



CYMRU NEWYDD
CYMRU GYMRAEG

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Foreword

Adam's relationship with the Welsh language is an integral part of his relationship with Wales. Adam became a part of the national movement through the language. As someone who was raised in a non-Welsh speaking home, he learned Welsh and joined the party in the same year at the age of thirteen.

Adam's commitment towards the language is evident through his actions on its behalf. He was part of the National Students Union of Wales' 'Nid yw Cymru ar Werth' campaign when he was the Union's Welsh Language Officer and occupied a second home during the 1988 Eisteddfod to demand a change in a situation that kept local Welsh speakers out of the housing market. Adam sees linguistic justice as a matter of social and economic justice. He also sees the connection between ensuring linguistic justice and justice for all the diverse people of Wales. In that regard, he sees the importance of standing together and campaigning to create a future where Welsh belongs to all the citizens of our country.

Outside of his time in elected politics, Adam has been committed to supporting campaigns in favour of the Welsh language and to developing the intellectual and creative foundations of the discussion surrounding creating a future for the language, including:

- Supporting Aberystwyth University students' campaign to Save Pantycelyn
- Presenting programmes such as 'Tynged Yr Iaith' on S4C following the disappointing results of the 2011 Census
- Leading the first Welsh language Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender fringe at the National Eisteddfod as Chair of Mas ar y Maes.

He's member of Cymdeithas yr Iaith and Dyfodol i'r Iaith.

Since being elected to the Assembly in 2016, Adam has made the Welsh language a priority and has worked with others in the national movement to use political influence to achieve gains for the language, such as:

- Ensuring more financial support for the Welsh language in the Welsh Government's budget by obtaining an additional £5 million to promote the Welsh language and to invest it in the work of Mudiad Meithrin and Welsh for Adults.
- Ensuring through the Arfor vision that the key relationship between the language and the economy is officially recognised for the first time as part of public policy. Under Adam's leadership, £2 million was secured from the Welsh Government towards strategic cooperation between Gwynedd, Ynys Môn, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire councils (the emergence of Arfor); the Plaid Cymru Leaders of those four authorities are working on exciting initial proposals. Arfor can be an extremely important contribution to begin to tackle the crisis of our communities in the west
- Holding his own and innovating in his role as the Assembly's Official Languages Commissioner by making a basic level of Welsh language skills essential for all posts in our National Parliament and introducing the concept of internal language domains in order to increase Welsh medium internal administration amongst Assembly staff
- Pushing to strengthen the rights of Welsh speakers in all aspects of Welsh national life; being a thorn in Labour's side in the face of their efforts to abolish the Welsh Language Measure and the Welsh Language Commissioner with a weaker language bill
- A prominent voice in the successful campaign to stop Labour's plot to transfer arrangements that secure the rights of Welsh speakers from the office of the Welsh Language Commissioner to the Public Services Ombudsman's office which ruled against its use.

Adam's record shows that it shouldn't be necessary to compromise principles when gaining political power. That is a particularly important stance in terms of the Welsh language. Adam said at the start of his campaign that leadership is a platform that can be used for collective success, and it is particularly encouraging to see him bring forward some of the ideas he would want to put in place to support the Welsh language if elected as Leader. I am confident therefore that Adam as the party's Leader, and as First Minister of a Plaid Cymru Government, would use that platform to deliver such a New Wales, incorporating the Welsh language, in collaboration with the people of Wales.

Cllr Cefin Campbell

Linguistic planning specialist and Chair of the Carmarthenshire Welsh Language Working Group

Cymru Newydd, Cymru Gymraeg

There is still a common misconception that our constitutional journey needs to be prioritised more than the prosperity of the Welsh language. That the language can wait until after independence.

“Mae’n anodd ei theilwra hi nawr
I weddu i’r cyfansoddiad mawr.
O, oes – mae peth wmbreth wedi’i gyflawni
Ond pa werth i’r holl beth os na ddaw ‘hi’ `da ni?
Mae na beryg rhyw dydd, ar ddiwedd y trac
Pan ddaw trênn annibyniaeth i’r orsaf – clac, clac,
Y daw pawb oddi arno â baner y ddraig
A neb yn y cwmni yn siarad Cymraeg.”

Cofnod Cymraeg (i Aelodau Cynulliad 2011), Y Prifardd Catrin Dafydd

Similarly, there is a view that there must be a focus on restoring the Welsh language before starting the journey to independence. The truth is that the well-being of the Welsh language is part of our independence and independence is necessary to ensure the prosperity of the Welsh language: the more Welsh thrives, the more independent Wales will be; the more independent it will be, the better the prospects of the Welsh language.

As part of my campaign to become Plaid Cymru Leader, I have already published a Seven Steps to Independence plan, which shows how we can map out an independent Wales by the end of the decade and create a New Wales.

My vision is to create a New Wales which incorporates the Welsh language as an integral part of it, and where every citizen can connect with the language regardless of their personal background. By putting in place a programme of imaginative and substantive language policies for every step of the journey towards independence – and afterwards – we can ensure that the Welsh language underpins the New Wales that we want to create.

Laying the foundations

The aim of having a Million Welsh speakers shows the type of ambition we should seek. However, as Carwyn Jones and Alun Davies stated at the time of the launch of the Cymraeg 2050 strategy, the two will have in every likelihood long left elected politics by 2050. This reminds us of the constant need to act today on behalf of the Welsh language. Everything that has come from the Government’s side thus far, and the lack of resources to support action, raises the question of whether the target is anything more than a public relations exercise.

1. A purposeful program over two terms of a Plaid Cymru Government focusing on three things for our public services: Strengthening the Welsh language skills of the workforce, fostering leadership towards the Welsh language, and increase the use of the language, especially in our communities.

We must ensure that our public services workforce have suitable linguistic skills to be able to serve the people of Wales in two languages. The North Wales Police and Assembly Commission’s model is a potential model for developing skills over time, starting at the level of basic linguistic courtesy; this model is also an example of the path that more organizations could follow. It is also entirely reasonable to expect our main

public office holders to be able to communicate directly with the people they serve through the two official languages of Wales. Indeed, this was mooted in the report of Rhodri Glyn Thomas' Language, Work and Bilingual Services working group in 2016. There should therefore be a specific requirement on the holders of such major public services positions to have bilingual skills, or a commitment to acquire them, to allow them meet the legitimate aim of communicating directly with the people they serve in a dual-language nation.⁽¹⁾ If they do not possess those skills when appointed to the post, the public services should provide them with support and time to acquire those skills within a reasonable period of time.

Beyond having a grasp of the Welsh language, we need to empower our public service leaders to act positively in favour of the Welsh language - as a matter of expectation, not a discretion, building upon the example of Gwynedd Council which has reaped the many rewards of this good practice for decades. The wider political and legislative context - Planning (Wales) Act 2015, Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 etc - sets a high-level context to develop the language. But it can be ambiguous as to who is responsible for implementing it in practice. Therefore, leadership should be fostered to encourage the leaders of our public service authorities to take positive action in support of the Welsh language on a daily basis, learning from precedent in equalities legislation in terms of public service leaders – whereby the post of the Chief Executive in a local authority, for example – carries a specific responsibility for implementation.

The Welsh language must be used if we want to create a truly bilingual Wales. As a result, a clear plan for increasing the use of the Welsh language would be the basis for the programme to strengthen skills and to develop leadership in terms of the Welsh language in public services – be it in the family, the workplace and in the community. In terms of the workplace, domains could be developed on a departmental basis within organisations to increase internal use of the language and support Welsh learners, along the lines of what Ynys Môn Council is currently doing as it moves towards using Welsh as the language of internal administration. Practical ideas for the community could include strengthening existing public authorities' promotion strategies to be language planning strategies that respond to local needs. That should be based on consultation and research similar to what Carmarthenshire County Council did following the last Census, by applying the main aim of making Welsh the main language of the County, which extends beyond the boundaries of the local authority itself.

2. Strengthen rights to use Welsh and ensure linguistic justice

One of the most significant achievements of the One Wales Government was the Welsh Language Measure 2011. This led to a clear and unambiguous official status for the Welsh language in law for the first time; created rights for Welsh speakers and established a Welsh Language Commissioner. Although there is scope to go further and to develop that system, it is fair to say that the initial evidence suggests success.

Rights need to be the cornerstone of a broader vision for the Welsh language, which encompasses supporting and sustaining Welsh-speaking communities, promoting the benefits of bilingualism and changing attitudes nationally, ensuring that the economy works in favour of the language and securing its place in broadcasting, entertainment and in education. But what is obvious from the experience of other minorities is that rights are psychologically important and key to empowering individuals to make the choice to use the minority language by giving them confidence. And what is psychology but the science of the brain?

The result of Labour's mess with the language standards in health and their lack of interest in using their powers to create more bilingual services – such as imposing standards on housing associations and Whitehall Government departments (including the welfare system) - is that the poorest and most vulnerable people in Wales have the least rights to access Welsh language services. This injustice cannot be tolerated.

As a starting point, we must continue to strongly oppose any attempt from Labour to replace the gains that have been ensured with a weak Welsh Language Bill at the request of large organisations and businesses. The work of developing the Welsh language and the services that the people of Wales can expect to accept cannot wait any longer.

(1) The report lists the posts that would be relevant for local authorities to include: the head of paid services and the chief executive; the corporate director with responsibility for human resources; the education director and the director of public services. In other countries, of course, there is a convention that those who carry out other public functions such as scrutiny or head of the judiciary are able to communicate in the official languages of the country.

Immediate action must be taken to introduce Welsh language services in areas such as housing associations, the welfare system, the water and energy bodies and telecommunications companies. There is also a need to move forward to include the banks, supermarkets and large businesses in the Welsh Language Measure 2011.

It is regulations drafted by civil servants that determine the extent of the people's language rights under the standards. But the truth is that civil servants nor politicians from any party should not be able to restrict the basic right of the people of Wales to use the Welsh language. They should be absolute rights. Therefore, in the medium term, a detailed piece of work should be done by experts in the field to look at the potential of bringing forward new, ambitious legislation to ensure a baseline of language rights to be respected in law - as a starting point to rights in a written constitution in due course – as a cornerstone for a wider vision for the language.

3. Education and Apprenticeships

Ensuring the same fairness for all the citizens of Wales to be fluent in Welsh and English by the time they are 16 years old has been the Welsh Government's policy for many years. Even so, and despite the fact that they talk about ending the current differential outcomes by creating a single GCSE Welsh qualification for everyone, we know that far too many of our young people are denied their fluency in Welsh. Greater steps must be taken to ensure the right of all our young people to their basic fluency in Welsh by the end of their time in the statutory education system, through measures to strengthen the Welsh medium schools infrastructure, developing a purposeful strategy to recruit and support Welsh medium teachers and by setting ambitious targets in the short and long term that are rigorously followed. It is crucial to achieve as much as possible through nursery and primary education up to the age of 7 in the future. However, in order to give those denied fluency in the language a second chance, there is a need to ensure an intensive Welsh learning module as a parallel, optional course for those students undertaking a degree in Welsh universities.

It should also be ensured that the breadth and depth of the provision of Welsh-medium education is maintained throughout our citizens' journey through the Welsh education system, including vocational routes. One proposal that I have already put forward as part of the Knowledge Nation is to establish the first Welsh medium further education college in the south-east. Specific requirements should also be placed on apprenticeship providers to significantly increase the percentage of Welsh medium apprenticeships that are offered and studied.

4. Communities and Planning

It should be ensured that we have the sound evidential basis to enable intelligent language planning in favour of the Welsh language in communities. This must happen from the bottom up and guide the efforts to promote the Welsh language through national bodies such as the Mentrau Iaith. Detailed plans could be prepared at the community level, recognising that the situation of each community is different and requires the interventions offered to be tailored.

We also need to ensure that the planning system operates better in favour of the Welsh language in our communities, rather than militating against it. This becomes crystal clear in the detailed work that my colleague and friend Sian Gwenllian has led on the development of Plaid's planning policy in consultation with experts and advisers and the production of the discussion paper on the local need for housing and the Welsh language.

Examples of good and innovative practice can be found in Plaid-led councils, including (i) The work of Ceredigion Council in showing the way and using the planning system to provide an element of protection for historic and indigenous Welsh names, and (ii) and the Gwynedd and Môn Local Development Plan which sets a precedent – despite the efforts of the Planning Inspectorate to prevent it – to introduce 'local market housing' for the first time in nine wards. However, there is also a need for the national planning framework to support this kind of approach and to show the same ambition.

We must also be innovative with the planning system and not stick to the traditional conception of the planning system as being concerned with land use, but rather to see planning and how it can positively

influence the course of the Welsh language in a more holistic sense. 'Tai, Iaith a Gwaith' as goes the old saying in the language movement – emphasising the need for housing and employment in the struggle for the language – and it's inevitable that a lack of affordable housing impacts on our Welsh-speaking communities. Local authorities should be enabled to require 'change of use' planning permission to be obtained before a residential property can be changed to a second home. There should also be a direct correlation made between the infrastructure (e.g. new schools) that supports major housing developments and the Million Welsh Speakers target & promoting the Welsh language. We should ensure that developers fulfil their social responsibility in that respect. Another innovative idea that we could support in this area is the creation of a new bilingual ecotown in the west as proposed by the barrister Gwion Lewis, near Carmarthen or Dinas y Fenai.

5. Language and Economy

It is generally accepted that there is an indispensable link between the continuation of Welsh as a living language that is used on a daily basis in the western Welsh-speaking communities and the prosperity of the economy in the west. The cooperation that is currently underway between the four core local authorities in the west is a significant starting point to be able to take advantage of that link. It is also essential in terms of its contribution to the prosperity of the language nationally and could serve as a magnet for Welsh speakers and learners all over Wales. In order to further develop this, an Arfor Development Agency should be established in the west, modelled on the former Rural Development Board for Wales, but with a dual emphasis on language and economic development. Although the link between language and the economy is most prevalent in the west, the principle applies in all parts of Wales, which invites itself for further initiatives. This, for example, could include initiatives to keep and attract graduates back to Wales, thus starting to tackle the emigration that is so damaging to our language and economy.

The foundational economy is another neglected element of the Welsh economy. In the National Economic Plan, which I announced during this campaign, I proposed establishing economic development companies in each area (on the Cwmni Bro Ffestiniog model) to identify opportunities in the market for local co-operatives. Naturally, we should take full advantage by linking these developments and the opportunities with respect to the Welsh language. The agricultural sector is one sector where a link could be made between the language and the economy and its development could significantly benefit the Welsh language. The community care sector and the provision of meals in the community through the Welsh medium is another important sector which could promote local activity, with the economic benefit thus returning to the local Welsh economy rather than to private companies from outside the communities.

6. Language technology and digital innovation

In 2016, Klaus Schwab, founder and CEO of the World Economic Forum, argued that the world is about to have a fourth industrial revolution that will bring about the introduction of new technologies. Automation, artificial intelligence and the internet of things are among those technologies. If Welsh is to feature prominently in the New Wales, we have to roll up our sleeves to ensure that it is at the heart of these developments.

It is crucial that we invest significantly to rectify the lack of investment in language technology to date (e.g. there seems to be a long way to go before technology such as Alexa is available in Welsh. Although there are commendable efforts by individuals acting voluntarily, and organisations doing the utmost with the funding available, there is no avoiding the fact that the Welsh Government needs to act as a national government and to show its willingness to lead in this area).

But as well as keeping up with under-investment in the past, we can - and we should - make every effort to ensure that we are at the forefront of the upcoming developments. We can do that by creating an exemplar Welsh community - possibly in rural Wales – that could test and develop new technologies such as automation and their impact on communities.

7. Developing the vision: towards Wales 2030 and beyond

In my Seven Steps to Independence Plan, one of the steps is to establish a statutory Commission through the Wales 2030 Referendum Act to oversee the Wales 2030 process. As part of that remit, it is the Wales 2030 Commission that will be responsible for overseeing a Constitutional Convention which would draw up a draft constitution for an independent Wales. Specific responsibilities regarding the Welsh language should be given to the Wales 2030 Commission, including:

Building on the language consensus in Wales and developing the support for Welsh as the language of all the citizens of Wales irrespective of whether or not they are Welsh-speaking

The Welsh language is also one of our strengths in relation to Wales's cultural identity and it is not a hindrance in any way to develop the political and constitutional identity of Wales. On the contrary, the Welsh language is a strength to strengthen the identity of Wales and according to a recent survey, 86% of the people of Wales believe that the Welsh language is something of which to be proud. The Commission therefore will be able to confidently discuss the independent Wales that we can create with the Welsh language at its heart.

Prepare a detailed plan with the aim of ensuring that Welsh, from the outset, is the default language of new institutions of an independent Welsh state

The history of the Republic of Ireland is a warning of the need to ensure that we don't neglect our responsibilities towards the language as a result of gaining independence. We have to have a plan before independence to be clear in our own minds about what we want to do differently in a state that runs its own institutions, and how independence can be a positive turning point to the destiny of the language.

Develop principles about the types of basic linguistic commitments that an independent Wales could guarantee to its citizens and embed in a written constitution.

This should be done in full consultation with people across Wales, drawing on the best practices internationally in the field of human rights and other national minorities. This work could develop the relationship between:

1. National rights (e.g. the right for all citizens to be able to become fluent in Welsh, the right of every citizen to continue their inheritance and to see the Welsh language thrive)
2. The rights of the family and the community (e.g. the right to give a child a Welsh name, the right to register significant life events (birth, death and marriage) in Welsh only, recognition and protection of Welsh language names in the community and the right to hold a Welsh festival)
3. The rights of the individual (e.g. the right to the individual to express themselves in their own language and the validity of using the Welsh language)

Hand in hand with that, plans will have to be prepared to bridge any gaps in the ability to provide those current rights at the moments in order for the New Independent Wales to practically guarantee them to its citizens.