funding.

Non-compliance of funding and European Union regulations is also a huge risk for us. In Spain, the government has lost over €1 billion under last round because it did not get their regulations correct. We, on the other hand, like to keep the money in Wales if we can and are very watchful regarding compliance with the regulations.

I will now provide you with a few perspectives on our relationship with the European Commission. We have a good, positive relationship with the European Commission and we work hard to maintain this. We regard ourselves as not just recipients of funding but also as a country that gives something back. We are very much involved in pan-European working groups, conferences and discussions aimed at improving matters more generally. It is very important to get that alignment between European Union policy and domestic policy, though it is

not always easy as the European Commission see structural funds as focusing on European Union policy but our politicians see it as an opportunity to fund our own policies. We need to establish a fine balance between the European Union and Welsh policy and to demonstrate this as an *added* value, we cannot just use structural funds to substitute things that the Welsh government is responsible for. Partnership is a key principle in this relationship and both the Welsh Assembly and the European Commission are very strong on this idea, as it makes a difference in the success of the implementation of the programmes.

Compliance is also a big concern for us here in Wales, and for me in particular as head of a managing authority, but maintaining the relationships at a political and official level is a very important task. We spend a lot of time on this, for instance, we have ministers who visit the European Commission on a regular basis and at an official level we do the same. We think this has paid real dividends and we are committed to continuing and strengthening these relationships.

Helping Business and Promoting Innovation...

NE Wales Strategic Business Parks
Total Project Cost £1m





GEMS (Growth in Environmental Marine Sciences)
Total Project Cost £2.5m

SEACAMS (Sustainable Expansion of the Applied Coastal and Marine Sectors)
Total Project Cost £24.1m





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Uywodaeth Cymru Welsh Government


Slide 10: Helping Businesses and Promoting Innovation

Raising Skills and Training...




STRIP (Steel Training Research and Innovation Partnership)
Total Project Cost £6.8m

Qu:




Gypsy Traveller Learning and Achieving
Total Project Cost £4.1m



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Slide 11: Raising Skills and Training


Supporting Transport and Regeneration...




North Wales Regeneration Scheme
Total Project Cost £38m

BWCABUS
Total Project Cost £3.5m







The Works
Total Project Cost £14.8m



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Slide 12: Supporting Transport and Regeneration


R&D and the Environment...

Institute of Life Sciences 1 & 2
Total Project Cost £44m





Deltastream
Total Project Cost £11m





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Slide 13: Research and Development and the Environment

I would like to conclude with a few examples of the projects that we support and a summary of these projects. Slide 10 shows which R&D and Innovations projects are supported; Slide 11 shows that Skills and Training are also of big importance to us in our programmes; Slide 12 shows the infrastructure projects, including public transport. Finally, on the left hand side of Slide 13 is the Institute of Life Sciences, which was built in Swansea University, has been a very successful project in allowing Swansea University to access other European Union funds. This picture shows the First Minister of Wales launching the Delta Stream project, which is focused on constructing undersea turbines for renewable energy.

Now we have come to the end of the presentation and I will take any questions you have. Thank you.

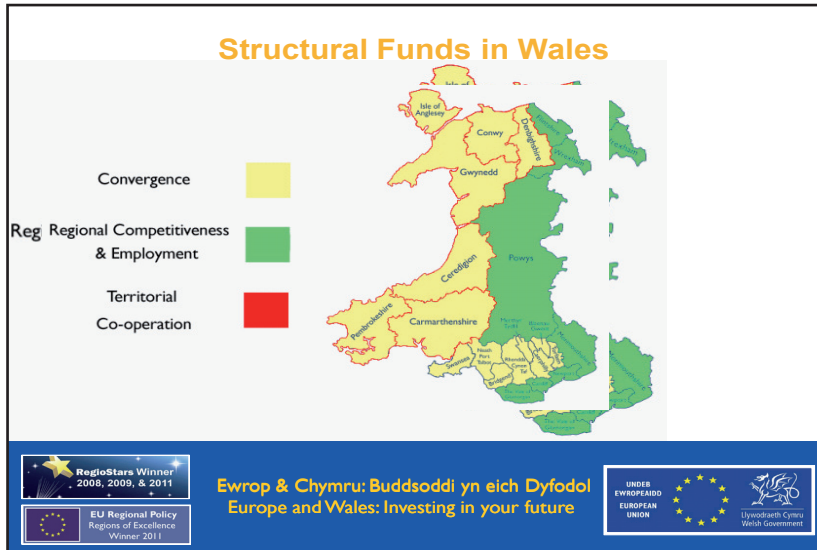
Catriona Vine opens the floor for questions:

Question: What time period does the €2.2 billion in funding cover?

Damien O'Brien: The €2.2 billion covers a seven year period, it is not provided annually. The way in which the programmes tend to develop is that you do not spend a lot of money in the first two years; most of this time is spent on development, recruiting staff and obtaining planning permission.

Q: How, if at all, has devolution changed your role and the way in which you work with the ERDF?

Damien O'Brien: We have our own programmes now but prior to devolution, they were 'United Kingdom programmes' and we had a share of the funding available across both England and Wales. We do, of course, continue to operate as part of the United Kingdom but we now have our own programmes, partnerships, implementations and our own relationship with the European Commission and the European Union. Also, part of the strategy was to work with United Kingdom government too. Another important point is that we have been more successful in getting European Union funding since devolution and so continue to support the aim for further devolved powers to the Welsh Assembly.



Slide 14: Map of Structural Funds in Wales

Prior to devolution, the map in Slide 14 looked very different; it was called the North and South Wales instead of what it is now; West and East Wales. The Welsh government re-negotiated the regions and proposed an argument that it actually made sense to divide the country as it currently stands. If it were still as before, Wales would never qualify for the highest level of funding from European Union, as Cardiff would raise the GDP for the South and places near Liverpool would raise the GDP in the North. Therefore, devolution has given us more control on how money is used and distributed in Wales.

Q: Why was the divide between North and South only changed later, could you not have convinced the government to do this before?

Damien O'Brien: These are what are called NUTS2 regions and are determined at European Union level, acting on advice from Member States. So, when Wales wanted to redraw the boundaries, we had to convince the United Kingdom government and then the European Commission too, but there were arguments both ways. In Wales, many people talk about North and South being culturally different.; the argument was that East Wales was more closer to England and West Wales had more of a cultural identity in terms of the Welsh language and community population centres. Both the North and South West of Wales are strong in terms of Welsh language and following a sympathetic hearing from the European Commission and the United Kingdom government, some changes to the map were agreed during negotiations. However, these

regions have existed since the devolution settlement and we have had a new map in place since 2000.

The European Commission is very watchful of this; it is not easy to redraw maps to create the most advantageous position. There are disadvantages to this too, in that while it is good from a financial point of view, it is very difficult to improve the GDP in West Wales and the Valleys region, because there are very strong commuter flows from the South West Valleys into Cardiff and Newport and into the urban centres in the North East of Wales. The GDP is calculated on the basis of where you work, not on where you live. Many people live in Cardiff but work elsewhere, so this does not contribute to the GDP statistics for Cardiff. For example, the First Minister lives in Bridgend but works in Cardiff in the Welsh Assembly, so his GDP is counted in Cardiff and not in his home town. Also, demographic factors are at play, in that the population is older in West Wales and the Valleys and, of course, there are no big cities in this region, aside from Swansea, which has a population of only 150,000.

Q: On the map in Slide 14, is the green region the urban area and the yellow the rural area?

Damien O'Brien: Yes, but there is an argument for powers to be devolved in the poorest regions in Wales. However, those regions would then be too small to meet the European Commission's criteria so they will always feel more disadvantaged under the current or different set up.

Q: What is your response to that?

Damien O'Brien: My response is that the Welsh government should put more of its own money into those regions.

Q: I read with interest last night that you were born and raised in Ireland.

Damien O'Brien: I was born and grew up in Belfast during difficult times and I have found it heartening how far Ireland has progressed and how people are able to talk so openly about what were once very controversial issues.

Catriona Vine: Thank you for your very interesting presentation and for providing us with a lot of useful information.

Friday 22nd June – Evening Dinner Hosted by Welsh Government at the Post House, St Fagans, Cardiff, Wales

Evening Dinner at the Post House, hosted by the Welsh
Government

With

Gary Davies, Director, External and European Affairs,
the Welsh Government

Caroline Turner, Deputy Head, Welsh Language Unit,
the Welsh Government

Ifona Deeley, Head of International Relations,
the Welsh Government

Nick Capaldi, Arts Council for Wales

Venue: **The Post House, National History Museum of Wales,
St Fagans, Cardiff**



Welsh Government representatives welcome DPI participants and staff to dinner at the Post House, hosted by the Welsh Government

Saturday 23rd June – Private tour of St Fagans Museum

Private tour of St Fagans Museum: *History of Welsh Life*

Venue: **St Fagans National History Museum, Cardiff**

St Fagans is one of Europe's leading open-air museums and Wales' most popular heritage attraction. It stands in the grounds of the magnificent St Fagans Castle, a late 16th-century manor house donated to the people of Wales by the Earl of Plymouth.

The delegation were given a private tour of St Fagans National History Museum, to learn more about traditional Welsh life. The buildings visited by the delegation during the tour, given by Matthew Davies, the Site Activities Manager, included the following:



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

St Fagans Castle



Participants during the tour inside Pen-Rhiw Chapel

The first place visited was the Pen-Rhiw Chapel, which was adapted for the use of Unitarians in 1977. This Unitarian chapel was very typical of early Welsh non-conformist chapels.



The delegation outside Abernodwydd Farmhouse

The second building visited was the Abernodwydd Farmhouse, built in 1678 and re-erected in 1955. This farmhouse is typical of the timber-framed houses of mid-Wales in both its plan and its construction.



Participants outside the Llandeilo Tal-y-bont Church



Participants inside the Llandeilo Tal-y-bont Church

The third building visited was the Llandeilo Tal-y-bont Church, which is currently being re-erected. The church is believed to have been built in the 13th century on the site of an earlier Celtic church and over the ensuing centuries the building was altered and extended.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

Gwalia Stores

The fourth building visited was the Gwalia Stores, which were built in 1880 and re-erected in 1991. In 1916, Gwalia Stores comprised a bakery, ironmongery, grocery, gentlemen's outfitters, chemist and a section selling animal feeds. Members of staff slept in the attics and were paid 8 shillings (40 pence) per week.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

The Cockpit

The fifth building visited was the Cockpit, which was built in the 17th century and re-erected in 1970. Until its prohibition, cockfighting was enjoyed for centuries in Wales by all social classes. Cocks were bred and trained to spar and were restricted to hardy diets, including wheat meal bread steeped in urine, in order to become champions. With gambling rife, bouts were riotous and chaotic affairs, often ending in pandemonium.

Saturday 23rd June – Private tour of the Wales Millennium Stadium, Cardiff

The Wales Millennium Stadium opened in 1999 and stands as one of Wales' most popular attractions. Welcoming, on average, over 1.3 million visitors per year, the venue is at the leading edge as a multi-purpose, multi-faceted event venue. The Millennium Stadium has been awarded a UEFA 5-Star rating and has hosted many matches, including two Rugby World Cups including the Final in 1999, and has staged six showpiece FA Cup Finals.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

Wales Millennium Stadium, Cardiff



*The delegation in the Press Conference area of the Wales Millennium Stadium
The delegation also had the option of visiting ‘Tafwyl’, a Welsh language cultural festival taking place in Cardiff Castle grounds*

Cardiff Castle is one of Wales’ leading heritage attractions and a site of international significance. During 2000 years of history, the Castle has been a Roman Garrison, a Norman stronghold and in Victorian times was transformed into a gothic fairy tale fantasy.

In 1947, the 5th Marquess of Bute gave Cardiff Castle and its parklands to the people of Cardiff. During the official handover ceremony a key was given to the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, a symbol that the Castle now belonged to its people, to be enjoyed and treasured.



Courtesy of Wikimedia Common

Cardiff Castle

Saturday 23rd June – Internal Evaluation and Dinner, St David’s Hotel, Cardiff Bay

The delegation attended an internal evaluation meeting at St. David’s Hotel.

The delegation then attended a final dinner hosted by DPI in the Dylan Suite at St. David’s Hotel, Cardiff Bay.



The delegation at St. David’s Hotel, Cardiff Bay

Kerim Yildiz thanked the delegation for their participation and closed the visit.

Appendix

Language, Identity & Cultural Rights and Devolution in Wales

A Comparative Study Visit Report

20th – 24th June 2012

Participants from Turkey:

- Ayla Akat - Member of Parliament, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)
- Ali Bayramođlu - Columnist, political commentator at Yeni Şafak daily newspaper
- Ayhan Bilgen - Columnist and Editor in Chief of Günlük daily newspaper
- Cengiz Çandar - Writer and Journalist for Radikal newspaper
- Yılmaz Ensarođlu - Director, Law and Human Rights Studies, SETA Politics Economic and Social Research Foundation
- Nazmi Gür - Vice President, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)
- Prof. Dr. Ahmet Insel - Professor, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University; Professor, Head of Department of Economics, Galatasaray University. Editor, writer for monthly journal, Birikim. Writer for Radikal Newspaper
- Belkis Kılıçkaya - Correspondent, Habertürk newspaper
- Bejan Matur - Columnist, poet and writer

- Nursuna Memecan - Member of Parliament, Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and Chairperson of Turkey delegation on the Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe
- Prof. Dr. Mithat Sancar - Professor of Public Law, Ankara University and Columnist
- Prof. Dr. Mehmet Tekelioğlu - Member of Parliament, Justice and Development Party (AK Party)
- Levent Tüzel - Member of Parliament, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)
- Prof. Dr. Sevtap Yokuş - Professor of Constitutional Law at Kocaeli University

Participants from the United Kingdom:

- Nick Capaldi - Arts Council for Wales
- Simon Chamberlain - Senior Research Analyst, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Andrew RT Davies - Leader of the Conservative Party in Wales
- Bet Davies - Tour Manager, Wales Millennium Centre
- Gary Davies - Director External and European Affairs
- Matthew Davies - St Fagans' Representative
- Ifona Deeley - International Relations Officer, Welsh Government
- Andrew Felton - Constitutional Affairs and Inter-government Relations

- Dr. Lola Frost - Artist
- Dr. Mervyn Frost - Head of the War Studies department, King's College London
- Edwina Hart AM - Minister for Business, Enterprise, Technology and Science, Welsh Government
- Theodore Huckle QC - Counsel General, Wales
- Jonathan Ireland - Executive, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Bethan Jenkins - Plaid Cymru Assembly Member
- Huw Onllwyn Jones - Head of the Welsh Language Unit
- Damien O'Brian - Chief Executive Business Enterprise, Technology and Science Department, Welsh Government
- Sir Kieran Prendergast, British Diplomat
- David Reed - Head of the Cyprus-Greece-Turkey team, Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- David Richards - Director, Permanent Secretary's Office, Welsh Government
- Sandra Stephenson - International Relations Officer, Welsh Government
- Ned Thomas - Author and Founder, Mercator Institute for Media, Language and Culture, Wales
- Caroline Turner - Deputy Head, Welsh Language Unit
- Kirsty Williams - Leader of the Liberal Democrat Party in Wales



Director:

Kerim Yildiz

Kerim Yildiz is Director of DPI. He is an expert in international human rights law and minority rights, and is the recipient of a number of awards, including from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights for his services to protect human rights and promote the rule of law in 1996, the Sigrid Rausing Trust's Human Rights award for Leadership in Indigenous and Minority Rights in 2005, and the Gruber Prize for Justice in 2011. Kerim has written extensively on human rights and international law, and his work has been published internationally.

DPI Board Members:

Nick Stewart QC (Chair)

Barrister and Deputy High Court Judge (Chancery and Queen's Bench Divisions), United Kingdom . Former Chair of the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales and Former President of Union Internationale des Avocats.

Professor Penny Green (Secretary)

Head of Research and Director of the School of Law's Research Programme at King's College London and Director of the

International State Crime Initiative (ICSI), United Kingdom (a collaborative enterprise with the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and the University of Hull, led by King's College London).

Priscilla Hayner

Co-founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice, global expert and author on truth commissions and transitional justice initiatives, consultant to the Ford Foundation, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and numerous other organisations.

Arild Humlen

Lawyer and Director of the Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Committee. Widely published within a number of jurisdictions, with emphasis on international civil law and human rights. Has lectured at law faculties of several universities in Norway. Awarded the Honor Prize of the Bar Association for Oslo for his work as Chairman of the Bar Association's Litigation Group for Asylum and Immigration law.

Jacki Muirhead

Practice Director, Cleveland Law Firm. Previously Barristers' Clerk at Counsels' Chambers Limited and Marketing Manager at the Faculty of Advocates. Undertook an International Secondment at New South Wales Bar Association.

Professor David Petrasek

Professor of International Political Affairs at the University of Ottawa, Canada. Expert and author on human rights, humanitarian law and conflict resolution issues, former Special Adviser to the Secretary-General of Amnesty International, consultant to United Nations.

Antonia Potter

Expert in humanitarian, development, peacemaking and peacebuilding issues. Consultant on women, peace and security; and strategic issues to clients including the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, the Global Network of Women Peacemakers, Mediator, and Terre des Hommes.

DPI Council of Experts

Christine Bell

Legal expert based in Northern Ireland; expert on transitional justice, peace negotiations, constitutional law and human rights law advice. Trainer for diplomats, mediators and lawyers.

Cengiz Çandar

Senior Journalist and columnist specializing in areas such as The Kurdish Question, former war correspondent. Served as special adviser to Turkish president Turgut Ozal.

Yılmaz Ensaroğlu

SETA Politics Economic and Social Research Foundation. Member of the Executive Board of the Joint Platform for Human Rights, the Human Rights Agenda Association (İHGD) and Human Rights Research Association (İHAD), Chief Editor of the Journal of the Human Rights Dialogue.

Salomón Lerner Febres

Former President of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Perú; Executive President of the Center for Democracy and Human Rights of the Pontifical Catholic University of Perú.

Bejan Matur

Renowned Turkey based Author and Poet. Columnist, focusing mainly on Kurdish politics, the Armenian issue, daily politics, minority problems, prison literature, and women's issues. Has won several literary prizes and her work has been translated into 17 languages. Former Director of the Diyarbakır Cultural Art Foundation (DKSV).

Professor Mervyn Frost

Head of the Department of War Studies, King's College London. Previously served as Chair of Politics and Head of Department at the University of Natal in Durban. Former President of the South African Political Studies Association; expert on human rights in international relations, humanitarian intervention, justice in world

politics, democratising global governance, just war tradition in an Era of New Wars and ethics in a globalising world.

Martin Griffiths

Founding member and first Executive Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Served in the British Diplomatic Service, and in British NGOs, Ex -Chief Executive of Action Aid. Held posts as United Nations (UN) Director of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, Geneva and Deputy to the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, New York. Served as UN Regional Humanitarian Coordinator for the Great Lakes, UN Regional Coordinator in the Balkans and UN Assistant Secretary-General.

Dr. Edel Hughes

Senior Lecturer, University of East London. Expert on international human rights and humanitarian law, with special interest in civil liberties in Ireland, emergency/anti-terrorism law, international criminal law and human rights in Turkey and Turkey's accession to European Union. Previous lecturer with Amnesty International and a founding member of Human Rights for Change.

Professor Ram Manikkalingam

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam, served as Senior Advisor on the Peace Process to President of Sri Lanka, expert and author on conflict, multiculturalism and democracy, founding board member of the Laksham Kadirgamar Institute for Strategic Studies and International Relations.

Jonathan Powell

British diplomat, Downing Street Chief of Staff under Prime Minister Tony Blair between 1997- 2007. Chief negotiator in Northern Ireland peace talks, leading to the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Currently CEO of Inter Mediate, a United Kingdom -based non-state mediation organization.

Sir Kieran Prendergast

Served in the British Foreign Office, including in Cyprus, Turkey, Israel, the Netherlands, Kenya and New York; later head of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office dealing with Apartheid and Namibia; former UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Convenor of the SG's Executive Committee on Peace and Security and engaged in peacemaking efforts in Afghanistan, Burundi, Cyprus, the DRC, East Timor, Guatemala, Iraq, the Middle East, Somalia and Sudan.

Rajesh Rai

Rajesh was called to the Bar in 1993. His areas of expertise include Human Rights Law, Immigration and Asylum Law, and Public Law. Rajesh has extensive hands-on experience in humanitarian and environmental issues in his work with NGOs, cooperatives and companies based in the UK and overseas. He also lectures on a wide variety of legal issues, both for the Bar Human Rights Council and internationally.

Professor Naomi Roht Arriaza

Professor at University of Berkeley, United States, expert and author on transitional justice, human rights violations, international criminal law and global environmental issues.

Professor Dr. Mithat Sancar

Professor of Law at the University of Ankara, expert and author on Constitutional Citizenship and Transitional Justice, columnist for Taraf newspaper.

Professor Dr. Sevtap Yokuş

Professor of Law University of Kocaeli, expert on constitutional law and human rights law, practitioner in European Court of Human Rights.



11 Guilford Street
London WC1N 1DH
United Kingdom

+44 (0)203 206 9939

info@democraticprogress.org

www.democraticprogress.org