# **Celebrating Democracy** Our Voice, Our Vote, Our Freedom

# 170th anniversary of the Chartist Uprising in Newport.



# Thursday 15 October 2009 at The Newport Centre



Give us

the

Right

to

Vote

# Introduction from Paul O'Shea

# Chair of Bevan Foundation and Regional Secretary , Unison Cymru/Wales

Freedom of association is rightly prominent in every charter and declaration of human rights. It is no coincidence that authoritarians and dictators of left and right usually crack down on trade unions as a priority. Look to the vicious attacks on the union movement by the Mugabe regime, the human rights abuses of Colombian trade unionists or indeed, the shooting and incarceration of Chartists engaged in peaceful protest as a grim reminder of this eternal truth.

A free and democratic society needs to be pluralist. There must be checks and balances on those who wield power. There must be a voice for everyone, not just the rich, the privileged and the powerful. A man called Wilfred Rogers who was the first President of the Labour Representation Committee in 1894 put it this way 'There must be an independent life within the state to prevent Government becoming Tyranny and the trade unions will be chief among those who call that independent life into being.'

Perhaps the most overworked cliché about democracy is that it is the least worst system of government we have. The same point could sometimes be made about employer-union relationships. Industrial relations can break down from time to time. Disputes can become difficult and protracted. Unions - and their members - may not always get it right. But a world where people at work did not have the right to call on a union, or where industrial action was banned, would be more unequal, more unfair, less free and less democratic.

To adapt the cliche you can argue that collective bargaining is the least worst system of industrial relations we have. But while these are all strong, principled arguments for trade unionism, they are little use unless we apply them practically and convince others to join our ranks or treat us as partners.

Devolution and reforms to deepen democracy mean that Westminster no longer monopolises the political universe. Slowly but surely a new political culture is emerging in the UK, offering new opportunities for unions to get the voice of working people heard. This new political culture looks and feels very different to that of the green and red benches. It provides a different quality of representation, often more open and accessible; perhaps less burdened by tradition, pomp and ceremony.

Unions draw great strength from our democratic and voluntary roots and while we recognise the challenges and difficulties we face, I am convinced that unions have a secure future with exciting opportunities ahead. We stand ready to take on bad employers, fight exploitation and press for social justice with a clear sense of purpose.

Let us put it this way, if unions did not exist today, someone would have to invent them. Employers need to talk to employees, government needs views from the workplace and above all, employees need a collective voice. That remains as true today, as it was in Newport, in November 1839.

# **Electoral Reform Society**

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The Electoral Reform Society is proud to support this event commemorating 170 years since the Newport Rising. The ERS campaigns on the need to change the voting system to a form of proportional representation, and is also an active supporter Votes at 16 and involved in producing materials for the citizenship curriculum.

The Chartists' appeal to democracy and of fair play for all are exactly the reasons why we campaign for what we do. They have showed that democracy had to be fought for and won by ordinary people. What electoral reform does is to make sure that all our votes count equally, that politicians are properly answerable to us, and that politics is rule by the people.

We are currently campaigning for a referendum to change the voting system and would be grateful for your support in our www.voteforachange.co.uk campaign.

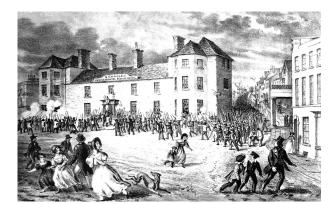
We want to make your voice heard by making your vote count.

# **Thomspons Solicitors**

Thompsons is the largest trades union firm of solicitors in the UK with offices in Cardiff and Swansea. The firm has played a leading role for over 80 years fighting for the rights of working people and the right to belong to and participate in trades unions.

As well as our work and campaigns in Wales and the UK we actively campaign in support of trades unions in other parts of the world such as South Africa, Columbia, Venezuela and Eastern Europe. .We are pleased to sponsor the Bevan Foundation's "Celebrating Democracy" event aimed at recognising the sacrifice made by so many over the centuries for the democratic rights we now benefit from and promoting the importance of active participation in our democratic institutions.

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# The battle at the Westgate Hotel

Soon after 9 o'clock on Monday morning 4th November, a large Chartist contingent armed with picks, pikes and guns marched in regular order down Stow hill to the Westgate Hotel. Not able to see the thirty soldiers of the 45<sup>th</sup> Regiment hidden inside the building, the crowd charged the front door, defended by special constables under the command of the Mayor, Thomas Phillips. Guns were fired. Intruders pushed into the hallway.

At the order of Lieutenant Gray, his troops flung back the shutters and filing past the window, fired their muskets in quick succession. This surprise tactic forced mass retreat. A small band of determined fighters returned fire, but soon ran for cover. Soldiers turned their guns on those inside. The fighting lasted about twenty minutes, but the military remained in position for at least an hour, fearing a second attack from men gathered on the Malpas Road.

With more than 20 dead and 50 wounded, large numbers were taken in for questioning and over fifty charged with Treason. At the Special Assizes in Monmouth, John Frost, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones were sentenced to a public hanging and quartering. Widespread protest and fear of martyrdom caused the government to commute these sentences to life transportation, served in Tasmania.

#### A Cry for Social Justice - Cyfiawnder!

The conflict at Newport was a climax to discontents that had been smouldering throughout south Wales since the Merthyr Rising in 1831. Chartist speakers at mass meetings linked the political demands of the Charter with their audience's experiences of economic exploitation and deprivation. They argued that working people needed a Parliament that represented their interests and not the landed propertied classes. A national petition for the People's Charter garnered one and a quarter million signatures. Public anger rose when the House of Commons refused in June 1839 to debate the six points of the Charter. In August, the imprisonment of Henry Vincent in Monmouth gaol for making a seditious speech at Newport was seen as proof that they were living under a tyranny. By September, the membership of south Wales lodges reached over 20,000. Representatives met in secrecy and planned resistance.

These forces gathered on the 3 & 4 November and some 5000 men reached the town of Newport and its outskirts. The debacle at the Westgate Hotel was the product of poor and disunited Chartist leadership and civil authorities determined to face down unrest, with military firepower if necessary. The Newport draper, John Frost, favoured a non-violent show of strength, but although the titular leader, he was not really in charge. The mood of the marchers swung behind those prepared to use force. As one marcher said "it was by such means that the people obtained their rights in America and France"

#### Chartism's survival

1839 was not the end of Chartist protest. The movement continued at Newport until 1848 and it survived as a political force into the 1860s at Merthyr. Protests and petitions for the release of the 'Welsh martyrs' continued for over a decade and it was fourteen years before the government deemed it safe to grant pardons. In this period, Chartism remained a powerful voice of working class grievances. Further national petitions in support of the People's Charter gained mass support throughout Britain in 1842 and 1848.

The spirit of Chartism imbued the 1866-67 Reform Bill campaign and influenced the nascent women's suffrage movement that emerged in the 1860s. The new socialist organisations established in the 1880s and 1890s claimed Chartist roots and the extension of the franchise to all adults was a fundamental objective of Keir Hardie and the early Labour Party.

#### Les James

(University of Wales, Newport)

Special Thanks to Newport City Museum and Library for the use of the chartist images used in throughout this brochure.

# The People's Charter 1838 made six demands for political reform:

- votes for all men over 21
- secret voting
- wages for MPs
- equal electoral constituencies
- abolition of the property qualification for MPs
- annual elections

On three occasions – 1839, 1842 and 1848 – mass petitions were organised to support the 'Six Points'. Parliament rejected each petition without debate.

Five of the Chartists' demands were enacted by 1918. Only the demand for annual elections has never been adopted. Women, not mentioned in the published People's Charter, gained the same voting rights as men in 1928.

Many Chartists supported the right of women to vote, such as William Lovett, author of the People's Charter and Henry Vincent, editor of the 'Western Vindicator' newspaper.

Many women were active Chartists. There was a female franchise society at Newport that organised tea parties in favour of the Charter. At one of these tea parties (March 25th 1839) spontaneously expanded into a street demonstration with some three hundred women at its head. Vincent described the occasion:

> "We then adjourned; the ladies falling in procession four abreast, and an immense procession of men following in the rear. Three hearty cheers were given for Mrs. Frost on passing the house. A wagon was placed in the street, from which I addressed the meeting above an hour. At the conclusion three hearty cheers were given for John Frost, Esq. — three for Vincent — three for the Convention — three for our sweethearts, wives, and ourselves, and the meeting separated. The Newport ladies are progressing with great spirit to the terror of the Aristocrats of the town and neighbourhood."

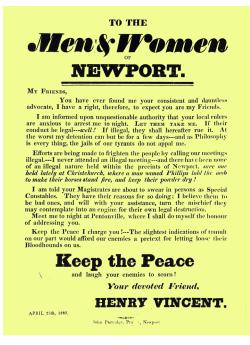
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#### **MILESTONES** in the Reform of Parliament

- 1837 At the start of Queen Victoria's reign:
  - Members of Parliament and all voters were men of property
  - Only 1 in every 8 men could vote
  - No women were voters
  - Voting was not secret

Bribery was common in elections

- 1856 Property qualification for MPs abolished
- 1867 1 in 3 men granted right to vote
- 1872 Secret ballot introduced
- 1883 Corrupt Practices Act limited election expenses
- 1884 Vote extended to 2 in 3 men
- 1911 House of Commons supremacy over House of Lords
- 1911 MPs paid annual salary
- 1918 Men over 21 and women over 30 could register to vote
- 1928 Equal voting rights All adults over 21 able to vote
- 1944 Permanent Commission to determine constituencies
- 1949 House of Lords power reduced: 1 year delay of legislation
- 1969 Adults over 18 eligible to vote



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# Afternoon Programme Young People's Question Time

1.15 to 2.30pm

With speakers from the main political parties. Led by BBC Wales Political Editor Betsan Powys.

Betsan Powys is the Political Editor for BBC Wales. A native Welsh speaker, Betsan joined BBC Wales in 1989, before joining the newsroom in Cardiff as a bilingual, bi-media reporter. She presented the Welsh language news programme Newyddion, worked for a period at ITV Wales before being appointed chief reporter on the



European current affairs series Ewropa, and joined Huw Edwards to front United Kingdom national election specials. Her stint as a reporter for the current affairs series Week In Week Out led to her winning the BT Welsh Journalist of the Year award. Powys was then lent for a period to BBC One's flagship current affairs programme Panorama where she spent three years, before returning to Wales to give birth to her daughter. She also presents the Welsh language version of Mastermind Cymru on S4C. From 11 September 2006, Betsan replaced the retiring David Williams, and took editorial charge of all BBC Wales' daily political output ahead of the Welsh Assembly elections in 2007.

#### Vaughan Gething is 34 years

old. He lives in Butetown with his fiancée Michelle. Vaughan is a successful senior solicitor and partner with Thompsons Solicitors – the largest trade union law firm in the country. He is a GMB member and the current Wales TUC President, leading over half a million trade unionists in Wales. Labour Party experience:

- Labour Party Member for 18 years.
- Active member of Cardiff South and Penarth LP for 10 years, currently Chair of Butetown BLP.
- Assembly Candidate in 1999 election.
- Cardiff Councillor between 2004/08 displacing the sitting Independent councillor.
- Campaigned for Labour candidates in Wales, Scotland and England including by-elections, devolution referenda, Council, Assembly, Parliamentary and European elections.

Nick Ramsay AM was born in 1975 and is originally from Cwmbran. He went to Croesyceiliog Comprehensive School before attending St John's College at the University of Durham where he gained a Joint Honours degree in English and Philosophy. He later gained a Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics from Cardiff University.



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**Cllr. Fiona Cross** has worked in care for people with learning difficulties and in adult education. She went back to school as an adult to improve her job prospects while working and having her two lovely children. Her children were the motivation for getting involved in politics as she is trying to affect their future and hopes to make it a better one. Fiona has always believed that if you want to make a difference you have to



start with yourself regardless of what scale of involvement you have. Being elected in 2008 in the local government elections for Torfaen was a very proud achievement. She has been the Chair of Scrutiny for Regeneration and is currently the Chair for Operational Services. Her passions include the environment, parental rights, youth services and library services.



**Eleanor Burman AM** was born in Wrexham and brought up in Gwnodl Fawr, Cynwyd. Her early career was in Social Services Management. She was previously a Wrexham Magistrate and a member of Denbigh Hospital Mental Health Tribunal. Her political interests lie in full devolution for Wales, social inclusion and lifelong-learning. Eleanor is also passionate about public

transport, especially trains. Eleanor is the Welsh Liberal Democrat Assembly spokesperson for Culture, Communities and Equality. A fluent Welsh speaker Eleanor is a qualified aromatherapist and her hobbies include gardening, cycling and swimming. Eleanor is also a Llangollen Eisteddfod Soprano prize-winner. Eleanor is the Welsh Liberal Democrat Assembly Spokesperson for Welsh language, Equality and Children and Young People. She sits on three committees - Children and Young People Committee, Equal Opportunities and Legislation committee No.1



## Children in Wales Plant yng Nghymru

Children in Wales is the national umbrella organisation for voluntary, statutory and professional organisations and individuals who work with children and young people in Wales. Our aims are to promote the interests of these groups and take action to meet their needs. We:

- Are a membership body
- Organise a range of conferences, events and training courses
- Co-ordinate specialist forums and networks across Wales
- Offer library and information services
- Co-ordinate policy and research

Through this activity we contribute to making the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child a reality in Wales and ensure children and young people have a voice. Children in Wales is a registered charity and an independent, non-governmental organisation.

25 Windsor Place, Cardiff CF10 3BZ 029 2034 2434 info@childreninwales.org.uk www.childreninwales.org.uk Registered Charity Number: 1020313

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# Voices from the past

3.30 to 4.30pm A lively discussion of the different struggles for democracy in Wales with leading Welsh Historians

**Glenn Jordan** is Reader in the Cultural Studies in the Cardiff Centre for Creative and Cultural Industries; and Founding Director of Butetown History & Arts Centre (BHAC), a community archive, gallery and educational centre in Cardiff docklands. He teaches cultural theory, cultural policy and photography. Born in Sacramento, California, he was educated at Stanford University and the University of Illinois. Prior to coming to Cardiff in 1987, he was Assistant Director of the Afro-American Studies and Research Program at the University of Illinois. He is currently working on Race (Routledge), Birth of the Black Subject (Blackwell) and a textbook entitled Our World War Two: A Multi-ethnic Community Remembers (BHAC).

Dr Ryland Wallace studied History at Aberystwyth University, where he gained a Ph.D. on protest and reform in nineteenth century Wales. This was subsequently published as a book. Part of this research covered the early stages of the women's suffrage campaign. As no thorough comprehensive study of the movement in Wales had been undertaken, he pursued this theme into the twentieth century. The results of his efforts have been recently published in book form by the University of Wales Press under the title: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Wales, 1866-1928he has lectured in history at Coleg Gwent for many years, where he currently teaches at the Pontypool and Crosskeys campuses. \

**Rachel Lock-Lewis** is a senior lecturer in modern history at University Of Wales, Newport and specialises in social history and women's history. She is currently researching for a PhD investigating Monmouthshire women's experiences of motherhood in the post-war period and is writing a chapter for the forthcoming volume of Gwent County History entitled 'Sexuality, Marriage and the Family in Gwent, 1945-75'. One of Rachel's particular interests is women's activism; she organised and hosted the West of England & South Wales Women's History Network's annual conference titled 'Women and Activism: History and Historical Perspectives'. Rachel is committed to defending workers' rights and wider human rights and is thus an elected officer in her trade union and an active member of Amnesty International. She lives in Newport with her husband and her three-year old son.



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The Electoral Reform Society campaigns

- towards fairer voting systems
- to widen democracy and encourage participation in our communities.

# Electoral Reform Society publications include

- regular election reports and analysis
- research into voting systems
- citizenship curriculum resources

# Mae'r Gymdeithas Newid Etholiadol yn ymgyrchu

- am systemau pleidleisio tecach
- i ledaenu democratiaeth ac annog cyfranogiad yn ein cymunedau.

Mae cyhoeddiadau'r Gymdeithas Newid Etholiadol yn cynnwys

- adroddiadau a dadansoddiad rheolaidd ar etholiadau
- ymchwilio mewn i systemau pleidleisio

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Temple Court Cathedral Road

Cardiff

CF11 9HA

## Paul Flynn MP Newport West

The deeper politics slides into cynicism, the greater our hunger grows for the pure idealism of the past. Every November there is a quickening of the pulses as we recall the courage and vision of our ancestors. Rain-sodden,



bedraggled but inspired the Chartists marched down Stow Hill on November 4th, 170 years ago.

If they held their heads up high, and I am sure they did, the streetscape they saw is very similar to to-days. The Cathedral and the graveyard, that was to become the last resting place of 20 of them, look exactly the same as now. Further down the hill, St Mary's Church was still being built and the Chartists encouraged the workers building the tower to join them.

The Chartists had clear lofty ambitions and sky high ideals. The gross injustices of their times had wounded them. George Shell, a 17-year-old cabinetmaker, wrote a letter to his mother the night of November 3rd saying, "If I die tomorrow, I do so in a noble cause." He was killed inside the Westgate Hotel. At least twenty martyred Chartists were buried in unmarked graves in the Cathedral Cemetery. A year later their relatives used the cloak of night to secretly visit their graves and lay tributes of laurel leaves. That tradition was revived 25 years ago. Newportians on the evening in early November gather in the cemetery to honour the sacrifice of our forebears.

The city has not always celebrated their greatest heroes. The wartime generation of teachers in Newport schools judged that the only history worth respecting was that which had English in front of it . St David's Day was rivalled by Empire Day. Everyone remembered the six wives of Henry VIII. Few knew the six points of the Charter, annual elections, a secret ballot, equal electoral districts, removal of property qualifications for parliamentary candidates. the payment of Members of Parliament, and universal (manhood) suffrage.

The present generation has rediscovered our proud history. The oppression and suffering of 19th century Wales was comparable with world wide suffering today. It's a joy to see the re-enactment of the Chartist message in Newport Schools. It's reassuring that the schools who are campaigning on developing world issues are the most sensitive to the cruelties of the past.

While all the Chartist points have became law except annual parliaments, there are still many defects in our democracy. We

can still declare war without the approval of Parliament. The second Chamber remains un-elected and governments are given absolute power usually on the basis of a minority of votes. Power and influence can still be bought and the media wield extraordinary control over the public opinion. It's now usual for tabloids to claim that their moronic headlines have won elections. In some case they have. Many politicians are trapped in tiny worlds whose horizons extend only to the next elections.

We need a new Charter for the 21st century. Here are six candidate points. Make all votes of equal value. Extend to all media the broadcasters statutory duty of balance. Make power the exclusive gift of the electorate never to be or inherited or bought. Liberate political parties from dependence on outside interests through national funding. Give franchise to 16 year olds. Broaden all political horizons to encompass one humanity, one environment, and one world. The Chartists led. We gratefully follow.



# The Rt. Hon. Peter Hain MP

The spirit of the Chartist movement is more relevant now than ever. I am inspired and humbled by the sacrifice that Chartists made in Wales and beyond. At the core of their ideals was the principle that people have a right

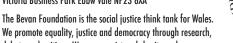
to be at the heart of democracy, and to participate freely in elections.

My own experience in the anti apartheid movement was based on a belief in this core principle: we may be born unequal in many respects but there is a common humanity which should include the right to participate in the electoral process.

I believe that today, when we remember the Chartist struggles it is right not just to look back with gratitude, but to look forward as well. At a time when there is a pervasive cynicism about politics and politicians we must renew the Chartist agenda. Now we must campaign for an even more representative democracy, and beware of the extremists who will thrive if we allow our democratic institutions to wither and die. If people cannot or do not engage with politics - and if we do not inspire them to be involved - power will return to vested elites: though this time they will be media barons rather than landowners.'

#### The Bevan Foundation

The Bevan Foundation The Innovation Centre Festival Drive Victoria Business Park Ebbw Vale NP23 8XA



debate and writing. We are a registered charity and are independent of any political party. As well as publishing the leading journal, Review, three times a year we run a full calender of events to promote discussion and influence policy. Other recent publications include Digital Wales, Divided Wales on broadband take-up and Good to be Here reflecting on the positive aspects of the Heads of the Valleys area. The Bevan Foundation relies heavily on membership to continue it's work. Members receive a monthly e-newsletter, exclusive discounts on events and publications as well as a copy of the leading journal, Review, three times a year.

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#### Thompsons Solicitors

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#### Electoral Cymdeithas Reform 🗌 Newid Society 🗌 Etholiadol Wales Cymru

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The ERS campaigns towards fairer voting systems, to widen democracy and encourage participation in our communities. ERS publications include regular election reports and analysis, research into voting systems and citizenship curriculum resources. The ERS is currently a partner in Votes at 16 and the Vote for a Change campaign, calling for a referendum on the voting system to be held on the same day as the next general election. ERS has also worked with Women and the Vote, the Institute of Welsh Affairs, Tomorrow's Wales, Funky Dragon and the National Assembly All-Party Group on Electoral and Constitutional Reform.

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#### Welsh Labour Party

4th Floor Transport House, 1 Cathedral Road, Cardiff, CF11 9HA

Welsh Labour is the predominant force in Welsh politics. Welsh Labour promotes political, organisational and campaigning work in Wales in order to secure Labour representation in the European and Westminster Parliaments, the National Assembly for Wales and local authorities. The party consists of local constituencies and branch parties throughout Wales as well as affiliated trade unions and organisations. The party works with kindred bodies like the Co-operative Union. The Welsh Executive Committee is responsible for the work of the party in Wales. Welsh Labour policy is decided by the annual conference and based upon the work of a Welsh Policy Forum consisting of a wide range of party representatives. 02920 877700 www.welshlabour.org.uk wales@new.labour.org.uk

#### Plaid Cymru

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#### Ty Gwynfor Anson Court Cardiff CF10 4AL

Plaid Cymru is a Welsh political party that campaigns for social justice and self-determination for Wales. Founded in 1925, Plaid draws on a rich campaigning history of involvement in causes such as the Miners' Strike, the movement against nuclear weapons, the protests against the Poll Tax and the battles against the Thatcher government to secure recognition



for the Welsh language. Plaid is now established as the second largest political party in Wales, and joined the Welsh Government in 2007, securing a commitment to seek lawmaking powers for the Assembly.Plaid is committed to representing all of Wales' diverse communities, and has the first ethnic minority Assembly Member as well as the two youngest Assembly Members. In government, Plaid has supported left-of-centre policies such as suspending the right to buy council houses, government intervention in the economy and a rejection of the use of private finance in the NHS. 029 20 472272 www.plaidcymru.org luke.nicholas@plaidcymru.org

#### Unison Cymru Wales

Unison house Custom House Street Cardiff CF10 1AP

Unison Cymru Wales has more than 100,000 members providing services to people of Wales. Unison members work in all areas of public services



in local government, utilities such as gas, electricity and water, transport, police, civilians and in the voluntary and related sectors. Unison aims to defend and promote public services and is currently calling for changes to ensure that people are put before profit and public interest before greed through the million voices for change campaign. 029 20 387531 www.unison.org.uk/cymruwales cymruwales@unison.co.uk



#### Wales Women's National Coalition

Anchor Court, Keen Road, Cardiff. CF24 5JW

mencap cymru

Llais anabledd dysgu The voice of learning disability

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Wales Women's National Coalition is an independent umbrella organisation committed to taking women's concerns and interests to the very heart of government. It campaigns on the key issues affecting women's lives in 21st-century Wales. 029 2047 8918 www.wwnc.org.uk suzy-barrett@wwnc.org.uk

#### Mencap Cymry's Partners in Politics Project



Mencap is the voice of learning disability. Everything we do is about valuing and supporting people with a learning disability and their families and carers.

Partners in Politics is a lottery funded citizenship project that aims to increase participation in politics and ensure that the voices of young people with a learning disability are heard by decision makers. All of its training sessions are facilitated by someone with a learning disability. 029 2074 7588 www.partnersinpolitics.org www.mencap.org.uk/cymru\_sian.davies@mencap.org.uk

### GMB – Britain's General Union

Williamson House, 17 Newport Road, Cardiff, CF24 OTB

The GMB work to improve the quality of life and provide new opportunities for all our members and their families. We aim to improve the lives of GMB members and make sure that their



achievements lead the way for working people in Britain and across the world. Every GMB member should have the opportunity to discover and develop their talents. All our members should enjoy work that is fulfilling and rewarding. The GMB purpose is to get a better deal at work, by building up GMB numbers and power base in every work place where members exist. The GMB will continue to be a campaigning Union, fighting for better pay, conditions, justice and equality and work. 029 2049 1260 www.gmb.org.uk pamela.drake@gmb.org.uk

#### True Wales

True Wales, PO Box 93, Pontypool, NP4 4BH

True Wales is a cross-party, cross-sector body opposed to the devolution of full law-making powers to the National Assembly for Wales. We are a grass-roots movement, established, funded



and run entirely by ordinary, working people to end the stranglehold of the political class - and others with a vested interest in breaking up the United Kingdom - on this debate, and to campaign for a 'No' vote in the promised referendum. True Wales believes that the millions of pounds that would be spent on more politicians and the apparatus of government would be better directed into the delivery of high quality public services. We view the extension of full law-making powers to the Assembly as a stepping stone to separation from the United Kingdom which would inevitably place an unacceptable social and financial burden on the people of Wales. It is time to let the people decide. 07595424530 www.truewales.org.uk dbanner@truewales.org.uk

#### Growing Space

Contact: Joy White, Director Tel: 01633 810718 <u>Growingspacehq@aol.com</u>

Growing Space concentrates upon each individual's ability and not inability. Growing Space is a registered mental health charity, founded in 1992, providing real work skills and a support network. Growing Space is based in Newport, South Wales within the splendid grounds of Tredegar House with workshops in Coomassie Street, Pillgwenlly. Training is provided in Horticulture, Woodwork, ITC, and Craft with work based learning programs leading to accredited qualifications. Many Growing Space members leave fully recovered with accredited qualifications and go on to achieve individual successes, including, further education, new jobs or finding their first job. Growing Space also provides a mobile garden clearance service throughout Newport for elderly and disabled council tenants. On 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2009, it was announced that Growing Space had received the prestigious Queens Award for Voluntary Service.

#### Seren

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#### Seren 57 Nolton Street Bridgend CF31 3AE

Seren is an independent literary publisher, specialising in English-language writing from Wales. Our diverse and eclectic list has something to offer anyone with an interest in excellent writing. Our aim is not simply to reflect what is going on in the culture in which we publish, but to drive that culture forward, to engage with the world, and to bring Welsh literature, art and politics before a wider audience. Over its twenty-five year existence Seren has diversified from poetry into fiction, drama, biography, literary criticism, art, photography, current affairs, history, sport and translation, and developed into one of the most interesting publishing houses in Britain.

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National Assembly for **Wales** 



Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru National Assembly for Wales

Contact Telephone: Llinell Wybodaeth Information Line 0845 010 5500

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#### Wales TUC

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Wales TUC, Transport House, 1 Cathedral Road, Cardiff, CF11 9SD 029 2034 7010 www.wtuc.org.uk wtuc@tuc.org.uk



The Wales TUC is the voice of Wales at work. With over 50 affiliated trade unions the Wales TUC represents nearly half a million workers. The Wales TUC was established in 1974. It is an integral part of the TUC and was set up to ensure that the role of the TUC is effectively undertaken in Wales. The Wales TUC seeks to work with and make representations to other organisations at an all-Wales level. A major role is to co-ordinate the trade union approach to the Welsh Assembly Government and ensure that the interests of Wales' trade unionists are properly represented in the whole range of Assembly decision making. The Wales TUC Education Service organises a programme of accredited courses for trade union representatives and Wales TUC Learning Services is at the forefront of union-led advice and guidance for reps and members. The Wales TUC Learning Services the Welsh Assembly Government funded Wales Union Learning Fund.

#### Welsh Liberal Democrats

Welsh Liberal Democrats Bayview House Bute Street Cardiff Bay CF10 5AD

#### Accent Newport Trust

Chair: Francis Holland, Secretary: Patrick Drewett c/o 41 Keynsham Ave, Newport, NP20 4EH



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Accent Newport aims to champion community

cohesion, tolerance, harmony and understanding, through shared cultural and social activity in promoting and appreciating Newport's rich and vibrant cultural heritage to build bridges between community groups. We are a local voluntary organisation providing an environment for cross-cultural contact, self-expression and learning about culture and heritage through shared social and educational activities. Working from our base in the heart of the city, Accent Newport celebrates the unique heritage of Newport and the diverse cultural background of its citizens. One major focus of this work is our Chartist Citizenship Project which features the Chartist story as a stimulus for debating citizenship issues and encouraging community cohesion. By encouraging understanding and dialogue between community groups and individuals, diversity is appreciated, and discrimination confronted. Our aim is to give individuals the opportunity to develop the quality of their lives, improve their self-esteem, gain self-confidence, and feel included within the community. Accent Newport encourages a common vision and sense of belonging to the local neighbourhood. We promote active citizenship to help improve our city and contribute to making it safer, stronger and more vibrant. 07929775040 accent.newport@ntlworld.com

#### Welsh Communist Party Plaid Gomiwnyddol Cymru



PO Box 69, Pontypridd CF37 9AB 07973857048 www.welshcommunists.org office@welshcommunists.org

THE WELSH COMMUNIST PARTY is Wales' Marxist party of the labour movement; it formulates and projects a strategy for progress in Wales and for socialist revolution. This strategy is based on the following principles:

- Based on the class & internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism
- Organised for socialist revolution, rooted in the working class, working for unity.
- Democratic, drawing upon the initiative and creativity of its members.
- Centralised, to act as a disciplined and united force.
- Internationalist, enjoying close relations with scores of communist parties and movements for peace, progress and national liberation.

The Communist Party and its members make a distinctive contribution on many fronts to political, trade union and cultural life in Wales

# List of Stall holders

### Tomorrow's Wales / Cymru Yfory

Tomorrow's Wales, Tŷ Meandros, 54a Bute St, Cardiff, CF10 5AF.

Cymru Yfory – Tomorrow's Wales was established in July 2004, under the Chairmanship of The Archbishop of Wales, as a positive response to the recommendations of the Richard Commission Report, published in March 2004, with the hope of encouraging and supporting wider discussion in Welsh society of its recommendations on the powers of the National Assembly for Wales. It is a cross-party, cross-sector, multi-faith body bringing together a wide range of Welsh civil society actors, who serve on the Executive in a personal capacity.

02920 480880 & 431275 <u>cymruyfory@stratamatrix.co.uk\_</u>www.tomorrow-wales.co.uk

#### The Welsh Conservative Party

4 Penlline Road, Whitchurch, Cardiff, CF14 2XS 029 2061 6031 www.welshconservatives.com info@welshconservatives.com

The Welsh Conservative Party is a progressive, centre-right party which seeks to ensure Wales plays a full role and has a strong voice within the United Kingdom. We are committed to improving the quality of life for everyone in Wales and to providing a credible alternative to the policies of the Assembly and Westminster governments as they affect Wales. We are the official opposition in the National Assembly, the leading Welsh party in Europe, and the main challengers to Labour at Westminster, with a strong voice in local government and communities throughout the country.

#### Institute of Welsh Affairs 4 Cathedral Road, Cardiff. CF11 9LJ

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The Institute of Welsh Affairs is an independent thinktank that promotes quality research and informed

debate aimed at making Wales a better nation in which to work and live. We commission research, publish reports and policy papers, and organise events across Wales. We are a membership-based body and a wide range of individuals, businesses and other organisations directly support our activities. Our work embraces a range of topics but especially focuses on politics and the development of the National Assembly for Wales, economic development, education and culture, the environment and health. 029 2066 0820 www.iwa.org.uk kirstydavies@iwa.org.uk

Workers' Educational Association – South Wales WEA 2 Church View Blaenavon NP4 9NA



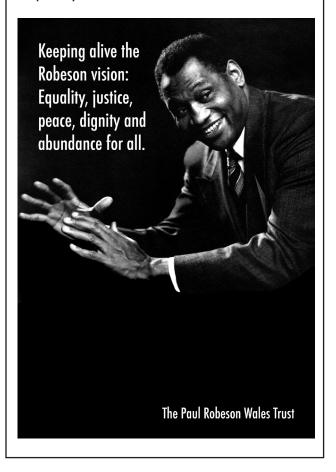
The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) is a voluntary movement for lifelong learning which has been active in Wales for more than a hundred years. Our objective is the creation of an educated democracy in which participation in public affairs, and the knowledge that it requires, are widely spread throughout the community. The WEA South Wales is democratically accountable to its members; is inclusive, non-sectarian and non party political; and is wholly concerned with promoting lifelong learning in south Wales. 01495 791128 <a href="https://www.swales.wea.org.uk">https://www.swales.wea.org.uk</a> s.reader@swales.wea.org.uk



# The Paul Robeson Wales Trust

Paul Robeson was one of the most significant figures of the twentieth century. His courageous stance against oppression and inequality was a forerunner to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Robeson's gifts wer e prodigious - he excelled as a scholar, athlete, artist, social activist and humanitarian and left his mark on all who met him, saw him perform or listened to his voice on record or radio. With the world at his feet, he made a decision to use his voice to stand up for the oppressed of all nations, incurred the wrath of the American Government, sacrificed his performing career and faced the erasure of his memory from history. From the 1920s, Paul Robeson forged an unbreakable bond with the miners of Wales - he saw clear parallels between the miner's life and that of the American slaves. When his passport was confiscated during the McCarthyite purges, the transatlantic telephone link between Robeson in New York and the 1957 Miners' Eisteddfod in Porthcawl was one of the most resonant moments in the political and cultural history of Wales.

The Paul Robeson Wales Trust works to keep alive the legacy of a man who still offers a powerful role model for challenging racism and creating a more just and tolerant world – at a time when such a message is more desperately needed than ever.



# Waiting at the Oak



### An account of the South Wales Rising of 1839, Written by John Prior, with songs by Frank Hennessy

"Waiting at the Oak" is an account in words music and song of the attempt by South Wales' Chartists on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1839, to capture Newport and release prisoners in the cause of electoral reform.

It was created in 1989 by John Prior and Frank Hennessy as part of the then Islwyn Borough Council's celebrations of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this milestone in our constitutional history. On the night of the anniversary the weather was as bad as it was on the night of the march and the performance took place in a suitably rain-lashed marquee set up in the car-park of the Welsh Oak pub in Risca, where the marchers had gathered for the final push on Newport. There was a distinguished audience of civic dignitaries and guests which included Neil and Glenys Kinnock and Alexander Cordell.

That first performance was not long after the massacre at Tiananmen Square, and the general shaking off of the Soviet rule in Eastern Europe. We had before us the Czech example of Wraclaf Havel being changed from prisoner to President in a matter of weeks, which gave us a reminder of the extraordinary courage that poets song-writers, artists and ordinary people of all kinds, need, when facing totalitarian regimes that tolerate only one version of the truth, just to get rights which we've come to take for granted.

Yet still, almost every day on our television screens we see stories of people fighting and dying for these rights in distant parts of the world in protests against autocratic governments. If it's not monks marching in Burma or opponents being machetéed in Zimbabwe, it's protesters being beaten up and put on trial in Iran; and yet here at home it's getting harder and harder to get people to turn out and vote at all. There was even some graffiti spotted recently saying "if voting changed anything -they'd abolish it." So it's perhaps timely to remind ourselves of what our predecessors went through to advance democracy and of our duty not to let such a precious power slip through our fingers from lack of use.

This is only the second time "Waiting at the Oak" will have been performed in its entirety since 1989. The last time was in Salem Chapel Blaina, in 2007 for the Nantyglo Charter Group.

We hope you will find the story as stirring as we have in creating it. In the audience, you will occasionally be addressed as though you are in a public meeting. Please respond as seems appropriate.







### **Evening Programme**

Risca Male Choir -In this very room Ron & Carol Harris Kim Kelley **Amazing Grace** Right Honourable Peter Hain Secretary of State for Wales Malpas Court Primary School Children (Chartist re-enactment) Gillian Clarke (National Poet of Wales) reads her new poem "The March" (commissioned by Bevan Foundation) Sara Pickard - Mencap's Partners in Politics **Coleg Gwent drama students** - newly devised piece - Celebrating Democracy A performance of dance, song and speech Risca Male Choir -Goin' up a vonder arr. Martin Sirvatka You'll never walk alone (Carousel) Rodgers & Hammerstein arr. Martin Hodson

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## Interval

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Risca Male Choir Danny Boy Nella Fantasia

arr. Martin Hodson Ennio Morricone ar

Jamie Jenkins TUC

Patrick Jones reads his new poem "Mindprint" (commissioned by Bevan Foundation)

Hennessy's "Waiting at the Oak"

Paul Flynn MP Newport West, speech

### **Risca Male Choir**

Anthem (Chess) World in Union Ennio Morricone arr. Martin Hodson

Bjornsson & Ulvaeus arr. Martin Hodson Holst / Charlie Skarbek arr. Martin Hodson

# Malpas Court Primary School

Malpas Court Primary School is situated just off the main Newport to Pontypool road, on the western side of Newport. The school is situated in picturesque and spacious grounds, which once belonged to the Protheroe family who owned the impressive Malpas Court house; which still dominates the surrounding area.



Paul Flynn M.P. and Rosemary Butler A.M. spoke to the pupils and have inspired them to find out more about the chartist movements and their legacy on democracy. This local history forms part of our curriculum. Pupils have researched ancestors of local families and traced names back through the census. Pupils of Malpas Court are very much aware of the democratic voting process. A visit to the Senydd has demonstrated this with the realisation that the building is owned by the people and we all have the right to our own opinions. Members of the School Council are fully involved in school life. Decisions within the classroom are made through regular forums to ensure that democracy is central to our ethos; encouraging pupils to take ownership of their learning providing a meaningful pupil voice.

# Revolution

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#### **Coleg Gwent: Cross Keys**

The piece you will watch this evening is a culmination of 3 weeks devising by both first and second year students of the BTEC National Diploma Musical Theatre course at Coleg Gwent's Crosskeys Campus.



'Revolution' and the students have chosen to look at specific periods in history when people changed the way they lived and fought hard to build a better future for generations to come.

Key speeches in history, struggles with oppression and power, fighting for civil rights and cultural identity have all been key points of interest in the research and develop of this project.

# **Gillian Clarke**

Born in Cardiff, Wales. Poet, playwright, editor, translator (from Welsh), President of Ty Newydd, the writers ' centre in North Wales which she co-founded in 1990. Tutor on M.Phil. course in Creative Writing, the University of Glamorgan, since 1994.



Freelance tutor of creative writing, primary schools to adults. Her poetry is studied by GCSE and A Level students throughout Britain. She has travelled in Europe and the United States giving poetry readings and lectures, and her work has been translated into ten languages. She has a daughter and two sons, and now lives with her husband (an architect) on a smallholding in Ceredigion, where they raise a small flock of sheep, and care for the land according to organic and conservation practice.



# **Risca Male Choir**

Since it was founded in 1970, Risca Male Choir has established an enviable reputation; the choir has not been afraid to experiment with and explore many musical styles, at the same time it has been a trendsetter with its diverse performance styles. The choir is famous for its unique theme concerts, one of which was turned into a feature length television programme. The many recordings involving the choir, include Bryn Terfel's CD, We'll Keep a Welcome which reached Gold status. In January 2000, Risca Male Choir featured in the BBC Millennium Songs of Praise from the Millenium Stadium in Cardiff. The choir has just completed four successful performances with Welsh National Opera of CARBON 12, a specially commissioned choral symphony which is a paean both to coal and to the South Wales people whose landscape and lives it fashioned. The members of Risca Male Choir are delighted to add their voices to Celebrating Democracy – Our Voice, Our Vote, Our Freedom www.riscachoir.net



# **Patrick Jones**

Patrick Jones is a Welsh poet, playwright and film maker. He was born in Tredegar and educated at Oakdale Comprehensive School, Crosskeys College and Swansea University. He's had too many jobs to mention but in 1999 gave up trying to "fit in" to write full time.

Patrick has worked on many community writing projects all over Wales including those at Llanhilleth Institute, Creative Communities Glyn Coch, St. David's Foundation Hospice Care and Headlands NCH School. His writing is distinctive and passionate, informed by his strong belief in justice and human rights - often iconoclastic and connected to protest. Patrick's books include The Guerilla Tapestry, Mute Communion, Against and Fuse and his five plays for the theatre are Everything Must Go; Unprotected Sex; The War is Dead Long Live The War; Sing to Me and Revelation.

After time spent living in Germany and Chicago, Patrick now lives and writes in South Wales with his three children Ethan, Evan and Elian and wife Jane.





## **Mindprint**

(For my Dad who started this journey) 1939 the first Anglo-Afghan War 2009 2.8 billion people exist on less than \$2 a day (U.N. Report)

**Patrick Jones** 

10pm Zimbabwe's slums the votes are spoilt and the money useless in frozen Chechnya 2 a.m. they're strangling voices and culling human rights activists 9 o'clock London town tonight, fleeing war and famine asylum seekers beg for food next to the citadels of fashion 1132 pm Tehran a woman hides her skin Not from the sun but from the glare of persecution And in Serbia "Gay Pride" is cancelled due to threats of violence

And all the politicians react with, is silence...1103pm

Today, As we walk these roads to do what we're told accept the inevitable and envy the unobtainable

#### Yesterday,

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they walked to destroy the fortresses of unfairness, power and tyranny to build justice, dignity and equality they walked through rain and dereliction poverty pain and class restriction maybe,

Brynmawr 9.04 Autumn night

their footprints still mark the ground glimmering memories still resound across the earth with humanity ablaze on funereal pyres where eyes still stare from a burhka'd gaze and children play amongst land mines and barbed wire and the bombs and bullets cull love like the BNP's 'rivers of blood'

and Henry Vincent's cries still echo through time but the noose still hangs over homosexuals in Iraq at 1.09 am and the ambushes still await in Afghanistan 1.45am cold morning tick tock tick tock

but the voices born in valley wind and rain 170 years ago float to far off places feeding throats of democracy with Malalai Joya (1.56 am) and Mandela's ANC traces of the tongues that dared to set us free determined not to be mere carrion for the vultures of the elite and aristocracy

as we trace the tread of their boots down the muddy path midnight 1839 from mountain to sea a map of morality fed by fire and skin today 9.16 pm as world leaders turn ideology into a mass blood bath

#### but

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for every time bush sends out troops there's a Frost ranting his passionate truth for every stalin a voice will break through , Gandhi, a Martin Luther King

and they have walked from Alabama heat 3.33pm to Delhi, Gaza to Belfast night 9.38

across the borders and into our hearts

just like Jones, Williams and Frost their victory was acknowledging that they they had not yet lost,

as they travelled through the night the night we all dread they dreamt of equality and acts that levelled humanity

they threw us light to continue their journey on traces of roads and acts of grace fragments of hope and what to replace, like Pankhurst and Marie Scopes armed us with the freedom and the responsibility to choose and to vote

as their ghosts drift around us their ideas shall live within us and from their first footsteps (Blaina, Blackwood and Tredegar) to their last resting place (Westgate, New South Wales) from their acts that history shall not deface perhaps we will feel less alone in a world that preaches isolation all they wanted was emancipation for one and all as they built bridges not walls,

so, tomorrow

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stitch our throats with their scars so we may never forget to speak their names and let their throats be our scars so, their memory, their acts shall remain

Newport, 6 am 2009 tick tock tick tock I think it is time......

#### **Patrick Jones**

Gillian Clarke

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# The March

For my late father-in-law, Glyndwr Thomas, Miner, Oakdale colliery

Boots and rain drummed the tram-roads, that bitter night in eighteen-thirty-nine, potholed and stumbled with mud and stones. Five thousand men, workers in iron and coal from mine and furnace, Sirhowy, Ebbw, Rhymni, heads bowed against the storm like mountain ponies.

Their bones ached from the shift, wind in the shaft, heat of the furnaces, yet on they marched, their minds a blaze because their cause was right, through darkness from Ebbw Vale, Blackwood, Pontypool, faces frozen and stung by the lash of rain, trudging the roads to Newport through the night.

At the Welsh Oak, Rogerstone, betrayed by daylight, Frost's men from the west, Williams's from the east. Jones's men never arrived. The rest struck on to stand united, of one heart in the square before the Westgate. Had they stood silent then, had they not surged forward, had not been shaken

by rage against injustice, had they muzzled the soldiers' muskets with a multitude of silence, had reason spoken, those steely thousands might have won the day. But they stormed the doors to set their comrades free, and shots were fired, and freedom's dream was broken.

A score dead. Fifty wounded. Their leaders tried, condemned, transported. The movement, in disarray, lost fifty years. Then came, at last, that shift of power, one spoonful of thin gruel at a time, from strong to weak, from rich to poor, from men to women, like a grudged gift.

#### **Gillian Clark**

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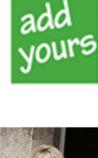
Cymru Wales

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a million

voices or change











# The 'Votes for Women' Movement in Wales

#### **Ryland Wallace**

Wales was part of the 'votes for women' movement from its beginnings in the mid-1860s until the achievement of equal voting rights more than sixty years later in 1928. Countless column inches in the Welsh press were devoted to the thousands of meetings held in Wales, to debates on the merits or otherwise of the demand, and to the reporting of parliamentary and campaigning developments. The leading activists of the day travelled to various parts of the country in a bid to invigorate the cause, none more often than the most celebrated personality, Emmeline Pankhurst. While a number of Welsh women stand out as notable figures in the national suffrage organizations that had their headquarters in England, there were also many hugely committed but unsung individuals who promoted the cause locally.

It was not until the decade before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 – by which time two-thirds of adult men had the vote – that the agitation made a major impact on British politics. National organizations spearheaded the campaign. The largest, by far, was the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), formed in 1897 under the leadership of Millicent Fawcett. By 1914, it had 500 branches and a total of around 100,000 subscribing members and affiliated supporters. Some fifty NUWSS branches were formed in Wales at one time or another. Cardiff with 1,200 members in 1912 was the largest branch outside London, others had no more than a few dozen. The NUWSS was committed to non-militant, constitutional methods.

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) never gained anything like the number of members or branches attained by the NUWSS. Founded in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst and adopting the motto 'Deeds Not Words', it became notorious for its militancy. Its members were labelled 'suffragettes', to distinguish, in the words of the Western Mail, 'the less orderly demonstrators - the shriekers, the raiders and the martyrs' - from the peaceable, law-abiding suffragists. In Wales, as elsewhere in Britain, suffragettes heckled politicians at political and nonpolitical gatherings, interrupted church services, damaged letters in post boxes, cut telephone and telegraph wires and carried out arson and other attacks on property. Welsh women went to prison for the cause and sometimes adopted the hunger strike. Wales was, moreover, the scene of some of the most serious and dramatic campaigning incidents outside London, in particular the widely-publicized clashes between suffragette demonstrators and assailants at the National Eisteddfod in Wrexham in September 1912 and again at Llanystumdwy a few weeks later.

The 'votes for women' agitation reached its height in the years immediately before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Its survival in the face of the wartime difficulties helped ensured that women were included in the Representation of the People Act passed in February 1918. This legislation granted the vote to all men over twenty-one but restricted it to women aged thirty. The movement therefore continued during the 1920s. There was no return to militant tactics but it was persistent and vigorous. Wales again played its part in the final decade of the campaign until equal franchise was finally achieved in 1928

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WCVA is pleased to support the Bevan Foundation's *Celebrate Democracy* event, marking the 170th anniversary of the Chartist uprising.

Mae WCVA yn falch i gefnogi digwyddiad Dathlu Democratiaeth Sefydliad Bevan i gofnodi 170 o flynyddoedd ers gwrthgodiad y Siartwyr.

Wales Council for Voluntary Action (WCVA) champions volunteering, voluntary organisations and community groups and in so doing, helps build a civil society in Wales that:

- is inclusive and offers equality of opportunity
- empowers people to participate and fosters community leadership
- celebrates and reflects linguistic and cultural diversity and choice



Mae Cyngor Gweithredu Gwirfoddol Cymru (WCVA) yn hyrwyddo gwirfoddoli, mudiadau gwirfoddol a grwpiau cymunedol, er mwyn cynorthwyo i adeiladu cymdeithas a fydd:

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# Wales TUC - Celebrating Democracy

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# **TUC Cymru - Dathlu Democratiaeth**



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