DISCOVER HOW ORDINARY CITIZENS CHANGED THE WORLD FOREVER

POWER OF PROTEST

From the makers of ALL ABOUT HISTORY

THE SUFFRAGETTES | THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT | MAHATMA GANDHI
Discover the world-changing power of ordinary citizens who took a stand for important causes. From the storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution to the Civil Rights movements of America striving for positive change - see how people power has helped make a real, lasting difference. Over these pages, you’ll learn about some of the most important protests in history. While plenty of protests are non-violent - such as the approach famously championed by Gandhi - peaceful intentions can turn violent, like the British women's suffrage movement. See how the power of protest is still going strong, as Black Lives Matter and other movements continue to strive for a more equal and fair society today.
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Much like the equally controversial king Charles I, who would throw his nation into the most devastating civil war in English history, John Lackland was never meant to be king. He entered the world on Christmas Eve 1167, the youngest legitimate son of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. His parents held sway over one of the most intimidating power bases in the world, the Angevin Empire, covering half of France and all of England. Even from a young age the prince was a cynical and, at times, ruthless character. His tutors would remark on his restless energy and common fits of rage, personality traits that also often flared up in his father. However, unlike the king, these flaws were rarely kept in check, their dark presence forming into cruelty and malice towards those around him. As his childhood began to fade away, his distrust of others grew, along with a deep sense of paranoia. Despite his son’s poor standing in the line of succession, Henry was far from uncaring towards his prospects. In 1171, Henry organised a betrothal between John and Alix, the daughter and heiress of Count Humbert III of Savoy. As part of the deal, John would acquire the future inheritance of Savoy, Maurienne and the count’s other lands. In order to bolster John’s stature, Henry also promised him the castles of Mirabeau, Chinon and Loudun.

This move to legitimise John as part of royal strata did not best please his oldest brother and heir to the throne, Henry the Younger. The disgruntled heir apparent fumed at the idea of lands and castles that should eventually pass to him being divvied up among his siblings. Yet, despite gaining a potential foothold in the politics of Medieval Europe, John’s run of good fortune ran out when Alix died before they could marry. As fast as it had formed,
John’s potential inheritance was obliterated.
In 1173, the disenfranchised Henry the Younger, backed by his mother Eleanor, made a vie for power.
With his brothers Geoffrey and Richard encouraged to join him, the move sparked a brief series of rebellions between 1173 and 1174. Henry II would eventually bring the rebellions to an end, but the uprisings proved just how cannibalistic a royal family could become if the balance of power was shifted too far.
Henry the Younger, for all his posturing, would retain his place as the English king’s heir apparent, but it would be John that would benefit most from the conflict. As the revolts were raging across the region, the young John joined the king at his side. Despite his rebellious nature, John clearly understood the importance of showing allegiance to his father. Within months of the rebellion’s beginnings, the king could often be found proclaiming that John was his favourite child, and began granting the young prince lands and titles across England and Normandy. By 1175, King Henry took this one step further by arranging a new betrothal, this time to Isabella of Gloucester, the wealthy daughter of the Duke of Gloucester.
In 1177, when John was a mere ten years old, Henry decided that he would grant his youngest son a position of tangible power and appointed him Lord of Ireland. When John arrived on Irish soil eight years later with a contingent of 300 knights and a council of administrators, he found a country still sore from the strains of an Anglo-Norman occupation. This was a scenario that the 18-year-old John would only make worse - as soon as he landed he went about insulting most of the Irish nobles he met, belittling their long beards and clothes, and failing to make valuable allies with the Anglo-Norman settlers. Before the year was over, John had been driven out, his first attempt at power ending in abject humiliation.
Elsewhere, the House of Plantagenet was in disarray. Henry the Younger, now Junior King of England, and his younger brother Richard, who had supported him in his rebellion against their father, had come to blows over the future of the kingdom. But Henry the Young King would succumb to dysentery in 1183 aged 28, with his father officially recognising Richard as his legitimate heir. As part of this reshuffling of positions, John’s older brother Geoffrey would retain power in Brittany and John would be made Duke of Aquitaine.
Three years later, Geoffrey was killed in a jousting tournament, bringing John one step closer to the throne. With their father in ill health, and his own desire to lead a new crusade in the Holy Land growing with each passing season, Richard feared Henry would appoint John king in his absence, so he formed an alliance with the French king Philip II in 1187 and waged war against his father’s remaining forces. John initially remained faithful to his father, but eventually switched sides when Richard’s resilience began to win out.
Henry II, King of England, died on 6 July 1189 and Richard ascended the throne soon after. The next decade saw John embrace the ruthlessness that had typified his youth. While Richard conducted the Third Crusade from 1189 to 1192, John conspired to replace the man who governed England in his absence, Richard’s steward and justiciar, William Longchamp. Richard’s justiciar was unpopular with the people and the nobles alike, so John positioned himself as an alternative steward of the English throne. When Richard failed to return from the crusade as expected, John began spreading propaganda that the Lionheart had died in battle, presenting himself as the only true claimant to the crown.
In reality, Richard had been taken hostage by Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI. Knowing that his brother still remained immensely popular with
the nobility. John had no choice but to pay the extortionate ransom to release the king. Upon his release in 1194, Richard openly forgave John for his attempts to overthrow him but stripped him of all his lands, with the exception of his lordship in Ireland. It was a prime example of the relationship that existed between the two brothers - one the dashing absentee king riding the wave of adulation that came with new foreign conquests, the other a paranoid bureaucrat more concerned with the machinations of his kingdom's inner workings. Still, John remained relatively loyal to Richard for the remainder of the Lionheart’s reign until his death on 6 April 1199.

John ascended the English throne and became the head of the Angevin Empire at the age of 32, but his succession wouldn’t be without obstacles. Arthur of Brittany, the eldest son of his brother Geoffrey, had a stronger claim to the throne, but Richard had openly named John as his heir in the final years of his reign. Unfortunately, as with every succession in the Middle Ages, even the smallest claim could divide a kingdom. John’s coronation took place in Westminster on 27 May 1199, with the majority of the nobility in England and Normandy backing his claim and recognising his kingship. Arthur, on the other hand, had the backing of Breton, Anjou and Maine nobles, as well as the support of Philip II. The shrewd French monarch was doing everything he could to undermine the Angevin Empire that John’s father had worked so hard to maintain.

John would, after fortifying defences along the borders of Normandy and renewing alliances with Count Baldwin of Flanders and Renaud of Boulogne, eventually hold back Arthur and Philip’s advances, forcing a truce in January 1200. The treaty would become one of John’s defining moments as a ruler. As part of the agreement, Philip renounced his support of Arthur’s claim and recognised John as the rightful successor of Richard and ruler of his Angevin lands. In turn, John agreed to break his alliance with Flanders and Boulogne and accept Philip as the unchallenged overlord of his French holdings. Such a move was incredibly unpopular across England and the Angevin territories, earning him the title of ‘John Softsword’ among his other people.

The peace would last a mere two years. John had become obsessed with the 12-year-old daughter of Count Aymer of Angouleme, Isabella. He had his marriage to Isabella of Gloucester annulled and married the girl in August 1200, sparking the conflict anew. Isabella had been promised to the powerful French noble Hugh de Lusignan and the jilted fiancé turned to the manipulative Philip II for help. John was summoned to the French court to answer for his actions (including rumours that he’d captured and murdered his nephew and former rival, Arthur of Brittany). John, ever the firebrand, refused to cooperate and Philip stripped him of almost all his foreign lands and proceeded to invade Normandy. Chateau Gaillard, John’s nigh impregnable castle, fell following a long and bloody siege in 1203, and most of Normandy fell soon after. His funds exhausted, John was forced to flee back to England, the Plantagenet’s hold over Europe finally broken.

The king soon turned his attention to more domestic matters of state, a role that his father had revelled in during his younger years. Unlike his father, John paid little heed to the nobles and leaders that he crossed as part of his administrative duties as king, but he did excel at the bureaucratic management of his kingdom. His interference in the election of the new Archbishop of Canterbury in 1205, however, would provoke the ire of the pope himself, with the pontiff placing an interdict that forbade church services from...
3 Berwick-upon-Tweed
December 1215 - Spring 1216
With the rebels on the back foot, they turn to their closest ally of power, Alexander II of Scotland. He begins capturing towns, so John marches to meet him, burning Berwick-upon-Tweed to the ground.

4 East Anglia Feb 1216
Having driven the Scots out of much of the north at the close of 1215, John now rides to meet and crush further uprisings by barons in East Anglia, where a majority of those that oppose the king own land. The king subdues much of the chaos but London remains in rebel hands.

5 Dover, Kent May 1216
With John's naval forces severely diminished by storms, Louis' forces arrive and lay siege to Dover Castle and Windsor Castle. After three months Louis is forced to call a truce and move ahead to London.

6 Corfe Castle, Dorset
August 1216
With Louis now controlling a third of the country, including London, John is forced to consolidate his forces in Dorset, where he plans to retake the south from the French usurper.

7 Newark Castle, Nottinghamshire October 1215
After marching into rebel-held East Anglia in September 1216, John is believed to have contracted dysentery while resting in King's Lynn. By this time, John's forces have entered into a stalemate with the rebels. The king's health finally fails him after he reaches Newark Castle.

2 London / East Anglia November 1215
Despite discouragement from his father and the pope himself, Prince Louis agrees to help the rebels and sends a contingent of French knights to help the rebels maintain control of London. Instead of pushing to take London, John loses the advantage and instead harasses rebel-controlled towns.

1 Rochester Castle
November 1215
With the king refusing to abide by Magna Carta, which he had been forced to sign in June, a group of disaffected barons defy his rule and offer the throne to the heir apparent of France, Prince Louis.

Taking place in England for six years, as well as excommunicating the troublesome king for his continued belligerence. With the immobilization of the Angevin Empire still fresh in the mind of the nobles and barons, and the nation in a state of religious turmoil, John wisely agreed a treaty with the pope in 1213. However, unfortunately for John, the damage had already been done and the disgruntled barons had had their fill of a king who would answer to no one but himself. Faced with the prospect of an armed revolt that could tear the kingdom asunder, John had no choice but to sign a renewed version of Henry I's Coronation Charter on 15 June 1215. Known as Magna Carta, the document reiterated the king's responsibility to his subjects and his lands. Rather than being designed to bind the king, Magna Carta was created to uphold the liberties of England's citizens.

Such a moment was meant to be one of peace, a triumph for civil liberties among the seemingly endless strife that had dogged England since Richard the Lionheart's death and his malicious brother John's ascension. But the king had only signed the treaty to placate his nobles. After all his clashes with the Vatican, John now turned to the new pontiff, Pope Innocent III, for help. John placed himself at his mercy, proclaiming the charter an infringement of the 1213 agreement that deemed the pope as John's feudal lord. Pope Innocent was inclined to agree, calling the charter "not only shameful and demeaning, but illegal and unjust." He then excommunicated the barons involved in forcing John to sign, plunging the country into the civil conflict known as the First Barons' War.

So why did only the barons, members of England's elite class, decide to rebel against the king? The answer lies in John's approach to taxation. For all his faults he was a shrewd administrator who knew the only way to fund his exhaustive wars on the continent was to levy taxes on the rich.

The most lucrative tool that John used to gather funds was 'scutage.' All barons were sworn to serve in military campaigns as part of their royal fealty, but these moneyed individuals could pay a feudal aid that released them from this duty if they did not wish to fight.

This tax remained relatively unchanged under the reign of John's brother Richard I, but his successor increased it from one marc (the unit of taxation used at the time, roughly equivalent to two thirds of a Medieval pound and about £4,000-£5,000 in modern Sterling) to a staggering two marc. The fact that John forced this tax through even when the nation wasn't at war was the splinter that would
eventually lead his gentry to revolt. The rebellion lasted for two years, fuelled by the barons’ desire to finally bring their wayward king to heel and by the support of Prince Louis, the heir apparent of Philip II. Ironically, it was a conflict neither side particularly wanted to fight. The barons certainly had no desire to throw their nation into turmoil – the fact that they were forced to turn to an overzealous prince to escalate matters proves that the gentry had been backed into a political corner. In fact, Louis’ presence in England and the presence of a formidable French invasion force ended up posing as much of a threat to the infrastructure of England as John did.

By the time of his death in October 1216, reportedly from dysentery, the same illness that claimed his eldest brother Henry, John had left the kingdom he inherited a shadow of its former self. The Angevin Empire of his predecessors had collapsed under poor political decisions and failed military campaigns, and England’s standing with its neighbours and rivals was significantly diminished. Its funds had been drained and its inadequacies as a leader and a commander had left a once powerful nation wide open to invasion.

Yet for all his mistakes, most fuelled by his telltale ruthlessness, John did have some positive impacts on his realm.

Record keeping and administrative duties maintained in his father’s reign flourished under John’s stewardship, as did the judicial system. John showed a great interest in the proliferation of justice, with the royal courts becoming more involved in regional cases than ever before. Sadly, such improvements to Medieval life have long been buried beneath the actions of men too flawed to rule.
Various events led to the Peasants’ Revolt in 1381. The Black Death had wiped out over half of Europe’s population, which severely reduced the manpower available, and those labourers who survived were in demand and could therefore push for higher wages. The Hundred Years’ War had already created economic discontent, so when the government passed the Statute of Labourers, the situation became untenable. Rules regarding the use of serfs only added to the general feelings of disarmament. When Parliament introduced three new poll taxes, violence erupted across England. Led by Wat Tyler, the villagers marched into the cities, opening the gaols and executing supporters of the Royal Council. Having taken the Tower of London, King Richard II promised to abolish serfdom and excessive taxes only to renge on it when the crowds had dispersed. Although considered to be a failed revolution, it did prevent further levying of poll taxes, drum up support for the poor and further democracy in the long run.
DID YOU KNOW?
Some believe that the revolt was led by a secret occult league called the Great Society, using its mystical power.
What was it?
When the British government granted the British East India Company permission to sell tea in the American colonies without paying the high taxes that the local merchants faced, those merchants rebelled.

Three tea ships named Dartmouth, Eleanor and Beaver put into port at Boston Harbor, carrying the controversial tea that threatened to put merchants and smugglers alike out of business. As they did, Samuel Adams called furious locals to a public meeting and demanded that the ships turn around without unloading their cargo. Thousands of people attended the meeting in the Old South Meeting House and the ship’s captains were given a deadline by which to leave. Yet the ships stayed put, their cargo still on board.

The furious stand-off ended when dozens of protesters, known as the Sons of Liberty, stormed aboard the ships in Griffin’s Wharf. They concealed their identities and some were even disguised as Mohawks. They cleared the ships of every single one of their 342 chests of tea, hurling them into the waters of the harbour.

What were the consequences?
When news of the Tea Party reached London, the British government shut down Boston Harbor until all of the lost cargo had been paid for. The government passed the so-called Intolerable Acts, removing the right to self-government in Massachusetts and banning large meetings without the express permission of a British-appointed governor.

Fearing more reprisals and a tightening of British power, the colonists rebelled. They saw the Acts as an attack on their constitutional rights and believed that, should Massachusetts submit, then all of the country was at risk. As a result, the First Continental Congress was convened to protect the rights of the colonists and swore that, should Massachusetts face reprisals, the Congress would come to its aid.

This proved decisive when unrest in Massachusetts erupted into battles against the British at Lexington and Concord. With those battles, America took its first steps towards the War of Independence.
Brethren, and Fellow Citizens!

You may depend, that those odious Mifcreants and detestable Tools to Ministry and Governor, the Tea Conspirers, (those Traitors to their Country, Butchers, who have done, and are doing every Thing to Murder and destroy all that shall stand in the Way of their private Interests,) are determined to come and ravage again in the Town of Boston.

I therefore give you this early Notice, that you may not hold yourselves in Readiness, on the shortest Notice, to give them such a Reception, as such vile Ingrates deserve.

(Chairman of the Committee for Tarring and Feathering.)

If any Person should be so hardy as to Tear this down, they may expect my severest Renement.

J. Jun.

Who was involved?

Samuel Adams

1722 - 1803

When the tea ships docked in Boston, Samuel Adams called the public meeting that resulted in the Boston Tea Party.

Paul Revere

1734 - 1818

Disguised as a Mohawk, Paul Revere was one of the protesters who seized the valuable tea and cast it into the water. He served in the American Revolutionary War.

Frederick North, Lord North

1732 - 1792

Prime Minister Lord North introduced the so-called Intolerable Acts, which were intended to punish the Bostonians. Instead, they led to war.

**TIMELINE**

The Tea Act

10 May 1773

British Parliament passes the Tea Act. This gives the British East India Company a monopoly on importing tea into America.

Precious cargo

September 1773

Seven East India Company ships set off for America laden with tea. They are bound for Boston, New York, Charleston and Philadelphia.

Land ahoy

November 1773

The Dartmouth arrives in Boston. The ship has to either unload its cargo and pay duty within 20 days, or the cargo can be seized.

Meet and defeat

29 November 1773

Samuel Adams calls a public meeting and issues the captain of the Dartmouth with an ultimatum, demanding that he leave the harbour.

Ready for action

16 December 1773

The ultimatum expires. 5,000 people gather to hear that Thomas Hutchinson, the Royal Governor, has refused to let the Dartmouth leave unless the duty is paid.

The party starts

16 December 1773

The protesters board the ships. They encounter no resistance as they seize the cargo of tea and throw it into the water.
When did it take place?
The Revolution was mostly fought on the streets of Paris, with revolutionaries storming the Bastille for weapons and the Palace of Versailles to capture the king. However, pockets of resistance also exploded in the countryside as peasants torched their landlords’ manor houses, angry at unfair feudal contracts.

What was it?
The years between 1787 and 1799 saw French people rise up and overthrow King Louis XVI. The aftermath saw social and political change as the people embraced democracy. However, in-fighting between political factions led to thousands being executed at the guillotine and Napoleon seizing power.

Who did it involve?
Prior to the Revolution, Louis XVI was instructed by the Estates-General. The First Estate represented the clergy, the Second the nobility, and the Third the rest of France. In 1789, believing they were inadequately represented, the Third Estate declared themselves the National Assembly in open revolt of the king, pledging to create a new constitution for France.
Storming the Bastille
On 14 July 1789, the people of Paris were afraid that the king's army had been ordered to attack them. They armed themselves and marched to the Bastille, a royal fort used as a prison, in search of gunpowder. Though the Bastille was poorly manned, the capture of it proved the people were serious about change. The Revolution had begun.

Year One
To make a break from the past, a radical new calendar was introduced. The months were renamed and organised into ten-day weeks so every month was exactly 30 days long. The first date was 21 September 1792, or 1 Vendémiaire Year 1, when the monarchy was abolished.

The guillotine
Anywhere from 15,000 to 50,000 French citizens were guillotined during the nine months known as The Terror in 1794. Introduced as a painless alternative to the king's torturous Breaking Wheel, the device became a symbol of the French Revolution's descent into violence after a paranoid Maximilien de Robespierre beheaded anyone suspected of political subversion. Robespierre himself was guillotined on 28 July 1794.

Declaration of the Rights of Man
Inspired by the US Declaration of Independence, in 1789 the National Assembly issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. This guaranteed due process in courts and extended the right to vote to all property-owning men over the age of 25, giving the middle class a voice for the first time.

“Let them eat cake”
While this famous phrase is commonly attributed to King Louis XVI's wife, Marie Antoinette and is used as an example of how uncaring the French monarchy were to the poverty and hunger of their people, it's unlikely that she actually said it. The only contemporary reference to the dismissive response to bread shortages can be found in the autobiographical confessions of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who claims it was said by a “great princess.”

KEY FIGURES
Jacques-Pierre Brissot
1754-1793
Leader of the moderate Girondins, Brissot believed in a constitutional monarchy.

Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette
1757-1834
He wrote early drafts of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Maximilien Robespierre
1758-1794
Leader of the radical Jacobins, Robespierre famously sent thousands to the guillotine.

Napoleon Bonaparte
1769-1821
A charismatic young general from Corsica, Bonaparte became a national hero for his military successes.

Louis XVI
1754-1793
The deposed King of France, renowned for enjoying royal extravagance, while incapable of managing France’s rising debts.

MAJOR EVENTS
Financial crisis
1787
As France faces bankruptcy, peasants starve because they can’t afford bread while nobles enjoy a lavish lifestyle.

The Tennis Court Oath
20 June 1789
The members of the Third Estate declare themselves the new National Assembly.

Power to the people
26 August 1789
France remains a constitutional monarchy, but all power is transferred to the elected National Assembly.

The Reign of Terror
1793-1794
The Jacobins declare France a republic, guillotining the king as well as thousands of others for being ‘counter-revolutionaries.’

Napoleon rising
9 November 1799
Seizing control in the power vacuum, Bonaparte leads a military coup, installing himself as ‘first consul’ of France.
POWER OF PROTEST

ABOLITION

GREAT BRITAIN, 1772-1833

What was it?
The first organised campaigns against slavery sprang up among religious groups, seemingly powerless voices against a business which had helped Britain boom. By 1787, when the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded, the British market was the most lucrative in the world. Merchants were making fortunes sailing to Africa to swap goods like iron for slaves, who were then shipped to the Americas and sold for sugar, cotton and coffee.

But abolitionists found widespread grassroots support as they took their campaign to the country. Protesters travelled across Britain, producing evidence of appalling treatment and conditions through writings, spoken testimonies from former slaves and vivid imagery showing the brutality of their lives. Abolitionists organised mass petitions, gaining tens of thousands of supporters, and the cause attracted increased coverage from newspapers.

Meanwhile, abolitionist MPs including William Wilberforce kept the issue before Parliament. When Lord Grenville became prime minister in 1806, he spoke out against slavery and in March 1807, the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed, outlawing “the purchase, sale, barter or transfer” of people anywhere in the British Empire.

What were the consequences?
The 1807 Slave Trade Act banned slave trading but didn’t outlaw slavery, leaving tens of thousands still in chains. Meanwhile, other nations continued buying and selling people. The abolitionists instead turned their focus to ending the practice completely.

Public pressure led to the formation of the West Coast of Africa Squadron in 1819, which had the power to stop slave traders from several countries and bring them to court. In 1823, abolitionists set up the Anti-Slavery Society, which led protests in favour of complete freedom.

Ten years later, Parliament passed the Emancipation Act, which ended slavery across the British Empire. The compensation bill for slave owners took up around 40 per cent of the Treasury’s annual income.

Slaves could either be set free or made to work a six-year apprenticeship. Protesters found that unacceptable and campaigned for that bond, too, to end, winning success in 1838. Their success inspired abolition protesters around the world and in 1865, the United States outlawed slavery.
Abolitionist women and children led sugar boycotts to hit traders’ profits and deny them the cash they used to buy slaves.

Art was a powerful tool for abolitionists. J M W Turner depicted the notorious case of the Zong, in which 132 slaves were thrown overboard by the ship’s captain as part of an insurance claim.

Who was involved?

William Wilberforce
1759 - 1833
The MP led the parliamentary push for abolition for two decades, driven by political prowess and religious belief. He later campaigned for emancipation, seeing success just days before his death.

Olaudah Equiano
c. 1745 - 1797
Enslaved at 11, he wrote his life story after buying his freedom. The book, published in 1789, electrified the abolition cause and he became one of its most high-profile campaigners, even lobbying royalty.

Thomas Clarkson
1760 - 1846
Clarkson crisscrossed England to foster support for abolition, helping to organise popular protests including mass petitions. A leading figure on the Abolition Committee, his dedication began after writing an essay on slavery at the University of Cambridge.
THE BATTLE OVER BOOZE

SPEARHEADED BY WOMEN, THE GLOBAL TEMPERANCE CAMPAIGN TO CONTROL ALCOHOL USE HAD A BIG IMPACT ON SOCIETY, BUT ITS GREATEST VICTORY, PROHIBITION, ULTIMATELY LED TO ITS DOWNFALL

Written by JUNE WOOLERTON

As Prohibition finished in 1933, it wasn’t just bartenders who were celebrating. The end to the booze ban was seen as a financial as well as social necessity. In the 13 years of Prohibition in the USA, tax revenues had dropped by $11 billion, while authorities across the country had spent millions on the fight against alcohol. Yet for a century and a half before the ban, campaigners had promoted the economic benefits of a ban on booze. Protesters, many of them women, argued that devotion to drink drained family purses as well as regional and national finances. Now, the temperance movement’s opponents were toasting a victory against a campaign that had once captured imaginations around the world.

It wasn’t just money that had made protesters take to the streets. The publicly organised temperance movements that sprang up from the early 1800s onwards had cited moral, religious and security reasons for removing drink from public circulation. However, their arguments for the negative impact alcohol had on the economy had helped win them the ear of governments everywhere.

It was in contrast to the early days of the movement, when resistance had begun in small, localised pockets. John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, had described trading and drinking alcohol as ‘an evil’ to be shunned in 1743, while Benjamin Rush’s 1784 work on health impacts of beer and spirits led to the formation of temperance organisations in areas including Connecticut and New York. But ultimately, these groups were low key.

They formed at a time when alcohol consumption was rising rapidly. While poor-quality drinking water had made less potent brews like beer and wine a staple of western diets for years, agricultural reforms and the expansion of trade routes in the 18th century made the distribution of harder spirits, and the ingredients needed to make them, easier. The first temperance protesters linked the rise in consumption of gin, whiskey and rum with increases in crime and early death.

They were also campaigning against a backdrop of social and economic change. Industrialisation brought new sources of employment, and excessive drinking was held responsible for a loss of working hours by employers on tight margins. The rise of temperance movements also coincided with a Protestant revival. As preachers began backing social changes, including abstaining from alcohol, the campaign gathered momentum.

The American Temperance Society was set up in Massachusetts in February 1826 by Lyman Beecher, a Presbyterian minister, and had attracted over one million members within a decade. All of them took a pledge not to drink spirits. Three years later, John Dunlop and his aunt, Lilias Graham, had set up the

THE HATCHETATIONS OF CARRIE A. NATION

In February 1901, a woman dressed in black entered a bar in Topeka, Kansas popular with lawmakers. She had come to convince them of her anti-alcohol message. But this wasn’t a debate. Carrie A. Nation took out a hatchet and began smashing the saloon to pieces.

She was already famous across America for her tactics. In 1894, she had taken the temperance fight quite literally to bar owners, with raids designed to destroy drink. She used rocks and brickbats before settling on her weapon of choice, the hatchet. Often chanting religious slogans, Nation smashed up bars with little opposition. She called her efforts her ‘hatchetations’, and by 1901, she had been arrested over 30 times.

Her fight was personal. Born in 1846 in Kentucky, her early marriage had ended in immediate disappointment when she discovered Charles Gloyd was an alcoholic. Their only child, Charlie, had suffered illnesses which Carrie blamed on her husband’s drinking. After Gloyd’s death, she had married David Nation, but he divorced her after her raids began on the grounds of desertion.

The Women’s Christian Temperance Union, of which she was a member, also began to keep its distance, but by then Carrie was something of a celebrity. She was invited to lecture and perform her message on stage, while she took to selling mini hatchets to make money. However, in the end, her extreme protests became too much for many and she died, alone, in 1911.

Carrie A. Nation took to the stage to promote her anti-alcohol message, and sold mini hatchets and pin badges bearing the symbol of her most famous weapon.
first British temperance society in Scotland after becoming concerned at the number of pubs in even the smallest communities. Campaigns in Australia and New Zealand also took hold in the early 1830s.

The move from calls for moderation to demands for Prohibition were underlined by the foundation of the Washingtonian Movement in Maryland in 1840. Begun by six alcoholics who wanted to educate others about the perils of excessive drinking, it led to the promotion of total abstinence. The Maine Law of 1851, which made selling alcohol illegal in that state unless it was for medicinal or manufacturing purposes, was quickly copied by 12 other states. It also inspired the foundation of the United Kingdom Alliance, established in Manchester in 1853 with the aim of bringing Prohibition to Britain.

In the UK, as in the US, women were at the forefront of temperance calls. From its earliest days, the movement had appealed to women, who were seen by many protesters as the ultimate victims of alcohol abuse. Campaign literature focused on the damage caused to the families under women's care when men drank away their earnings. Temperance songs and theatre found a rich seam of material in the battle waged by women to raise morally upright children in a society of drunken men. This was no passive protest, as many of those driving that message were women who set up some of the most important anti-alcohol protest movements of the 19th century.

By 1883, there were 24 women's groups campaigning for temperance in the US while in 1883, the first women's temperance convention was held in Ohio. Twenty years later, in the same state, groups of women carried out their own Prohibition crusade, visiting bars and saloons to argue against alcohol. Temperance protests became a vehicle for women to organise politically at a time when they were still campaigning for the vote. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was set up in 1873 and, under its high-profile president Frances Willard, adopted the policy “Do Everything”, which included campaigning for electoral rights as well as Prohibition at all levels of government in the USA.

It was part of a growing movement seeking the total ban of booze sales and it worked closely with the Anti Saloon League, which was established, again in Ohio, in 1893. Within two years, the ASL had become a national organisation and it would become the main voice for total Prohibition in the United States. Meanwhile the prohibition Party, set up in 1869, ran candidates in presidential elections from 1872 onwards, heightening the campaigns profile. Anti-alcohol policies were influencing governments elsewhere. In the UK, the governing Liberal Party imposed further taxation on pubs in 1910 just a year after the International Prohibition Conference had been held in London. The international aspect of the temperance protest movement was clear, with the WCTU organising in other countries including Australia, while the United Kingdom Alliance had campaigned overseas including in New Zealand where, in 1911, Prohibition advocates felt just short of the majority they needed in a referendum on a total booze ban in the country.

Meanwhile, World War I boosted temperance movements. The UK government passed laws watering down beer and further taxing pubs as the conflict began while grain became a precious resource. A sober workforce was seen as vital to keeping industries alive in times of crisis, with businessmen like Henry Ford backing Prohibition.

Victory finally came with the 18th Amendment, which introduced Prohibition in the US. The Volstead Act of 1919 set out its details and it took force in 1920. Gleeful anti-alcohol crusaders celebrated by smashing up barrels of drink, actions that would be repeated during Prohibition years with illegally made booze. But imposing the blanket ban was hard and
expensive and by 1929, the number of speakeasies selling contraband in New York was higher than the city’s pre-Prohibition tally of bars and pubs. Organised crime was on the rise as big profits could be made from alcohol, while poorly made moonshine led to a spike in drink-related deaths.

In 1933, Prohibition came to an end with the 21st Amendment. While rising crime and health concerns had played a part, the huge cost to the government through lost tax revenues was a major factor. The legal drinks industry also provided jobs at a time of increasing economic desperation. It was the death knell for the high profile of the temperance movement. The dissent of the 19th century had been, in part, the victim of its own success, but it had also been ill prepared for the realities of 20th-century economics.

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**Defining moment**

**Women’s work, drinkers’ despair**

1873 - 1874

The winter of 1873 sees thousands of women take to the streets in the US as part of a crusade against drink. Led by Ellen Daniel Stewart, referred to as Mother Stewart, they lobby bar owners to destroy their alcohol, close their doors and find other ways of making money.

The marches begin in Ohio but spread to several northern states. Women use prayer and song to get their message across, although some take to pouring alcohol away as the campaign gathers pace. They also organise petitions and peaceful demonstrations as their crusade continues into early 1874.

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**Defining moment**

**Spilling the spirits 1929**

The high-profile destruction of illegal booze makes good newspaper headlines, but it is an increasingly rare act as Prohibition wears on. Around 1,500 federal agents are made available to enforce the new laws, an average of 50 per state. But by 1932, there are over 200,000 speakeasies operating across the US, and raids are few and far between.

Alcohol is still legal in bordering Mexico and Canada, which become vital parts of the smuggling supply chain. Meanwhile, newspapers of the age claim around 80% of congressmen drink despite Prohibition.

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**1892**

- **Flowing into cities**
  Temperance campaigner Henry D. Cogswell donates an elaborate water fountain to the city of Washington D.C. Part of a global campaign to counter the appeal of alcohol by making fresh water easily available, fountains across the US become targets for anti-Prohibition protestors.

**1914-1918**

- **War and change**
  The Great War sees authorities in Britain, Australia and New Zealand curtail licensing hours and is also influential in the passing of the Ontario Temperance Act in 1916, which bans alcohol of more than 2.5% proof being sold.

**1916**

- **The noble experiment**
  The Volstead Act is ratified in 1919, outlining the exact nature of the Prohibition brought into being by the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution. Intoxicating liquor, defined as anything with more than 0.5% alcohol content, is no longer be made, sold or transported.

**1919**

- **The tempering of the temperance movement**
  The ratification of the 21st Amendment brings Prohibition to an end, repealing the laws brought in 13 years earlier. Alcohol is legal once again and Prohibition returns to being a state-led matter.

3 December 1933
**DID YOU KNOW?**

One Sarah Williams was killed after her toll house was set ablaze on 7 September 1843. When she tried to flee, the rioters shot her dead.
As costs of using the roadways increased in Wales, travellers, particularly poor Welsh farmers, became incensed with the gentry who had erected toll houses. Calling themselves 'Rebecca and her daughters' after a biblical quote, the resentful rioters dressed in women's clothing, blacked out their faces and attacked the toll houses. Across the previous two years they had suffered poor harvests and yet the various tithes and rents continued – this had been the final straw. The first Rebecca Riot broke out on 13 May 1839, led by Thomas Rees, and continued for several years with the burning of toll houses and other violent deeds. Eventually the troops were called in and the protests began to wind down, being replaced by peaceful meetings by 1843. Although not immediately successful, the Rebecca Riots were instrumental in rent reductions for the poor Welsh farmers along with a variety of supportive reforms.
THE MILITANT BATTLE FOR WOMEN’S RIGHTS

How the fight for women’s rights evolved from peaceful demonstrations to increasingly violent actions as the suffragettes battled to be given a voice

Written by
JONATHAN HATFULL
On 4 June 1913, the king’s horse was at the Tattenham Corner of the Epsom Racecourse, third from last in the Flat-sprint race. As it rounded the corner, its huge limbs pumping back and forth like a piston, a woman ducked under the spectators’ barrier and darted onto the middle of the track, directly into the horse’s path. Her name was Emily Wilding Davison and her death would be the latest outrage in an even more violent struggle for women’s rights.

The actions of the lone suffragette would create totally opposed but equally emotional points of view. Newspapers vilified her and hate mail was sent to the hospital where she remained in a coma for four days before passing. Meanwhile, Christabel Pankhurst, living in Paris to avoid arrest, hailed Davison as, “a soldier fallen in a war of freedom.” A tremendous funeral procession was arranged that used the religious-tinged language that Davison had so often used to describe her efforts. This was no ordinary struggle, this was a war, a crusade.

The fight for women’s suffrage had begun decades before Davison became the movement’s martyr. The issue had been first raised in Parliament to general disdain in 1832, but it had gathered momentum in the early years of the 20th century. Organisations sprang up all over the country, but disapproval also accompanied the movement, with many women believing that these suffragettes were either going too far or were simply misguided.

One of these women called Buckingham Palace home. In 1870, Queen Victoria wrote: “The Queen is most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad wicked folly of ‘Women’s Rights’, with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety – God created men and women different – then let them remain each in their own position – Woman would become the most hateful, heartless, and disgusting of human beings were she allowed to unsex herself, and where would be the protection which man was intended to give to the weaker sex?” In spite of the Queen’s anxiety, a united front was formed when the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) formed in 1897, with the formidable Millicent Garrett Fawcett at its head. Committed to peaceful protest, Fawcett worked tirelessly for decades at the head of the NUWSS. She began speaking on the subject of women’s suffrage in the late 1860s and steadily rose to a position of authority. However, by the late 1880s there was a clear division between Fawcett and the woman who would eventually lead the militant front. Emmeline Pankhurst. Together with her daughters Christabel, Sylvia and Adela, Emmeline Pankhurst would be the driving force of the militant suffragettes, sometimes working in tandem with the more peaceful suffragists but often deeply opposed to them. Driven and relentless, her involvement with the suffragist movement began in the 1880s and she quickly graduated from hosting gatherings at her home to founding the Women’s Franchise League in 1889.
She and her husband Richard campaigned with the Independent Labour Party and After Richard’s death in 1898 from stomach ulcers, Emmeline threw herself completely into the cause.

Emmeline Pankhurst was less concerned with hearts and minds than with grabbing the British people’s attention by any means necessary. At first, she wanted to work with the Independent Labour Party (ILP), but it became clear the party was not willing to take the risks needed. This setback only made her more determined than ever, though, and on 10 October 1903 she created the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU). Their motto was “Deeds not words.” Time would prove just how much to heart they took this motto.

**First militant step**

On 2 February 1904, Christabel Pankhurst entered the Free Trade Hall in Manchester where Liberal MP Winston Churchill was due to speak. When she asked for an amendment on women’s suffrage, she was dismissed. Pankhurst wrote that she considered this “The first militant step - the hardest to me, because it was the first.” Churchill would be persistently targeted by the suffragettes, who went so far as to write a manifesto opposing him. The man who would lead Europe to victory in WWII would prove to be a consistent thorn in their side. Christabel Pankhurst would be as vital and fierce a part of the suffragette movement as her mother. She took her first militant step by attending another Free Trade Hall meeting in 1905, this time with her devoted fellow suffragette, the deceptively diminutive Annie Kenney. Pankhurst and Kenney were both ejected from the meeting by an outraged crowd and were arrested for assaulting police officers. They admitted the charge, explained their cause and refused to pay their fine. They were promptly sent to prison and the refusal to take any option other than imprisonment became a feature of successive suffragette trials. They demanded the same rights as political prisoners, specifically to be housed in the first division cells, but were refused.

Nationwide activities were organised from the WSPU’s headquarters in London, all aimed at creating a very public spectacle. In 1906, ten women were arrested after attempting to enter the Houses of Parliament. When the WSPU members were released from prison, Millicent Garrett Fawcett held a banquet in their honour at the Savoy Hotel. At this time, much of the WSPU and NUWSS’ efforts were spent on demonstrating the sheer number of people who felt passionately about the issue. That they would take sole leadership

**WHAT WAS THE WSPU?**

- The Woman’s Social and Political Union was founded at the Pankhurst home on 10 October 1903.
- It was founded to campaign for votes for women.
- Their motto was “Deeds, not words.”
- They initially tried to work within the political system.
- From 1905, they set out to shock with public displays.
- Their only concern was suffrage and not a broader campaign for rights, leading to splits in the group.

**Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney with their famous campaign poster**

**Window breaking and incitement to mutiny.**

For Breaking Windows as a Political protest, Women are now in H.M. Gaol serving sentences of fine and 6 months imprisonment.

For Inciting Soldiers to Disobey Orders, a much more serious crime, known to the law as a felony, and punishable by penal servitude, the Publisher of the “ Syndicalist,” was sentenced to nine months hard labour, and the Printers of the paper to six months hard labour.

The Government, under the pressure of men with votes, reduced this sentence on the Publishers to six months imprisonment, without hard labour, and the sentence on the Printers to one month without hard labour.

**Demonstrations by British suffragettes regularly drew huge crowds**
LEADERS OF THE SUFFRAGETTES

Emmeline Pankhurst
15 July 1858 - 14 June 1928
After spending her youth attempting to open her own boutiques, Emmeline and her husband Richard became involved with the Labour Party. She grew frustrated with the lack of progress regarding women's suffrage and dedicated herself to the cause. She created the WSPU in 1903, backed by her daughters, and directed the group toward an increasingly militant strategy. She did not hesitate to distance herself from anyone who opposed her, including her own daughters. Despite her fragile health, she worked tirelessly and was imprisoned several times. When WWI broke out she redirected her attention to the war effort. After the war she travelled to Canada but struggled financially, before returning to England where her health finally failed her.

Christabel Pankhurst
22 September 1880 - 13 February 1958
Christabel studied law in Manchester and used her expertise to great effect; issuing subpoenas for Lloyd George and Herbert Gladstone at her court appearances. Her views of women’s suffrage were different to those of her sisters who had a more socialist outlook and eventually, she and her mother severed ties with them. A disguised Christabel fled to Paris to avoid arrest in 1912, but continued her role at the head of the WSPU and returned in 1914 to join her mother in the war effort. She moved to the United States and became an evangelist, briefly returning in the 1930s when she was appointed a Dame Commander of the British Empire.

“Emmeline Pankhurst was less concerned with hearts and minds than with grabbing the British people’s attention by any means necessary”

Emily Wilding Davison
11 October 1872 - 8 June 1913
The youngest of nine children, she received a first class degree from Oxford but was dissatisfied with her life as a teacher, finding her calling as a member of the WSPU. From 1908 onward she threw herself into the increasingly militant activities, first imprisoned in 1909. She could be relied upon to take part in any of the group’s more dangerous activities but was seen as a wild card. Her determination led to several well-publicised instances of brutality. By 1913 her health had begun to suffer from the hunger strikes and force feeding, and her family had begun to worry about her. While it is unclear whether or not Emily knew her plan for Epsom would kill her, she was determined to make history.

Millicent Garrett Fawcett
11 June 1847 - 5 August 1929
Fawcett believed in peaceful protest. She held lectures for women at her home and began speaking in public, although she was so nervous that she would get ill beforehand. Unlike Emmeline Pankhurst, her campaigning was not limited to suffrage and she was active in several other human rights causes. As president of the NUWSS she was at first sympathetic to the militant WSPU. It was only when they became actively violent that she declared privately that they were doing more harm than good. When the war broke out she refused to support pacifist groups but continued her work with the suffragists.
Hunger strikes began in 1909, when Marion Wallace Dunlop refused to eat after she was not treated as a political prisoner. She was released 91 hours later, but the practice of forcible feeding began soon after. The first case took place in September 1909 and quickly became common practice. The suffragettes protested this savage treatment and arrests, but forcible feeding continued. The sanitary conditions of the equipment used and the marked differences between the treatment of wealthy and poor suffragettes was controversial. The government enacted a cat-and-mouse law in 1913, which freed hunger-strike prisoners whose health was in danger, but brought them back to complete their sentences once they were deemed healthy enough. The practice continued until the outbreak of WWI.

Attacks and imprisonment
On 17 January 1908, London witnessed suffragettes chained to railings outside 10 Downing Street. The following day, Emmeline Pankhurst and Ellen Harrison were savagely attacked by Liberal Party supporters who blamed them for a lost by-election. Pankhurst was thrown to the ground, surrounded by a crowd of frenzied men before being rescued by the police. She wrote: “Poor souls, I thought, then I said suddenly: ‘Are none of you men?’” In February, Christabel enacted a “Trojan Horse” manoeuvre, with 20 suffragettes hiding in a van driven to the House of Commons before all jumping out to face the police. In 1908, the fearsome Flora Drummond led a team of suffragettes on a steamboat along the Thames to invite MPs sitting at the Palace of Westminster to the demonstration on 21 June. The demonstration saw 30,000 suffragettes take to the streets and drew 500,000 spectators.

The consequence of these public protests was imprisonment. As more and more suffragettes were put into prison, more controversy arose over their treatment. Lady Constance Lytton wrote of the terrible hygiene, including dirty clothes, vermin and a toilet that emptied once a day. The prison governors denied any wrongdoing as vehemently as the suffragettes accused them of it. Emmeline Pankhurst herself was arrested twice in 1908. In February, she led 13 suffragettes to the House of Commons to defy the Turbulent Petitions Act. She knew she would be arrested and her fragile health declined rapidly once inside. However, her determination was limitless. She was summoned to the Bow Street police station in October after publishing a pamphlet urging suffragettes to “Rush the House Of Commons!” Rather than going straight there, she told the police that she would be busy until six o’clock the next day. When she and Flora Drummond took taxis to the Bow Street station, a Liberal MP sent a lavish dinner from the Savoy Hotel to the station for the pair.

Political prisoners?
This civility was a rare exception, though. 1909 would see a radical change in the battleground as both sides refused to give any quarter. In July, a group of suffragettes threw stones at the windows of the Home Office, the Privy Council and the Treasury. Arrested on 24 June for defacing the House of Commons, where she used a rubber stamp to print an excerpt from the Bill of Rights, Marion Wallace Dunlop was sent to prison. When her request to be treated as a political prisoner was denied, Dunlop began a hunger strike and, after 91 hours without

Glass smashing
In July 1909, suffragettes threw stones at the windows of 10 Downing Street to express their rage at the arrests following the rush on the House of Commons. By October, with the first forcible feedings taking place, organised window-smashing raids had begun. These displays fulfilled the early militant aims of bringing attention to their cause and to ensure a swift arrest. They also brought disapproval from more peacefully minded campaigners who felt this was vandalism and would do more harm than good.

Arson
Beginning with Emily Wilding Davison setting fire to a pillar-box in December 1911, unsanctioned by the Pankhursts, arson would go on to be one of the most striking means of militant protest. Following Davison’s death in 1913, arson attacks were carried out all over the country. Suffragettes such as Lilian Lenton would target empty buildings and warehouses, determined that no lives be put at risk but that the situation would become utterly impossible for the government.

Hatchet throwing
Prime Minister Herbert Asquith’s visit to Dublin in July 1912 would be an eventful one. Mary Leigh (who had thrown stones at 10 Downing Street) and Gladys Evans, Jennie Barnes and Mabel Capper were found guilty of “having committed serious outrages”, which included throwing a hatchet at Asquith’s carriage and attempting to set fire to the Theatre Royal where he was due to speak. Evans and Leigh were sentenced to hard labour, which drew an outraged reaction from the WSPU. The condemned were defiant.
“As more and more suffragettes were put into prison, more controversy arose over their treatment”

food, it was decided she should be released for her own safety. On 13 August, Edward VII’s private secretary sent a note to Prime Minister Asquith. “His Majesty would be glad to know why the existing methods which must obviously exist for dealing with prisoners who refuse nourishment, should not be adopted.” Forcible feeding had effectively been ordered.

WSPU organiser Laura Ainsworth wrote to Dunlop about her own experiences of being force-fed in Birmingham in September of that year. She described how her head was forced back, her mouth forced open, and tube pushed “down your mouth about 18 inches; while this is being done you first have a very great tickling sensation, then a choking feeling, and then you feel quite stunned.” A gag was then forced between her teeth, and “about a pint” of food poured down the tube. “I know I must have looked as if I was being hurt because of the wardresses’ faces”, wrote Ainsworth.

The practice of forcible feeding caused fierce debate in the press and became another rallying point for the suffragettes. In a concerted effort to become more visible and to ensure arrest, a glass-smashing campaign began. In October 1909, 12 suffragettes were arrested for smashing panes of glass in Newcastle and by November the imprisoned women were reporting incidents on the horrors of forcible feeding. It was splashed all over the front pages, but opinion was still divided.

In this combustible situation women like Emily Wilding Davison became notorious. Davison was one of the most dedicated of the militant suffragettes and prone to spontaneous action, and it was clear that even the Pankhursts endorsed her with a degree of caution. In Strangeways Prison in October 1909, Davison blocked the door to her cell, at which point the prison guards fired a fire hose at her through the window of her cell, after which she was force-fed in another example of institutionalised brutality.

Davison was just one of the many women who reported the violent treatment that they were put through. Lady Constance Lytton was determined to test the claim that there was no difference in the treatment of prisoners depending on their class. Having previously been arrested and deemed not healthy enough for forcible feeding on account of her heart, she was arrested in disguise under the name of Jane Wharton. The prison doctor determined that ‘Jane’ was perfectly healthy and ready for forcible feeding. Her brother, Lord Lytton, wrote a letter to The Times newspaper detailing exactly what his sister had been through. It was embarrassing for the establishment, but not enough for the status quo to change.

In 1910, it looked like a solution might be near. The Conciliation Committee had been formed with the purpose of finding some middle ground under the guidance of Millicent Garrett Fawcett’s NUWSS and the WSPU agreed to a truce.

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**WHEN DID WOMEN GET THE VOTE?**

- **France** 21 April 1944
  - Religion played a significant part in the struggle for women’s suffrage in France, as right-wing politicians claimed that female activists could be swayed by the Catholic Church.
  - Finally, in 1944, General De Gaulle’s provisional government stated that “women are voters and eligible under the same conditions as men.”

- **United Arab Emirates** December 2006
  - The right of some women to vote in the United Arab Emirates was granted in 2006 but suffrage is not universal. The right to vote is limited for both sexes, with only around 12 per cent of the nation able to vote.

- **Finland** 1906-1907
  - In 1906, Finland became the second country in the world to grant universal suffrage to its citizens. Only a year later, it became the first country in which women were elected to parliament.

- **Australia** 1902
  - Following the unification of Australian colonies in 1901, the federal parliament established universal suffrage. However, Australia would not achieve universal suffrage until 1922 when indigenous men and women were allowed to vote.

- **New Zealand** 19 September 1893
  - New Zealand granted women the right to vote following a petition a year earlier. The suffragist movement travelled the country collecting signatures, presenting the parliament with a bill of over 30,000, voting it down the centre of the house.

- **USA** 19 August 1920
  - After achieving women’s suffrage in individual states, it would not be achieved in full until 1920 when the 19th Amendment was passed, written by Susan B Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
• Concordance Bill torpedoed
Lloyd George puts paid to any hope of the Concordance Bill passing by announcing that he has “torpedoed” it. The truce agreed to by the militant suffragettes is over.

21 November 1911

• Starting fires
Emily Wilding Davison is arrested for putting a flaming piece of linen into a pillar-box. She had announced her plans and was waiting to be arrested.

15 December 1911

• WSPU heads arrested
Following a protracted window smashing campaign, the government arrests the heads of the WSPU, including the Pethick- Lawrances and Emmeline Pankhurst. Christabel Pankhurst flees to France.

5 March 1912

• Davison attempts martyrdom
During a commotion in Holloway Prison, a desperate Davison throws herself off a balcony - twice - in an attempt at martyrdom as “some desperate protest.” She survives.

4 July 1912

• Reform Bill removed
The Speaker of the House of Commons declares the Reform Bill will have to be removed and submitted in a new form. Pankhurst retaliates by declaring her plan for “guerillist” attacks.

January 1913

• House bomb
Emmeline Pankhurst takes responsibility for the bombing of an empty house belonging to Lloyd George. She states that Emily Wilding Davison had planted it, but there is no evidence of this.

10 February 1913

• Cat-and-mouse law
The government introduces a cruel new scheme to handle prisoners made dangerously ill by hunger striking and forcible feeding, releasing them until they are healthy enough to return.

2 April 1913

• Derby Day tragedy
Emily Wilding Davison runs in front of the king’s horse at Epsom and sustains terrible injuries. She dies four days later and becomes a martyr for the cause.

4 June 1913

• Funeral procession
A funeral procession for Davison takes place in London, attended by thousands, before her body is taken home to Northumberland.

14 June 1913

The Conciliation Bill passed two readings in the Commons but when Parliament broke down on 18 November with no progress on the bill, Emmeline Pankhurst made good on her promise to march on the House of Commons with 300 women. They were met by a violent police force; the unarmed suffragettes were punched, kicked, hurled to the ground and groped by officers. 200 women were arrested and two died as a result of injuries sustained, including Pankhurst’s sister Mary Jane Clarke. Despite the national press coverage of this shocking brutality, Churchill refused to allow an investigation, describing the suffragettes’ claims as “a copious fountain of mendacity.”

In a surprising show of restraint, Pankhurst decided to keep the truce until the new Parliament was in session but when Lloyd George callously announced that he had ‘torpedoed’ the Conciliation Bill, militancy was not only back on, it had escalated. With broken windows and arson dominating the headlines, the NUWSS despaired at the negative publicity the WSPU was creating. It was also proving a problem for the Pankhursts. In May 1912, key WSPU leaders, including Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, were charged with “conspiracy to incite certain persons to commit malicious damage to property.” Christabel fled to France in disguise, while the others took their sentences.

There was an enormous outcry to transfer the suffragettes to political prisoners. The furore increased in July when Emily Wilding Davison attempted to kill herself by hurling herself from the stairs in the prison block during a ‘siege’. Her idea was “that one big tragedy might save many others”, but netting prevented her from achieving her goal.

Violence explodes
Later that month came the suffragette ‘gunpowder plot’ as four women attempted to set fire to the Theatre Royal following Lloyd George’s visit. In a speech at the Royal Albert Hall on 17 October 1912, Emmeline compared the suffragettes to the rebellion forces in Ulster, declaring “Take me if you dare.” Meanwhile, the NUWSS created ties with the Labour Party, which had become the first party to back women’s suffrage. However, in January 1913 it was announced that the Reform Bill would have to be entered in a new form because it had changed so much from its original state. The WSPU commenced a new stage of its militancy and targeted the empty property of the wealthy for destruction. Explosives were left in empty houses, for which Emmeline Pankhurst took responsibility.

Noting that the health of force-fed inmates was quickly declining, the government enacted the so-called ‘Cat-and-mouse’ law. This meant that a prisoner who was being forcibly fed could be

"We have blown up the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s house to wake him up"
released if their health was a serious concern, but that they must return to prison as soon as they were deemed healthy enough to serve the rest of their sentence, to be put through the whole ordeal again. The shocking nature of this policy was widely protested but to no avail.

It was in June 1913 that Emily Wilding Davison threw herself in front of the king’s horse at Epsom. The impact on both the suffragettes and their enemies was profound and the papers reported on ‘The Suffragist Outrage at Epsom’.

The WSPU continued to shed members, as Christabel Pankhurst decided that her sister Sylvia, who had expressed disagreement with her views, could no longer be a part of the group. Their youngest sister Adela had already been forced out. However, it was clear that things could not go on. The WSPU membership was shrinking, either through desertion or incarceration, and it seemed as though no progress was being made. Then, on 28 July 1914, everything changed.

With the outbreak of the First World War, Emmeline and Christabel’s goals suddenly shifted. They were determined to support Great Britain and ensured that members fought for their country as fiercely as they had for suffrage. The most vocal supporters of women’s suffrage became some of the loudest war effort campaigners and they threw their support behind the war effort, with women working in jobs they had only shortly before been deemed unsuitable for. It might have taken something as dramatic as a world war, but when the time came for a vote on suffrage in 1918, the nation’s opinion had changed and women over the age of 30 got the right to vote. In 1928 the dreams of the suffragettes were realised.
Год пролетарской диктатуры.
Октябрь 1917 - Октябрь 1918
The 1917 Uprising was Russia’s biggest, but not its first. Although the consequences of the 1917 insurrection for the Romanov dynasty were catastrophic, it wasn’t the first revolt that the monarchy had experienced. In fact, Tsar Nicholas II had already weathered the storm of revolution. In 1905, an experience that had left him battered and weakened. Although he avoided a complete disaster in the earlier uprising, he was forced to agree to concessions that limited his powers, resulting in the introduction of an elected legislature, known as the Duma. Above all, however, in 1905 the immense, powerful military remained predominantly loyal to the tsar when Nicholas lost the backing of the military, he also lost the throne.

The Russian Revolution changed the country forever—over 100 years later, here are a few lesser known facts!

You probably didn’t know about the Russian Revolution!
LENIN WAS BORN TO NOBLE PARENTS

Though presented to the nation as the ultimate man of the people, Lenin's real origins were far grander than he liked to let on. He relied on the immensely powerful Bolshevik propaganda machine to create a background worthy of a revolutionary leader and give the impression that he was a working-class hero. In fact, Lenin's father had been born to a family of serfs but had clawed his way up to the top of middle classes, undertaking a university education and marrying the wealthy daughter of a doctor. He enjoyed a glittering civil service career and was eventually awarded the Order of St Vladimir, which turned the one-time serf into a hereditary nobleman. Lenin's parents were both conservative monarchists yet this fact, as well as his noble birth, were whitewashed from his carefully rewritten public biography, which told a tale of heroic lower-class struggle.

STALIN'S EXILE WAS MORE LIKE A HOLIDAY

When Stalin was exiled to Selivanikha in Siberia in 1914 by the authorities, he spent his days hunting, fishing and communing with nature. He became popular in his new home and performed medical duties for the local community, as well as making friends among the local children, whom he liked to entertain. He was so popular that the community made a gift to Stalin of a dog, which he named Tishka. Yet Stalin still found time in his busy social schedule to father a child of his own. When World War I broke out and he was ruled unfit for duty, Stalin was moved to Achinsk. It was here in 1917, while staying with fellow Bolsheviks, that he learned that the February Revolution had taken place in Petrograd (Saint Petersburg). He left for Petrograd that same day.

STALIN MIGHT HAVE WORKED FOR THE TSAR'S SECRET POLICE

As early as 1916, accusations were being made that Stalin had once worked for the Okhrana, the secret police of the Russian Empire. The young Stalin, going by the alias Koba, seemed to be able to travel freely despite his known revolutionary leanings and wasn’t subject to the same restrictions as his peers. Eyewitnesses claimed that Stalin regularly met Okhrana representatives and always knew who was about to be arrested, yet always escaped arrest himself. While this would suggest that Stalin was a traitor to his own cause, others have reflected that he was a realist who knew when to cosy up to the officers of the Okhrana. Stalin recognised that money, influence and power were all valuable, regardless of which side they came from.
STAFF TURNOVER WAS SHOCKINGLY HIGH

Tsar Nicholas II chose to personally lead Russian troops during World War I. When he went to the front in September 1915, he left Tsarina Alexandra in charge of domestic affairs — assisted by her personal advisor, the mystic monk Rasputin. The tsarina’s rule was beset by scandal and fatally unstable. Thanks to jealous Alexandra’s habit of dismissing anyone she considered disloyal, the Russian government had four prime ministers and ministers of agriculture, five ministers of the interior and three foreign ministers, war ministers and ministers of transport — all in just 18 months. This meant that nobody was in a position long enough to actually learn their job and the restless public were keen to find an alternative that might offer some sense of stability.

THE ROMANOVs WERE WORTH A FORTUNE

When Nicholas II abdicated the throne in February 1917 in the face of growing unrest, the House of Romanov had ruled Russia for 303 years straight. They were one of the richest families in the world, worth some $45 billion at the time of Nicholas’ abdication, which would be approximately $300 billion today. Intriguingly, more than $1 billion worth of the imperial family’s gold remains unaccounted for to this day, with the sum having disappeared while in transit to the Remington Arms Company to buy a shipment of weapons for the White Army. What became of that wealth has been the subject of questions and conspiracy theories ever since and to this day, pretenders to the House of Romanov occasionally come forward to make their claim to a portion of this fortune. So far, none have been successful.

7

FACES OF THE REVOLUTION

Whether monarch or Bolshevnik, meet the major players of the Russian Revolution

Tsar Nicholas II
Nicholas II was the last emperor of Russia and also a devotee of cinema, which he popularised in his homeland. A reluctant tsar, when he first came to throne, Nicholas presided over the collapse of the once almighty Russian Empire. In the end, he paid the ultimate price for his failure.

Vladimir Lenin
Lenin whitewashed his past to up his working-class cred. He championed socialism but was less fond of music, which he flatly refused to listen to. This highly divisive figure championed the Red Terror, which mercilessly swept aside his opponents, but fell victim to a stroke in 1924.

Tsarina Alexandra
Alexandra Feodorovna was wife of Nicholas II and mother of his five children. This granddaughter of Queen Victoria adored the colour mauve and had her boudoir entirely decorated in a bespoke mauve silk that was imported from Paris. This room can still be seen today at the Alexander Palace.

Joseph Stalin
Uncle Joe rose from humble beginnings to rule the Soviet Union for just shy of 30 years, yet still found time to indulge his love of John Wayne’s Westerns. Stalin used any means necessary to hold onto power and by the time of his death in 1953, millions had died under his regime.

Leon Trotsky
Trotsky considered himself to be a world-class chess player but that didn’t help him when he tried to oust Stalin. One a major figure in the Communist Party, he was exiled and written out of party history. Yet Trotsky was only silenced when an assassin buried an icepick in his skull.
THE REVOLUTION WAS A PROPAGANDA MASTERCLASS

The Bolsheviks knew the value of propaganda and used it to devastating effect. From popularising the image of the bourgeois as enemies of the working man to casting the leaders of the uprising as working-class heroes, propaganda played a vital role in the success of the Russian Revolution. Most important of all, Soviet propaganda always carried a clear and inarguable message straight from the top of the regime and required little if any decoding by the audience.

IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA, THE DATES DON’T MATCH

Although we know the key events of the Russian uprising as the February Revolution and October Revolution, the unrest actually began on 8 March and 7 November according to Western calendars. The mismatch in the dates is thanks to the fact that Russia was still using the Julian calendar, whereas the rest of Europe had moved over to the Gregorian one. This meant that the two calendars had a discrepancy of almost a fortnight. Russia, however, recorded the outbreak of the Petrograd rebellion as 23 February 1917 thanks to a discrepancy in the international calendar. This first episode of unrest came when striking, starving workers rioted against the monarchy. When the military was ordered to open fire on the protestors, they refused. The army, at last, had turned against the tsar.

THE REVOLUTION DIDN’T OVERTHROW THE TSAR

Although many people still believe that the October Revolution was the uprising that unseated the tsar from his throne, that isn’t actually the case. In fact, Nicholas abdicated immediately after the February Revolution. He gave up the throne on 2 March 1917 and planned to go into exile abroad.

While he initially handed power to his son, Alexi, doctors advised that the little boy was not expected to live long and Nicholas duly chose his own brother, Grand Duke Michael, as his successor. But Michael refused the position, citing the lack of support from the people or the military. With that, the Romanov dynasty surrendered control of Russia.

The Duma formed a Provisional Government to hold the country together. This lasted six months but was hated for its continued commitment to World War I, driving public support for the Bolsheviks.
THE CLOCK STOPPED AT THE WINTER PALACE

At 2.10am on 25 October 1917, the Bolsheviks marched into the small dining room at the Winter Palace and arrested the provisional government of Russia, seizing power once and for all. They had easily overwhelmed the paltry armed brigades who had stayed loyal to the government. It was here that Alexander Kerensky, who had led the provisional government since February, was deposed by Bolshevik forces, members of the cabinet were arrested and the Russian state made its first steps into the Communist era. At 2.10am, the moment at which these world-changing steps were taken, someone stopped the clock that stood on the mantelpiece of the dining room. Today it remains as it was 100 years ago, the hands still at the very second when the Russian government fell to the Bolshevik revolution.

HMS Pegasus brought Royal Marines to serve in Murmansk

In order to ensure that war supplies intended for Russian use didn’t fall into German or Bolshevik hands, the British War Cabinet sent Royal Marines sent to Murmansk on 6 March 1918 to reestablish the Eastern Front. It quickly became apparent that there was to be no cooperation from the Bolsheviks and the British decided that the best thing for the war effort would be to depose the Bolshevik government as quickly as possible. The Royal Marines offered their support to the anti-Bolshevik forces but this mainly took the form of an increased number of weapons and ammunition, as opposed to supplying additional soldiers to fight alongside them. In fact, while War Minister Winston Churchill was virulently in favour of sending additional troops to depose the Bolshevik government, Prime Minister David Lloyd George advocated a less interventionist approach. British forces left Russia in October 1919.

NOT ONLY THE ROMANOVS WERE EXECUTED

There can be few people who don’t know that the tsar, tsarina and their children were executed in the cellar of a house in Yekaterinburg on 17 July 1918. Their deaths, the fate of their remains and the occasional emergence of fraudsters posing as members of the family have entered into the annals of grisly royal history around the world. Yet it wasn’t only members of the House of Romanov who died that night, for they were joined by loyal household staff and servants who had been herded into the cellar to die alongside them. These other victims of the Bolshevik soldiers were Doctor Yevgeny Botkin, cook Ivan Khartonov, valet Alexei Trupp and Anna Demidova, the tsarina’s maid. Anna tried to cover herself with a pillow stuffed with jewels. She survived over 30 bullet wounds, but was eventually bayoneted to death.

BRITISH FORCES FOUGHT THE BOLSHEVIKS

In order to ensure that war supplies intended for Russian use didn’t fall into German or Bolshevik hands, the British War Cabinet sent Royal Marines sent to Murmansk on 6 March 1918 to reestablish the Eastern Front. It quickly became apparent that there was to be no cooperation from the Bolsheviks and the British decided that the best thing for the war effort would be to depose the Bolshevik government as quickly as possible. The Royal Marines offered their support to the anti-Bolshevik forces but this mainly took the form of an increased number of weapons and ammunition, as opposed to supplying additional soldiers to fight alongside them. In fact, while War Minister Winston Churchill was virulently in favour of sending additional troops to depose the Bolshevik government, Prime Minister David Lloyd George advocated a less interventionist approach. British forces left Russia in October 1919.
NOT ALL OF THE ROMANOVS WERE KILLED

It’s a common misconception that the entire Romanov family was executed in Yekaterinburg but that isn’t the case. At the time the family were executed, there were 65 members of the Romanov dynasty still living – 18 died during the Revolution but the remaining all found sanctuary overseas. Some of those left Russia in 1919 aboard HMS Marlborough, which King George V of the United Kingdom had sent under pressure from his mother, Queen Alexandra. Her sister, Maria Fyodorovna, was the mother of the murdered tsar. Dowager Empress Maria was one of those who boarded HMS Marlborough to safety, yet she refused to do so until the ship had been filled with injured soldiers and any civilian who wanted to flee the approaching Bolsheviks. For her eldest son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren, the British intervention was too little, too late.

TRADITIONAL STREET SWEEPING STILL MARKS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the months following the October Revolution, citizens were invited to take part in the voluntary workdays known as Subbotniki. These days, which took place every weekend, were opportunities for people to clean up the streets and clear rubble left after the uprisings. Although they were supposedly optional, all were expected to pull their weight and Subbotniki became a regular fixture in every Russian calendar. The first Subbotnik was on 12 April 1919 and the Bolsheviks soon used the occasion as a propaganda tool, issuing pictures showing revolutionary leaders cleaning up the cities for the people. In fact, Lenin viewed the Subbotnik as the first real chapter in the origin of communist Russia. The tradition continues to this day but now the Subbotniki are usually given a civic purpose, such as cleaning up a specific area, collecting and processing recyclables or carrying out other voluntary work of public value.

RASPUTIN’S LION-TAMING DAUGHTER FLED RUSSIA

Maria Rasputin was just 18 when the tsarina gave her a gift of jewels that she hoped would pay for the girl to escape Russia. However, Rasputin had unfortunately already arranged for Maria to marry Boris Soloviev, who saw himself as the Mad Monk’s mystical successor, and he took the jewels for his own before their wedding, keeping the money. Following the arrest of the Russian Provisional Government, Maria and Boris went on the run, sheltering with family at locations across Russia. Although Boris was arrested and Maria questioned about those disputed jewels, the couple and their daughter left Russia once and for all in 1920. They lived a nomadic life across Europe, capitalising on Maria’s notorious surname. After Boris died, Maria eventually joined a circus in Indiana, in the United States. She worked as a lion tamer, survived an attack by a bear and eventually died in Los Angeles in 1977 at the age of 79.
GANDHI’S PEACEFUL FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

STANDING OFF AGAINST ARMED SOLDIERS AND THE MIGHT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, MAHATMA GANDHI LED A NATION TO FREEDOM WITHOUT RAISING A FIST IN VIOLENCE

Written by
FRANCES WHITE
he Sun streams down on a balmy spring day as thousands of Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus gather in the garden of the golden temple on the festival of Baisachi. In the blink of an eye the peaceful gathering transforms into chaos. General Dyer, a British Indian Army officer, has entered with 90 soldiers clutching rifles. With one word they aim their guns at the unarmed civilians and fire. Madness and panic tears through the crowded garden as the defenceless citizens run for their lives and many stumble and are trampled to death.

Some of the families fight their way to the narrow gates only to find them locked. Desperate men and women looking for safety fling themselves into the dark depths of a single well, but the drop is treacherous and later 120 lifeless bodies are removed. After ten minutes of continuous shooting, a dull silence finally falls. The wounded are left lying where they fall as people watch helplessly from afar, terrified of suffering a similar fate. This attack was aimed to not disperse, but to punish. The British put the death toll at 379, but Indian officials estimated the true figure was in excess of 1,500.

The Amritsar Massacre of 1919 would become a cornerstone in the Indian fight for Independence from British rule. After violent protests by the Indian Independence Movement the British government were tense and, fearing a conspiracy to overthrow them, invoked martial law, making it illegal for more than four people to assemble. Upon facing the mass crowd of unarmed men, women and children, Dyer reports that he was “confronted by a

“Once again, the Mahatma had assembled the pieces of a broken India”

**Serving Hard Time**

Gandhi viewed his time in prison as vital part of all his movements. Writing, “Freedom is to be won only inside prison walls and sometimes on gallows.” He saw the sacrifice of pleading guilty and spending time behind bars as a step in connecting himself to his thousands of followers. He submitted peacefully to his arrests, believing the government would be convinced by his quiet determination in suffering for a just cause. He spent six years and ten months in jail throughout his life, first entering aged 39 and leaving for the last time at 75 years old. Here is a selection of his time behind bars in Yeravda Central Jail.

**10 March 1922 - 5 February 1924**

A mass protest in the market town of Chauri Chaura turned violent, during which protestors burned down the police station and killed 22 people. Gandhi was horrified by the violence but was arrested and convicted of sedition.

**5 May 1930 - 26 January 1931**

A new campaign of civil disobedience was launched and Gandhi protested the salt tax with his Salt March. He encouraged the population to illegally make salt by boiling seawater, for which he was promptly thrown in prison with his fellow protestors.

**4 January 1932 - 23 August 1933**

After attending the Round Table Conference in London, Gandhi protested and was imprisoned again. Gandhi was released but was later arrested yet again following a new civil disobedience campaign, in this instance to boycott liquor and foreign cloth.

**9 August 1942 - 6 May 1944**

The Congress Party passed its ‘Quit India’ movement which encouraged civil disobedience, prompting mass walkouts by workers all over India. As a result the entire Congress Working Committee, including Gandhi himself, was arrested.
**The Salt March**

**Asalai**
12 March 1930
Already struggling with rheumatism, the first day of Gandhi’s march ends 21 km (13 mi) from the starting point. Gandhi spoke to a large crowd and told them that the salt tax was inhumane and was financially crippling the country.

**Matar**
14 March 1930
Two more join Gandhi’s marchers; one of these is Nepali Kharag Bahadur Singh, a convicted murderer reformed to nonviolence in prison. Objections arise to his presence, but Gandhi preaches the importance of forgiveness in a nonviolent society and he is allowed to remain.

**Nadiad**
16 March 1930
20,000 people gather at the temple in the small city of Nadiad. Gandhi’s secretary reports that the room is full to bursting point.

**Ghagra**
21 March 1930
Ghagra refuses to speak to a crowd of thousands until the ostracized untouchables are invited to sit with the rest of the audience. The untouchables are finally included and Gandhi calls this action the first step toward true freedom.

**Bhatgam**
30 March 1930
Gandhi grows angry with his followers when he discovers they have ordered a car to bring milk from a nearby city, imploring them, “We are marching in the name of God [...] Do not ride if you can walk, this is not a battle to be conducted with money.”

**Dandi**
5 April 1930
Gandhi and his followers finally reach the coast. Gandhi picks up a lump of salt and boils it in seawater, an action deemed illegal by the British government. His followers repeat his actions throughout India and mass arrests of over 60,000 people occur by the end of the month.

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**Gandhi’s Peaceful Fight for Justice**

“...but did achieve something years of negotiations could not, it united three groups – Hindu extremists, pan-Islamists and Sikh revolutionaries – toward a single goal: freedom. The inflamed people still lacked something fundamental, though – a leader.

Mohandas Gandhi, who had previously encouraged Indian troops to join the British fight in the First World War, felt his trust and faith crushed in an instant. He compared the British government to “the fabled snake with a brilliant jewel on its head, but which has fangs full of poison” and felt a great force within him to rid the world of this venom. He concluded that independence for India was the only option, and with that decision he became the vessel for freedom for an impoverished and starving nation.

Dedicated to pacifism, Gandhi waged his fight not on the battlefield but in the spirits and minds of the people. He aimed to conquer the British not with military power, but spiritual force. The Indians were hungry for revenge, but Gandhi encouraged the masses to rid themselves of violence and disunity in order to bring about a similar change in the hearts...”

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**An English Gentleman**

At the age of 18, Gandhi travelled to London to study to become a barrister. Immediately sticking out against his distinctively English friends, he decided to immerse himself in the lifestyle of an English gentleman. Although he refused to give up his vegetarianism, Gandhi spent three months attempting to fit into polite British society, clothing himself in suitably English clothes – a chimney-pot hat, expensive pocket watch and an evening suit from Bond Street. Determined to sound as well as look the part, he fine-tuned his accent with elocution lessons and even took French lessons. This pursuit was short-lived as he quickly became disillusioned at the expensive endeavours and settled into the simple life of a student, focusing firmly on his studies.
of the British government. Gandhi entered into
the Indian Congress in 1920 as a nationalist, but he
offered an alternative to the random violence of the
masses and the resolutions and petitions of the law-
abiding Congress. With his tours around the country
and eloquent articles, this small, mild-mannered and
yet, in his own way, powerful man had entranced
the imagination of the people. This was exactly what
the mass movement Congress wanted to achieve
and Gandhi was made the figurehead of the non-
cooperation movement.

Building on his strong faith and morality, Gandhi
said, “If we trust and fear God we shall have to
fear no one, not Maharajas, not Viceroy’s, not the
detectives or even King George.” As rumours spread
through the British government of this unpredictable
man who would say and do anything, Gandhi finally
stated his position outright to Lord Reading, the
viceroy of India, in Young India on 15 December
1921: “Lord Reading must understand that non-
cooperators are at war with the government. They
have declared rebellion against it.” The demands had
been laid down, and Gandhi and his growing band
of followers were ready to unleash their own brand
of resistance.

Clothing himself in the dress of the common
man, Gandhi connected with all rungs of society.
He became the Mahatma (great soul) and crowds
swarmed to catch a glimpse of him. Travelling
the country, Gandhi encouraged the people to rid
themselves of British control by boycotting British
products, adopting the use of local handicrafts and
embracing the true essence of their homeland.

With its charismatic figurehead, the movement
soon gathered momentum and when his fellow
activists were arrested, Gandhi signed a manifesto
that called on every soldier and civilian to abandon
their posts and find another means of livelihood.
To the shock of the British, thousands of people
all over India followed the words of the Mahatma.
However, as the movement gained momentum it
took on a life of its own and Gandhi struggled to
keep a firm grip on it. On 17 November 1921 violent
riots erupted and Europeans were assaulted on the
streets. Dismayed at the descent of his movement
into that which he loathed most of all, violence,
Gandhi used his body as a means of protest and fasted to quell the fire. The violence confirmed British fears that the country was at boiling point and over one month 30,000 people were imprisoned. Harsh laws that prohibited volunteer organisations, meetings and processions were forcibly imposed. Fearing the revolution would be muted, Congress appointed Gandhi as the sole executive authority, pressing the need for immediate action. He did not disappoint.

With the needs of the masses bearing down upon him, Gandhi called for mass civil disobedience which he outlined as, “a sort of general upheaval on the political plane - the government ceases to function [...] the police stations, the courts, the offices etc all cease to be government property and shall be taken charge of by the people.” Gandhi encouraged a

**Gandhi by the Numbers**

5 Nobel Peace Prize nominations

14 arrests

80,000 Kilometres walked during his campaigns from 1913 to 1938

89 Years of British rule in India

250,000 People who attended his funeral

**3 Stages of the Fight for Independence**

1. **Non-cooperation** 1920-1922
   - The non-cooperation movement was in resistance to the British occupation of India through nonviolent means. Gandhi encouraged the boycotting of British goods, as well as walkouts by public service and factory workers. Despite his wishes, the protests soon turned violent and Gandhi fasted in an effort to quell the violence.

2. **Civil disobedience** 1930-1931
   - Led by Gandhi’s beliefs of nonviolent resistance, the civil disobedience movement aimed to free India of British control by actively breaking laws. Known best for the Dandi Salt March where Gandhi encouraged the masses to break the Salt Laws, civil disobedience soon spread across India with widespread lawbreaking and refusal to pay taxes.

3. **Quit India movement** 1942-1944
   - After a speech calling for immediate Indian independence, Gandhi and almost the entire Indian Congress were arrested and placed in jail. Although the British were able to quell the small-scale violence that occurred, the Quit India Movement united the Indian people against British rule and cemented the demand for Indian independence.

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Gandhi leaves his office in Knightsbridge with the Indian author Sarojini Naidu, 1931

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- **1899** Gandhi arrives
- **1899** Initially in support of a unified territory between British India and India, Gandhi’s strategy of nonviolent disobedience attracts millions. After the Amritsar Massacre, where British soldiers gun down unarmed protesters, the idea of unity is replaced by the quest for independence. 1919
- **1919** Government of India
- **1919** The British government introduce the Government of India Act. As a result, British officials and Indian legislators share power in some areas. A number of areas are transferred completely to Indian control, such as health. 23 December 1919
- **1920** Independence day
- **1920** At an all-party conference in Bombay, a constitution for India is written which demands the British government give complete independence to India or countrywide civil disobedience would be launched. 1928
- **1930** Civil disobedience
- **1930** Violent clashes occur throughout the country. For years the Indians fight for freedom and The Government of India Act of 1935 aims to achieve provincial autonomy. 1930
- **1942** Quit India movement
- **1942** Under Gandhi’s influence the Quit India Movement is launched. Teachers and workers walk out on their jobs to try to hold the British war effort hostage. When leading political figures are arrested the protests turn violent. 1942
- **1947** Independence declared
- **1947** The partition of British India into India and Pakistan is announced. On 14 August the Indian Independence Act passes Parliament and the next day India is independent. 1947
mass defiance of all laws to create the state of India, whether the British wanted it or not.

The movement came to a crashing halt before it could even begin though. In Chauri Chaura constables opened fire on a peaceful procession of protestors, expended their ammo and then barricaded themselves in the police station. Driven to frustration and desperation, the marchers set fire to the building. As the terrified policemen fled from the flames the protestors leapt on them, hacking 22 of them to pieces.

Horrified by this barbaric action under the guise of his peaceful movement, Gandhi revoked his plans for civil disobedience, fearing his nonviolent message had dissolved into total and utter chaos.

Despite his immediate condemnation of the violence, on 10 March Gandhi was arrested. Polite, abiding and eloquent, he immediately pleaded guilty and asked the judge to enforce the highest penalty upon him, or else resign. Taken aback by the humility of this remarkable man, the judge commented that Gandhi was unlike anyone he had ever tried or was likely to try again before sentencing him to six years’ imprisonment.

When Gandhi emerged from prison on 5 February 1924 it was to a very different India. Without his leadership the national unity had collapsed. He was accused of awaking the masses prematurely, to which he responded: “I would do nothing to put them asleep again.” In response to the disunity and violence the country had been swept up in, Gandhi conducted a twenty one day fast. This seemed to work, and opposing groups met at a ‘Unity Conference’ Once again, he had assembled the pieces of a broken India.

Gandhi may have been a unifying force but even he couldn’t deny the fractures that ran through the country he loved, and for the next three years he moved away from politics, focusing on rebuilding the nation from scratch. In 1928, inspired by a successful large-scale nonviolent resistance by the peasants of Bardoli, Gandhi returned to the spotlight. Civil disobedience was embraced again and on 26 January 1930, Gandhi made his demands clear by publishing the Declaration of Independence of India.

Using himself as a vessel for change, Gandhi announced he would lead the movement by protesting the salt tax that hit the poorest in the land by prohibiting them to produce their own salt. Frazil and suffering with rheumatism, the 67-year-old and a growing band of marchers walked the 88 kilometres (241 miles) from Abermanti to Dandi.
The marchers included an array of people, from the ostracised untouchables, the lowest castes of society, to decorated scholars. Many struggled to keep pace with their elderly but determined leader. Upon finally reaching Dandi, millions watched as Gandhi knelt to the ground, raised a lump of salty mud to the sky and declared, “With this, I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire.”

Gandhi was arrested, but his journey emblazed the hearts of the people and his arrest only served to further stimulate the masses. Less than a year later the government, under heavy pressure, released all civil disobedience prisoners under the agreement that the movement was called off. But as the movement rose from the flames, Gandhi and almost the entire Congress were jailed once more. The British government acted swiftly and viciously to stop the ongoing rebellion at the source, but the people’s spirits could not be dampened so easily.

When Gandhi returned to politics in 1939, it was with complete focus on independence. The outbreak of war provided the ideal environment to finally achieve his goal. Outraged by India’s inclusion in the Second World War without any consultation, all congressmen resigned from office. Gandhi proclaimed the hypocrisy of India fighting in a war to achieve democratic freedom when Indians themselves did not enjoy such luxury.

Escalating his demand for freedom, Gandhi launched the Quit India movement, encouraging passive resistance to withhold the much-needed Indian support in Britain’s hour of need. Gandhi urged Indians to ‘do or die’ to achieve the Freedom they had long fought for. The British reaction was instantaneous; the entire Congress Working Committee was arrested. Riots tore across the country as the fury of the people was unleashed upon any symbol of British rule - burning post offices, police stations and courts.

After fasts in prison and struck down with ill health, Gandhi was released. Bent but not broken, he returned as the head of the non-cooperation movement in 1944. Fearing a revolution, the British finally hammered out the agreement for independence in March 1947 and on 15 August that same year it became official. The long-awaited independence can be attributed to many factors, but no one man captured the hearts and minds of the Indian people like Mahatma Gandhi. The freedom the masses needed had been achieved long before independence was declared. Gandhi, with his inspiring words, actions and sacrifices had freed the people not only from British rule, but also from the prisons in which their minds had been enslaved.

“Gandhi urged Indians to ‘do or die’ to achieve the Freedom”
THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENT PROTEST

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA SOUGHT TO BREAK DOWN THE SOCIAL BARRIERS OF SEGREGATION BY CHAMPIONING NON-VIOLENT AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN THE FACE OF TERRIBLE BRUTALITY AND HATE

Over ten interstate Freedom Rides took place between May and December in 1961

A burnt-out Freedom Rider bus. Its passengers were targeted for simply travelling from state to state

"Hatred begets hate; violence begets violence; toughness begets a greater toughness. We must meet the forces of hate with the power of love...

Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the white man, but to win his friendship and understanding." These words from Dr Martin Luther King Jr eloquently summed up the intentions of the majority of civil rights campaigners in America — namely, that their goal of equality was to be met through non-violent and peaceful protest, a stark contrast to the violence and hate levelled against black communities over the previous few centuries. One of the crowning achievements of the movement was its effectiveness in promoting these ideals and affecting real change in the country while hardly ever raising a hand in anger.

"Love thy neighbour" was a biblical verse that King took to heart. He, and other activists, believed that love was the force that would win equality and end the racist and segregated laws that infested the USA. Love in their mind didn’t have to be a literal, emotional bond, but a powerful force that could be used for good.

The 20th century had revealed just how effective mankind had become in waging war, with his violent tendencies playing out through a multitude of wars, genocides and civil inequality, backed up by brutal repression. In contrast, there was also a rise in peaceful, non-violent protest that sought
to enforce positive change without the need for bloodshed. The genesis of non-violent protest in the American Civil Rights Movement lay in King's teachings and actions.

One of the biggest influences on King's philosophy came not from what was happening in America, but rather from actions that occurred on the other side of the world. Mahatma Gandhi, the driving force behind India's independence from the British Empire, had championed non-violent protest as a way to fight oppression and win his people's freedom. In King's own words, Gandhi was the person who had the most influence on the actions he took during the struggle to gain civil rights for black people in America. Having heard of Gandhi's work from his training as a minister, King became deeply influenced by the Indian activist's teachings after hearing an old university professor talk about his experiences shortly after visiting the country. King did not expect that his interest in Gandhi's work would ever have practical application in his life, never mind forming the core of his ideas and actions during the Civil Rights Movement.

The major practitioners of non-violent resistance were beginning to communicate directly and share their philosophy. Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy were in correspondence and once the American movement got off the ground, King began to add his own thoughts to the mix. In 1959, King travelled to India in order to learn more of how the independence movement had operated. After the visit, he was “more convinced than ever before that the method of non-violent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity”.

The Civil Rights Movement had already made successful use of non-violent protest in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which had proved the effectiveness of this passive form of protest. King and other leaders of the movement met hate with love in their efforts to dismantle the institutionalised racism, inequality and discrimination that came with segregation. Many years of Jim Crow laws had shown that those who supported segregation would go to any lengths to maintain the status quo and keep control over the black population.

The goal of the resistance was an end to segregation, and one of the ways to achieve that was to ensure that the long history of violence used against the black community in the South was shown to the world. Two organisations that were created following the success of the bus boycott were the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Both of these groups were made up primarily of students who had been inspired by a conference in April 1960 sponsored by King. They hoped to use the momentum gained by the actions in Montgomery to drive the cause nationwide. The students were looking for a way to have their actions directly impact people's lives without being detrimental to their cause.

The sit-in movement, first making national headlines on 2 February 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, was started by four college students. During the lunchtime rush, the four students sat in the white-only designated seating at the lunch counter and were refused service. Instead of leaving, they quietly waited to be served. The store was chosen specifically as the Woolworth chain was known throughout the country and the demonstrators wanted a location that clearly separated people based on colour alone. The men wanted to highlight the hypocrisy of a store that would accept their money while buying school supplies but wouldn't have them sitting at the lunch

Many Jim Crow laws were finally repealed in 1964 with the signing of the Civil Rights Act

Dr King, seen here with his wife and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, was convinced of the power of non-violent protest after a visit to India in 1959

Freedom Riders are attacked by a mob in Birmingham, Alabama. This image was seen worldwide and received massive condemnation
The tenure of United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy is remembered for his advocacy of the Civil Rights Movement.

With their main voter base in the South, the Democrats were initially unwilling to speak out against segregation.
counter. The Greensboro Four, as they became known, vowed that they would continue this protest and in greater numbers. With more and more volunteers joining them, they worked in shifts to stay at the counter all day, simply waiting for service. These actions often made these men and women the targets of abuse, and they were shouted at, pelleted with food or drink, threatened, beaten or forcibly removed. Never responding in anger, the protesters were usually arrested and as they were escorted out, a new group would be ready to take their place.

Sit-ins had been used since the 1940s, and were now an integral part of the non-violent protest in the Civil Rights Movement. When the media got wind of the protests, they quickly spread across the South, taking 54 cities’ lunch counters by storm. Six months after the initial protest, the store finally pulled its segregated counters, allowing people of any colour to eat free from molestation. These protests aimed to highlight the inequality and hit a store’s finances; if their seats were filled with protesters not being served, this would drastically reduce the income from the lunch rush. This simple and passive form of protest was extremely effective and brought the ugly face of American segregation into the national consciousness.

Following the sit-ins, Freedom Riders were an example of a hopeful, and some think naive, form of non-violent protest that gained traction in the early 1960s. Its participants were made up of both black and white activists who were organised by CORE. Their objective was simple - to travel from Washington, DC to the Deep South in small groups via bus to periodically break the strict segregation laws on the way. Their objective was to raise awareness of these laws and discover and showcase which towns and cities actively supported the Jim Crow laws. The timetable planned for a two-week trip through the Southern states to arrive in New Orleans on 17 May 1961, the anniversary of the historic Brown v Board of Education ruling. This plan was a controversial one, with even members of the Civil Rights Movement thinking it was too confrontational. Segregation was a fact of life in the South and the entire post-Civil War culture was built on its foundations. White segregationists would and did view it as an attack on their very way of life. There was a very real possibility that the Freedom Riders would be arrested, attacked or even killed as they made their way to New Orleans.

The Riders had their trail laid for them by a woman named Irene Morgan. In the 1940s, she successfully fought against segregation on interstate buses, much like Rosa Parks had fought against segregated city buses in Montgomery a decade later. Unfortunately, the Southern states overruled this federal law by enforcing the segregation that existed in the Southern state laws. The Riders were not sent in without instruction, however, and received training in Washington, DC on how to deal with confrontation and the inevitable violence they would encounter. The riders were even warned by King in Atlanta that the KKK were planning a welcoming committee for the buses in Alabama and encouraged the Riders to turn back. The buses were heckled, stopped, attacked and one set on fire as they entered Alabama. Local police forces, along with the FBI, were also turning a blind eye to planned KKK attacks on the Riders. The Klan was given 15 minutes without any police intervention and the sickening pictures taken of the mass brawl that ensued were widely circulated around the world. In this way, the Freedom Riders had achieved their objective: for the simple act of riding on a bus, they had almost been killed by mobs of locals and had embarrassed the USA - a country that prided itself on civil liberties - on the world stage. Even so, the Riders became stranded in Birmingham when the bus drivers refused to drive them any further. After a tense standoff in the airport, the government had to intervene to fly the

“The Nation of Islam, an organisation that Malcolm X was once part of, called for a separate black US nation”

“When meeting aggression with pacifism, it may seem like training would be slightly redundant, but the Civil Rights Movement offered its activists two kinds of non-violent training. Philosophical training aimed to shape a person's attitude and mental response to violence, whereas practical training gave demonstrators tips on how to organise and lead peaceful demonstrations. It also covered the basics of how to respond to physical attacks and protect oneself from serious injury or even death. As activists, and especially the Freedom Riders, they could be subjected to anything from physical blows with fists, feet or objects to getting spat on, run over or stabbed. Training sessions would consist of role play, where members would experience being insulted, threatened or attacked in a controlled environment.

PREPARE FOR THE WORST

The training helped to form a sense of camaraderie among groups of activists and while the training was taken seriously, many believed they would never have to put it to use. The first Freedom Rider volunteers were convinced that they wouldn’t need to use their physical training, but soon found out they would have to employ this vital knowledge on a daily basis as they travelled south. Participants in training sessions were required to first have a very serious and committed attitude to the cause. Calm confidence was thought to be the best defence in the face of aggression. With training came discipline, and the goal was to present an organised, unbreakable front that would absorb violence and be able to continue the protest regardless, rendering the opponents’ force worthless.

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“For the simple act of riding on a bus, they had almost been killed by mobs of locals”
battered and bruised Riders down to New Orleans. The next chapter of the Freedom Ride is one of the best examples of what the non-violent protest stood for. A second wave of Freedom Riders was on its way from Nashville to Birmingham, and the feeling was that if the ride stopped now, it would prove that segregation could be upheld by brutal violence. This second wave of riders knew the danger they were putting themselves in, and went so far as to write up their wills the night before they departed. By 17 May, pressure from the Kennedy administration, who had been scrambling to defuse the situation since the worldwide backlash, granted the Freedom Riders full police protection. This came none too soon as tensions in Birmingham between the Riders and the KKK had reached breaking point. This police presence disappeared as soon as the bus hit the Montgomery city limits, and the Riders and accompanying journalists were again subjected to horrific beatings. King again intervened for the Riders, this time asking an armed mob of black taxi drivers, who had formed up to protect them, to stand down for fear that they would escalate the situation even further. The group’s total dedication to non-violent protest, even in the face of death, showed the commitment and bravery of all involved. The Riders’ actions were starting to see results on a national level. The governors of Mississippi and Alabama relented to give the Riders the protection of the state police and National Guard under the guarantee that the Riders could be arrested for breaking the segregation laws once they arrived at a bus depot. The level of arrests soon led to overpopulation of the local prisons and President Kennedy called for a “cooling off” period. Ignoring his request, the Freedom Rides continued and were met with the same level of hate and violence wherever they went. By November 1961, six months after the first group departed from Washington, DC, the segregation laws, including separate toilet facilities and waiting rooms, were removed from all bus terminals in the US, while passengers were permitted to sit wherever they pleased on interstate buses and trains. The ride, which had originally been planned as

Both King and Malcolm X were assassinated, King by a white supremacist and the latter by Nation of Islam members.
The Power of Non-Violent Protest

Love Over Hate

Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement as a whole were influenced by other international peace protests and leaders. Dr King was outspoken in his influence by and agreement with Indian peace activist Mahatma Gandhi, and the writings of author and spiritual pioneer Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi and Tolstoy began discussing the nature of non-violent protest in a series of letters after the Indian activist asked for permission to print one of the author’s letters in his South African newspaper, where he was stationed at the time. The letter, called ‘A Letter to a Hindoo’, sparked a passionate correspondence that would continue until Tolstoy’s death. In these letters, they discuss how violence seems unnatural for the human spirit and advocate for the return to the most basic natural state for a human: love. All three men, especially Gandhi and King, saw love as the driving factor that could end oppression and was the only answer to violence.

Both Gandhi and King agreed that meeting violence and hate with love was not a sign of weakness, but rather of strength and didn’t have to refer to feelings or sentiment but rather a powerful force that could be used for good.

Taking both the teachings of Tolstoy and Gandhi, King said, “Power at its best is love implementing the demands of justice, and justice at its best is power correcting everything that stands against love” and sought to break down the barriers that saw society had placed on the combining of love and power.

One of the letters Gandhi sent to Tolstoy from his residence in Johannesburg

After years of peaceful resistance, the Civil Rights Movement had many of the Jim Crow laws abolished in 1964 with the Civil Rights Act.

a 14-day excursion, had been drawn out over many months and gained worldwide news coverage. The violence was condemned at every turn and the actions of the Freedom Riders helped greatly to showcase the rampant inequality in the USA and show the power of peaceful, non-violent protest.

The policy of “love thy neighbour” and pacifism shown in all circumstances was not accepted by all of the Civil Rights Movement or the black community. Some leaders thought that non-violent protest was only adopted because of the overwhelming force of the opposition. There was no way black communities could go toe-to-toe with local police departments or hate groups like the KKK and come out on top. Community leaders like Malcolm X saw King’s pacifism as leaving black people defenceless against white aggression. He even went so far as to call King a modern-day ‘Uncle Tom’, a derogatory and antiquated term used to describe a black person who sided with their white oppressors against other black people. Malcolm X and others who agreed with his more violent approach to combating segregation could not comprehend a non-violent approach, when black communities had so frequently been the target of state-sanctioned violence and discrimination. Despite his powerful rhetoric, there is a school of thought that believes leaders like Malcolm X incited or condoned violence in order to make the peaceful protests stand out more. Segregationists would be more willing to work with a moderate like Dr King when faced with the alternative of Malcolm X and organisations like the Black Panthers.

Being targeted by the authorities and organisations like the KKK, black communities took their protection into their own hands. This need led to groups like the Deacons for Defense and Justice being formed in 1964. Mostly made up of veterans from World War II and the Korean War, the Deacons provided armed guards to protect the homes and residences of activists. It was one of the first self-defence forces to make itself known in the Civil Rights Movement, and its creation was met with scepticism by the non-violent majority, who either stayed silent over its actions or spoke out against them. Despite the resistance against them from both camps, the Deacons were effective in curbing KKK activities and violence against black communities, and providing security for the March Against Fear that occurred in Tennessee and Mississippi in 1966. Other communities also found that displays of force or the threat of violence were enough to stop attacks by the KKK and protect their families.

The Civil Rights Movement contained a fluid spectrum of thoughts and opinions, but mostly focused on non-violent practices. These were the actions that saw the most positive change in both society and law. While it did not end the struggle for equality, it proved that love, bravery and determination could win out over hate and violence.

John Lewis, one of the original group of 13 Freedom Riders, was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1986.

Image Source: Bildagentur Zuffenhausen / Dietrich Klabmann

Image Source: Image Source / Photoshot / Sipa Press / Universal Images Rights

King and Malcolm X may have had differing views, but were both passionate and committed activists.
Professor John Salter with students Joan Trumpauer and Anne Moody take part in a sit-in at a whites-only lunch counter in Jackson, Mississippi. They were pelted with food and physically attacked during their nonviolent protest.
in 25 May 1948, roughly one million white South Africans went to the polls to cast ballots in parliamentary elections. Their decision was between the incumbent Union Party, which had thrust South Africans into a wildly unpopular World War II, and an upstart coalition of right-wing nationalists called the Reunited National Party (NP). Although no blacks and few mixed-race South Africans participated in the election, the vote was a naked referendum on race. D F Malan, the NP leader, ran on a platform of institutionalized apartheid or ‘apartheid’, an aggressive credo of racial segregation and white dominion. Jan Smuts, the sitting prime minister, fumbled over the ‘black question’, proposing a series of murky ideas involving racial integration. White Afrikaners, the descendants of Dutch-speaking settlers who fought two bloody land wars with the British, were sick of supporting the Crown and saw the Union Party as the queen’s lackeys. It’s no accident that apartheid is an Afrikaans word - racial segregation was key to Afrikaner nationalism and its fervent belief in a white state.

Apartheid won the day. The conservative NP joined forces with the ultra-nationalist Afrikaner Party to take an eight-seat majority in parliament and Malan ascended to prime minister. Afrikaners saw the victory as nothing short of a declaration of independence, from Britain and from blacks. “For the first time since Union,” declared Malan, “South Africa is our own.” By 1948, the oppression and subjugation of the black majority in South Africa was already a centuries-old story, but the rise of apartheid would further raise the stakes and set the scene for a confrontation between the government and those who believed that their country should be for all – people like Nelson Mandela. Mandela was speechless when he first heard the election results. The 29-year-old activist and law student had believed that South Africa was on the cusp of a very different kind of change. In America, legal challenges to segregation were being organised and in India Gandhi and his followers had used the tools of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience to overthrow centuries of British rule. Even with the NP in power, Mandela refused to assume the worst from the nationalist regime, but this meant that he initially underestimated the fervour with which the white power structure would clamp down on black freedoms.

Raised in a tiny Xhosa village in the remote Transkei region, Mandela had arrived in the
The Laws That Divided a Country

Educational Apartheid

Education under apartheid was separate and wildly unequal. Under the 1953 Bantu Education Act, schools and universities were labelled either ‘white’ or ‘tribal’ and all were put under direct government control. Spending on black schools was one-tenth of that invested in white education, resulting in hundreds of black schools without electricity or running water. National Party leaders saw no need to spend money on an education that black South Africans would never use. A 1974 law forcing black students to learn Afrikaans as well as English was the spark that ignited the 1976 Soweto Uprising that resulted in hundreds of deaths, many of them high school students.

Medical Apartheid

From the early days of Dutch and British colonial rule, there were two medical systems in South Africa: one for whites and one for blacks. The segregation of hospitals was so entrenched by 1948 that the National Party didn’t need to write it into law; it was already the policy at every public medical facility in the country. When medical facilities were finally integrated in 1990, only 10 per cent of South Africa’s five million whites were using public hospitals compared with 90 per cent of the country’s 27 million blacks. The result was a huge surplus of beds in white hospitals and dangerous overcrowding in black facilities.

Sexual Apartheid

Fears surrounding sexual ‘impurity’ have always fuelled the argument for segregation of the races. In white South Africa and elsewhere, the black man was portrayed as a deviant sexual animal with an insatiable appetite for white women. The South African parliament passed the Immorality Act in 1927, outlawing sexual relations between whites and blacks with a punishment of five years in jail for men and four years for women. Mixed marriages were banned outright in 1949 and amendments to the Immorality Act in 1950 and 1957 extended the prohibition to all coloured races and increased the jail time to seven years for anyone convicted of ‘immoral or indecent acts.’

A young black man, in an act of resistance to apartheid, rides a bus reserved for whites.

“Mandela was handsome and unabashedly vain, insisting on the best suits from exclusive white tailors”

black townships of Johannesburg only seven years before those fateful 1948 elections, a college dropout escaping an arranged marriage. After a brief stint as a night watchman in the mines, Mandela the country boy had the good fortune to meet Walter Sisulu, a young real-estate agent who would grow to become one of Mandela’s greatest mentors, supporters and, ultimately, his prison companion. Sisulu got Mandela a job as a clerk in a progressive Johannesburg law firm, one of the few that served both black and white clients and even introduced him to his future wife, when Mandela met his young cousin Evelyn; the couple married in 1944. It was in Sisulu’s home in the black suburb of Orlando where Mandela first met the outspoken Zulu activist Anton Lembede, who would recruit the young idealist studying for a law degree and dreaming of his own practice to an organisation that would shape the rest of his life: the African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC was founded in 1912 to unify feuding African tribes in the struggle for black rights in the newly christened Union of South Africa. Right from the formation of the ANC there was internal debate over the most effective way to fight for change. In 1919, the ANC supported a militant strike of 70,000 miners north of Johannesburg, which was ultimately crushed by police and armed white civilians. In the aftermath, the ANC leadership chose a more diplomatic path, but these efforts were equally fruitless. The ANC languished through much of the Twenties and Thirties as a stuffy, ineffective old-boys club. Anton Lembede planned to change all of that. He recruited Mandela and Sisulu to help him found a new youth wing of the ANC, a radically rebooted civil-rights organisation dedicated to the ideals of African nationalism. The group called for taking the fight to the streets in mass demonstrations and coordinated acts of civil disobedience. Despite some resistance from the ANC’s old guard, the ANC Youth League officially launched in April 1944 with Lembede as president and Mandela, Sisulu and Oliver Tambo – a brilliant young teacher and organiser that Mandela knew from his school days – on the executive committee. Mandela wasn’t a leader yet, just a tall, whip-smart activist swept up in the infectious personality of Lembede, the camaraderie of his friends, and the justness of the cause. The Youth League grew in prominence and influence within the ANC, but Mandela and his ideological companions weren’t the only organisation vying for the minds and hearts of oppressed South Africans. Communists and Indian groups were staging their own strikes and mass actions and recruiting some of the brightest young black activists to their cause. Mandela counted communists and Indians as friends, but fervently opposed any attempt to muddy the clear nationalist agenda of black Africans with ‘foreign’ ideologies.

Then came 1948 with Malan and his National Party coalition sweeping to power on a platform of
harsh racial segregation. While the Youth League and ANC leaders quibbled over joining forces with rival opposition groups, the NP regime set out to legalise a far-reaching system of institutionalised apartheid. Malan and his ministers set the groundwork for a nationwide system of racial classification. Every citizen would be categorised as white, black, coloured or Indian and required to live and work in racially ‘pure’ sections of every city. As the full scope and intensity of apartheid law became clear, Mandela and his Youth Leaguers acted with a new urgency. Together, they drew up plans for an ambitious Programme of Action. The Programme of Action called for an end to passive negotiation with the enemy and the launch of an active resistance campaign using tactics of non-violence, civil disobedience, boycotts and strikes. Mandela and the Youth League were vehement about non-violence as the only viable force.

The annual ANC conference in 1949 marked a dramatic shift from the ANC as an association of old-guard liberalism into a radical revolutionary machine. The Youth Leaguers staged a coup, deposing the staid ANC president Xuma with a no-confidence vote and replacing him with a hand-picked successor. Mandela’s good friend Sisulu was elected secretary-general of the revolutionised ANC and Tambo and other Youth Leaguers were called to executive roles. Mandela would soon join them on the ANC’s front lines.

Today’s public perception of Mandela is of a patient peacemaker and master strategist who wrought unthinkable concessions from his worst enemies and displayed amazing forgiveness towards them. However, it is worth noting that the Mandela of the late Forties and early Fifties was a mere player in a much larger struggle for black freedom – but he still stood out. Friends and associates from those early days describe him as supremely confident and charming, but also somewhat distant and aloof. He didn’t drink with the other activists in the raucous underground bars called shebeens and spoke with a reserved formality fitting of his chiefly upbringing in the Transkei. But Mandela’s polite formality belied an innate fearlessness. The same fearless streak that drew him into the boxing ring would suit Mandela well during the increasingly heated opposition to the apartheid regime.

In 1951, Mandela was elected national president of the Youth League, his first taste of real power. At the ANC convention, Mandela’s friend Sisulu, still the secretary-general, proposed a non-violent Defiance Campaign against the flood of oppressive race laws. The ANC would demand that the government repeal certain laws that made black South Africans feel like prisoners in their own country. When the regime refused, they would take to the streets in mass actions of passive resistance and civil disobedience. By this point, both Mandela and the larger ANC had abandoned their fierce African nationalism and embraced the idea of a united front against apartheid that included a coalition of leading communist and Indian opposition groups. When Mandela spoke of South Africa’s future, he spoke of freedom for all “non-European” people, not just the black majority.

Mandela had high expectations for the Defiance Campaign and offered to serve as Volunteer-in-Chief. The Defiance Campaign lasted six months, during which more than 8,000 people were arrested and jailed for non-violent acts of civil disobedience. Getting arrested became a badge of honour. Membership in the ANC exploded and Mandela was awarded much of the credit for the best-organised and most effective campaign in ANC history. His standing continued to grow.

However, the celebrations were short-lived. The National Party responded to the insolence of the opposition with mass arrests – Mandela included – on charges of ‘communism’. Found guilty, the men received a suspended sentence of nine months of hard labour, which they never served. However, the government imposed strict bans on Mandela and 51 other ANC leaders. They were forbidden to attend

**Mandela was a staunch critic of apartheid and gave many speeches detailing its injustice.**

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**BANTUSTANS**

The National Party government viewed black and coloured South Africans as a political problem. Apartheid created separate rules for whites and non-whites governing every sphere of life, but the ultimate goal was to drive all non-whites out of the country. In 1951, parliament passed the Bantu Authorities Act to create eight new ‘homelands’ called Bantustans where blacks could live in ‘freedom.’ Over the next three decades, 3.5 million people were forced from their homes to live in impoverished rural communities ruled by hand-picked tribal chiefs. By becoming citizens of a Bantustan, blacks gave up their rights to live and work in South Africa proper.

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![Map of Bantustans](image-url)
meetings with more than one person or even leave Johannesburg without police permission. Meanwhile, parliament passed new laws against deliberate lawbreaking carrying sentences of years in prison and even flogging – a punishment that illustrated just how archaic the government was.

The bans effectively sidelined Mandela from active involvement in the ANC for the next two years and he fell back on his day job. Somehow, while dedicating countless hours to the Youth League, Mandela managed to earn his law degree. In August 1952, together with Oliver Tambo, Mandela rented a cramped space in downtown Johannesburg and opened the law offices of Mandela & Tambo, the first and only black law partnership in South Africa. The pair swapped fighting the cruelties and absurdities of apartheid from the streets to the courts. The stairs leading to their office were packed day and night with poor Africans desperate for an advocate against unjust laws. As Mandela recounts in his autobiography, Long Walk to Freedom: “...it was a crime to walk through a Whites Only door, a crime to ride a Whites Only bus, a crime to use a Whites Only drinking fountain, a crime to walk on a Whites Only beach, a crime to be on the streets past eleven, a crime not to have a pass book and a crime to have the wrong signature in that book, a crime to be unemployed and a crime to be employed in the wrong place, a crime to live in certain places and a crime to have no place to live.”

In 1953, Mandela crafted the so-called ‘M-Plan’ that called for an underground network of secret ANC cells across South Africa. While the M-Plan was never implemented, it set the groundwork for the not-too-distant day when Mandela and his freedom fighters would be driven into the shadows. When Malan’s National Party strengthened its position in parliament in the 1953 general election it became clear that the United Party were failing to propose a viable alternative to apartheid. The ANC called for all enemies of apartheid, regardless of race or creed or political ideology, to convene in a massive Congress of the People. The mission of this Congress was to produce a Freedom Charter, a ‘constitution’ that called for racial equality and liberty in South Africa. The Congress met in 1955 with Mandela in secret attendance.

As the Freedom Charter was read in three languages, approving cries of “Afrikali!” reverberated from the 3,000 delegates in attendance. However, on the second day of meetings, armed Afrikaner detectives raided the meeting hall and seized the microphone, telling all in attendance that they were part of an investigation into acts of treason. Most in the ANC dismissed this as a publicity stunt and few took the investigation seriously. However, early on a December morning in 1956 Mandela awoke to the banging of fists on his door and was met with three white policemen with a warrant for his arrest on charges of high treason. It wasn’t an isolated event. Over 155 ANC leaders and Congress attendees of all races were rounded up, arrested, and held for two weeks before the infamous Treason Trial began.

Using more than 12,000 documents collected during a three-year investigation, including snippets of public speeches and the text of the Freedom Charter itself, the government tried to paint the accused as communist plotters aiming to topple the regime through violent uprising. The trial was rife with incompetent testimony and flimsy evidence, ultimately failing to convict Mandela and his co-defendants, but the criminal proceedings stretched on for an interminable five years and the ANC directed much of its efforts to raising money for their defence. Early in the Treason Trial, Mandela returned home from the courtroom to find that his personal life was also in turmoil as Evelyn, his wife and mother of his two young children, had left. Soon after the divorce, Mandela fell in love with a charming 22-year-old social
Oliver Tambo
Oliver Tambo was a lifelong leader of the ANC and one of Mandela’s most loyal partners in the fight against apartheid. With Mandela, Tambo helped found the ANC Youth League and create the 1949 Programme of Action that transformed the ANC from an isolated political organisation into a radical liberation movement. Tambo and Mandela founded a law firm to advocate for the poor and were arrested countless times for staging protests and breaking apartheid laws. After the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, Tambo and the ANC went into exile, forging key partnerships with other African nations. Tambo headed for London to mobilise opposition to apartheid. He lived there until he returned to South Africa in 1991, to attend the first ANC national conference inside South Africa in three decades.

Joe Slovo
The Jewish communist was a close ally of Mandela and a commanding officer in the Spear of the Nation. Slovo first met Mandela at Wits University, when a young Mandela wanted nothing to do with communists and other ‘foreign’ influences. The two ended up fierce allies in the fight of the ‘people’ against the oppressive rule of apartheid. Both men were repeatedly arrested and banned from public appearances and went underground to plan acts of sabotage against the regime. When Mandela was imprisoned, Slovo went into exile in Britain and elsewhere, returning in 1990 to negotiate an end to apartheid.

Hendrik Verwoerd
Known as the chief architect of apartheid, HF Verwoerd served as minister of native affairs under Malan and eventually as the seventh prime minister of South Africa. As minister of native affairs, Verwoerd was instrumental in crafting the most insidious apartheid laws, including the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Pass Laws Act. As prime minister, he engineered the forced relocation of blacks in ‘homelands’ and the reclassification of white South Africa as its own Republic. After surviving two bullets to the face in 1960, Verwoerd was fatally stabbed six years later.

Daniel Francois Malan
DF Malan was a leading figure in the National Party’s rise to power in South African politics and a founding father of apartheid. An Afrikaner, Malan fought hard for the rights of white South Africans, both against the remnants of Dutch and British colonial rule and the black ‘natives.’ Malan was the first editor of Die Burger, the N.P newspaper, and held high government posts when the party seized power in the Twenties. Malan defected to form his own ‘purified’ nationalist party, campaigning on a platform of institutionalised apartheid in 1948, winning 86 of the 150 seats in parliament. During his six and a half years as prime minister Malan passed numerous apartheid laws and when he eventually retired in 1954, aged 80, apartheid had been firmly established and his successors carried on down the same path.

“The government tried to paint the accused as communist plotters aiming to topple the regime through violent uprising”

worker named Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela. Sixteen years younger than Mandela, Winnie was exceptionally bright – the first black social worker hired at Baragwanath Hospital – and fascinated by fashion, not politics. She was smitten by Mandela the handsome lawyer, not Mandela the political firebrand. Winnie, who also grew up in the Transkei, was in awe of Mandela’s chieftain carriage. Despite objections from Winnie’s family the two married in 1958 during a break in the Treason Trial. Unlike Evelyn, Winnie would eventually be drawn deeply to politics and earn her own fame and controversy. The Treason Trial finally ended in March 1961 with all charges dropped against Mandela and the 29 others accused. Faced with the constant threat of bans, arrests and more trumped-up charges, Mandela decided that he would be most effective to the cause by going underground. After a tearful goodbye with Winnie, he left his home and family and entered one of the darkest and most transformative phases of his life. Moving from safehouse to safehouse, Mandela put all of his efforts into organising a peaceful, three-day stay-at-home strike and arranged secret meetings with the South African press, who began to recognise him as the unofficial mouthpiece of the underground revolution. When the day of the strike arrived, however, the regime responded with an impressive military show of force. Crushed, Mandela cancelled the strike after a single day. Soon after this the despondent 43-year-old was interviewed by a journalist and warned: ‘If the government is to crush by force our non-violent demonstrations, we will have to seriously reconsider our tactics. In my mind, we are closing a chapter on this question of non-violent policy.’ For Mandela, the struggle for a free South Africa was no longer political; it was a matter of life and death. If the regime was going to respond to strikes and protests with bayonets and machine guns, the opposition had a simple choice: take arms or die. Non-violence alone had reached its limits. From his safehouse he embraced his newfound militancy with a lawyer’s zeal. He read every book he could find on armed revolution and guerrilla warfare but despite his change in attitude the practicalities were different; Mandela had never held a gun, let alone fired one.
ROAD TO FREEDOM: WHY MANDELA WAS FREED

FreedomFest 11 June 1988
In 1988 more than a billion people worldwide tuned in to watch a star-studded 11-hour concert celebrating Mandela’s seventieth birthday. Live acts included some of the biggest pop stars of the day and several prominent African musicians. Promoter Tony Hollingsworth and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement spearheaded the organisation of the event at London’s Wembley Stadium, which proved a logistical and political nightmare. At first, musicians refused to commit unless the bill was studded with A-list acts. Once the acts were booked, Hollingsworth had to negotiate between ANC leaders demanding a politically-charged event and Western broadcasters who wanted to strip the concert of any overtly anti-apartheid messaging. In the end, the concert was promoted as a pro-freedom rally celebrating Mandela’s birthday, but political speeches were banned. With violent clashes on the news, the viewers were unable to understand the political significance of the concert. The event helped bring the anti-apartheid movement into the world’s living rooms.

Internal resistance to apartheid Seventies and Eighties
For South Africans, Mandela’s imprisonment was symbolic of the larger oppression and subjugation of blacks under apartheid. As Mandela rose to prominence as a prisoner of conscience, his name and image were invoked by organisations intent on toppling the racist regime. Student groups like the South African Students’ Movement were some of the first to stage mass protests and strikes like the Soweto Uprising of 1976, in which police shot 23 students dead in a mass revolt against the decree that black students learn Afrikaans in school. Labour unions were another force of internal resistance, particularly after black trade unions were legalised in 1979. Unions could effectively fill the vacuum left by banned political organisations and since unions met inside factory walls, they were immune to public meeting laws. Churches and religious coalitions were another powerful anti-apartheid force. Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu led the church as secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, helping to earn him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his international call to conscience. Some white South Africans also rallied against apartheid. In parliamentary elections during the Seventies and Eighties, 15 to 20 per cent of whites voted for the Progressive Party, the only South African political party opposing apartheid.

WHILE MANDELA WAS IMPRISONED

- Assassination of Verwoerd
  Prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, is assassinated in the House of Assembly by an enraged parliamentary messenger. His National Party successors would gradually soften the regime’s vice-like grip on power. 6 September 1966

- Soweto Uprising
  20,000 students take to the streets to protest the obligatory use of Afrikaans in classroom instruction alongside English. Heavily armed riot police killed hundreds, mostly teenagers. In the aftermath, the ANC rises to power as a student organising group. 16 June 1976

- Release of first political prisoner
  Breyten Breytenbach, a white anti-apartheid activist convicted of treason, is released early from his life sentence after a massive international campaign. The Botha government starts to quietly reassess its strict policy on political prisoners. 2 December 1982

- Coetsee meets Mandela
  Minister of justice Kobie Coetsee appears at Mandela’s hospital bed while the imprisoned leader recovers from prostate surgery. Together, they begin to forge a compromise by which the ANC would retreat from violence in exchange for releasing apartheid laws. 15 August 1985

- Economic sanctions 1986
  The United Nations were an early opponent of apartheid and in 1963 called on all nations to stop shipments of arms, ammunition and military vehicles. Calls for further economic sanctions met resistance, particularly from the US and UK, which held longstanding political and economic ties with the ruling regime. Margaret Thatcher labelled the ANC and its supporters “terrorists.” The Eighties saw increased TV news coverage of apartheid resistance, and many US corporations, colleges and universities pulled investments.

- F W de Klerk 2 February 1990
  In his first address to parliament after assuming the presidency de Klerk shocked his supporters and critics by unbanning the ANC and other opposition groups and announcing the imminent release of Mandela from prison. Born to National Party royalty he rose to prominence as an old-school Afrikaner politician but ultimately came to see apartheid as an unsustainable solution. De Klerk initially supported the Bantustan campaigns to relocate blacks to “native” homelands, but admitted that whites made a mistake by retaining too much land. As sanctions mounted and shifting global politics threatened to further isolate the country economically, he decided to transition to an open democratic society.

- Mandela released from prison
  11 February 1990
  By 4pm, thousands of ecstatic supporters packed the small plaza outside of Victor Verster prison where Mandela had been kept since 1964. The crowd was eager to catch a glimpse of their “king,” but few knew what he looked like anymore. The 71-year-old Mandela hadn’t had a photo taken in 27 years and this unknown quality has added to his legend. Then, a tall, stately figure with a salt-and-pepper hair, wearing a grey suit, stepped through the prison gates and into the blazing South African summer sun. At first, Mandela looked overwhelmed; after nearly three decades in solitude, he was thrust into the spotlight, watched by millions who were too young to have any real idea what it meant to have an old man in a grey suit step forward. It was a moment of great mourning, a moment of great celebration. Mandela raised a fist into the air in a defiant and proud ANC salute. The crowd roared, Mandela smiled, and the prisoner took his first steps on a journey to becoming South Africa’s first black president.
Mandela’s new militancy reflected other parts of the nation. By 1961, the PAC already had its own militant squad, as did the communists. Mandela was adamant that the time was ripe to organize a militant wing of the ANC. Publicly, the ANC would admit no ties to the guerilla organization, but the armed rebels would act in accordance with ANC leadership to achieve strategic political goals. Mandela the amateur military commander was now in charge of the ANC’s fledgling sabotage squad, Umkhonto we Sizwe or ‘Spear of the Nation,’ best known by the initials MK. Mandela recruited Walter Sisulu and their white communist friend Joe Slovo as joint commanders of MK.

The regime condemned the MK as communist terrorists and Mandela the activist lawyer was now effectively an underground rebel commander. With a price on his head, he went deeper into hiding, favouring a remote farm called Liliesleaf in the Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia. When he travelled to meet ANC leaders and Winnie, he did so in disguise, sometimes as a chauffeur, a night watchman or a mechanic. The swooning press dubbed him the ‘Black Pimpernel.’

Mandela slipped out of South Africa in late 1961 to garner support for the armed struggle. He received a hero’s welcome at the Pan-African Freedom Conference in Ethiopia. In London, Tambo begged Mandela to stay there or travel to America, but he was insistent that he wanted to face his enemy head on. Mandela was as good as his word and returned to Africa to attend an intensive six-month military training camp in Ethiopia where he handled a pistol and automatic rifle for the first time and learned to make explosives. While Mandela was away, back in South Africa, the PAC military wing had begun to assassinate whites out of retaliation for government crackdowns, something Mandela and the MK had vowed never to do. In response, the parliament passed the Sabotage Act in 1962, making any act of political sabotage, no matter how petty, a capital crime. Mandela knew that a return to South Africa meant almost certain arrest or even death, but he made little effort to disguise his identity when he crossed the border, wearing only military khakis and a patchy beard of a Sixties revolutionary. As he must have known would happen, on 5 August 1962, Mandela’s transport from Durban to Johannesburg was overtaken by police and he was arrested and charged with incitement to strike and leaving the country without a passport. In one of the most memorable and theatrical moments of his public life, he appeared in the Pretoria courthouse bare-chested wearing his native Xhosa garb, a leopard-skin kamos draped over one shoulder.

Mandela freely admitted to his crimes, but the platform to deliver an hour-long speech justifying his actions in the name of revolutionary democracy. He was found guilty and sentenced to five years of imprisonment, at the time the harshest sentence handed down for a political offence in South Africa. After six months in Pretoria prison, Mandela was transferred to Robben Island. While serving his sentence of hard labour there, police investigators hunted down his MK co-conspirators at the farm hideout in Rivonia. The careless revolutionaries, Mandela included, had left a treasure trove of documents implicating themselves in the planning and execution of acts of sabotage and guerrilla warfare against the regime.

Mandela was transferred from the Robben Island prison back to the same Pretoria courtroom in October 1963 to face capital charges related to 221 acts of sabotage. He was joined in the Rivonia Trial by Sisulu and nine other MK members. The evidence against the saboteurs was overwhelming, but the most damning testimony came from Bruno Molo, a former saboteur who struck a plea deal with the prosecution and recounted detailed conversations with Mandela and his co-conspirators in the MK.

In lieu of a defence strategy, Mandela delivered one of the most famous speeches of his life. Mandela’s ‘Speech from the Dock’ lasted four unbroken hours, detailing his beatific life in the Transkei, the blind nationalism of his early activism, his evolution to all-inclusive opposition, and his ultimate abandonment of the principles of non-violence in the face of brutal oppression.

Mandela famously concluded his speech with the following words: ‘During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.’ Mandela did not ultimately die for that ideal, but he would lose the next 27 years of his life to imprisonment because of it before he could take his first faltering steps as a free man. His steps may have been shaky, but he was walking out to a South Africa that was on the cusp of a seismic change.
“I HAVE A DREAM”

Explore the blood, sweat and tears behind one of the most iconic speeches in American history

Martin Luther King, the pastor who believed in nonviolent protest, addressed the hundreds of thousands of people gathered in Washington, DC with these words: “I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.” The date was 28 August 1963 and while he spoke confidently, no one really knew how significant his role and the words he was yet to speak, sharing his iconic dream, would be in bringing it to life.

The day’s events – known officially as The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom – had been in planning since December 1962. An original focus on unemployment among the black population had swiftly expanded to include the broader issue of segregation and discrimination, and soon a programme of speeches, song and prayer had been arranged, reflecting a powerful vision of racial equality. Dr Martin Luther King – the man now synonymous with the march and arguably black history itself – was last on the bill.

Proceedings started early. Word of the march had spread far and wide, and at 8am the first of 21 chartered trains arrived in the capital, followed by more than 2,000 buses and ten aeroplanes – all in addition to standard scheduled public transport. Around 1,000 people – black and white – poured into Lincoln Memorial every five minutes, including a number of well-known celebrities, which gave the
GANDHI’S INFLUENCE

While the two never met in person, King derived a great deal of inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi’s success in nonviolent protest, and so in 1959, made the journey to Bombay (now known as Mumbai).

King and his entourage were greeted with a warm welcome. “Virtually every door was open to us.” King later recorded. He noted that Indian people “love to listen to the Negro spirituals”, and so his wife, Coretta, ended up singing to crowds as often as King lectured. The trip affected King deeply. In a radio broadcast made on his last night in India, he said: “Since being in India, I am more convinced than ever before that the method of nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity.”

“King was a man who had endured death threats, bomb scares, multiple arrests and prison sentences”

march extra visibility. Charlton Heston and Burt Lancaster were among the demonstrators, as was Marlon Brando, brandishing an electric cattle prod — a less-than-subtle symbol of police brutality. Soon speakers were preparing to give their speeches to an audience of a quarter of a million, a far greater number than the 100,000 hoped for.

The growing crowd buzzed with hope and optimism, but undercurrents of unease also rippled through the throng. Against a backdrop of violent civil rights protests elsewhere around the country, President Kennedy had been reluctant to allow the march to go ahead, fearing an atmosphere of unrest. Despite the organisers’ promise of a peaceful protest, the Pentagon had readied thousands of troops in the suburbs and nearly 6,000 police officers patrolled the area. Liquor sales were banned throughout the city, hospitals stockpiled blood plasma and cancelled elective surgeries, and prisoners were moved to other facilities — measures taken to prepare for the civil disobedience many thought an inevitable consequence of the largest march of its kind in US history.

Many of those attending the march feared for their own safety but turned up on that warm August day because of how important they believed it was for their country, which was being ripped apart at the seams by race. In his book, Like a...
Mighty Stream. Patrik Henry Bass reported that demonstrator John Marshall Kilimanjaro, who travelled to the march from Greensboro, North Carolina, said that many attending the march felt afraid. “We didn’t know what we would meet. There was no precedent. Sitting across from me was a black preacher with a white collar. We talked. Every now and then, people on the bus sang ‘Oh Freedom and We Shall Overcome,’ but for the most part there wasn’t a whole bunch of singing. We were secretly praying that nothing violent happened.”

Kilimanjaro travelled over 480 kilometres (300 miles) to attend the march. Many from Birmingham, Alabama - where King was a particularly prominent figure - travelled for more than 20 hours by bus, covering 1,200 kilometres (750 miles). Attendees had invested a great deal of time, money and hope in the march, and anticipation – nervous or otherwise – was high.

The headline speaker, Martin Luther King, prominent activist, revered pastor and diligent president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) had yet to finalise his speech, despite retiring to bed at 4am the previous night after a long and wearied debate with his advisors. “The logistical preparations for the march were so burdensome that the speech was not a priority for us,” King’s confidante and speechwriter Clarence B Jones has since admitted.

It wasn’t until the evening before the march that seven individuals, including Jones, gathered together with King to give their input on the final

One of the many trains from New York arrives at Washington’s Union Station for the march

Clarence Jones, one of King’s speech writers

Folk singers Joan Baez and Bob Dylan singing at the 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington

**Jim Crow Laws**
The enactment of racial segregation laws created ‘separate but equal’ status for African Americans, whose conditions were often inferior to those provided for white Americans.

**The Civil Rights Act**
One of the most sweeping pieces of equality legislation seen in the US, the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination of any kind and gave federal government the power to enforce desegregation.

**A stronger act**
President George HW Bush finally signs the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which strengthens existing civil rights law - but only after two years of debates and vetoes.

**The first black president**
Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th president of the United States - the first African American in history to become the US president.
Dr Catherine Brown, head of faculty and senior lecturer in English at New College of the Humanities, London

*The speech derives its power from a combination of disparate elements. On one hand, it is addressed to a particular time and place, and emphasises this fact: the situation is urgent; now is the time change must happen. On the other, the speech is dense with allusions to the Bible and foundational American documents and speeches.

King is explicitly saying that the Emancipation Proclamation is a "bad check" that has yet to be honoured in regard to "the Negro people", and the speech calls on that cheque to be honoured.

The other texts he refers to were not written by black people, but by using their phrases and rhythms he is asserting his place and the black person's place in the cultural, intellectual, and political tradition that they're part of. In his very words, he is not allowing himself to be "separate but equal."

Behind the rhetoric of all these American texts is that of the King James translation of the Bible, and the rhetoric of ancient Greek and Roman orators. Both empires, and the authors of the Bible, are multi-ethnic white supremacy would have been foreign to them."

"In a heartbeat, King had done away with his formal address and began to preach from his heart his vision"

remarks. It was Jones's job to take notes and turn them into a powerful address that would captivate he hearts and minds of the nation - no mean feat as everyone at the meeting had a significant stake in the speech and wanted their voice to be heard. "I tried to summarise the various points made by all of his supporters", wrote Jones in his book, Behind the Dream. "It was not easy; voices from every compass point were ringing in my head." According to Jones, King soon became frustrated, telling his advisors: "I am now going upstairs to my room to counsel with my Lord. I will see you tomorrow."

No doubt the magnitude of the task at hand weighed heavily on King's mind that night as he tried to rest. By this point, King was a well-known political figure, but few outside the black church and activism circles had heard him speak publicly at length. With the relatively newfangled television networks preparing to project his image into the homes of millions, King knew that he must seize the unprecedented platform for civil rights. When he was finally called to the podium, it was clear King's placement on the bill had put him at an immediate disadvantage. An oppressively hot day was quickly draining the crowd's enthusiasm and many had already left the march in order to make their long journeys home. A state-of-the-art sound system had been brought in for the day, but an act of sabotage before the event meant that even with help from the US Army Signal Corps in fixing it, some of the crowd struggled to hear the speakers. But King was a man who had endured death threats, bomb scares, multiple arrests, prison sentences and constant intimidation in his pursuit for equality; he would not be undone by unfortunate circumstance.

Placing his typed yet scrawl-covered notes on the lectern, King began to speak, deftly and passionately, invoking the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation and the US Constitution. Early on, he gave a nod toward Abraham Lincoln's
IN THE PAPERS

Newspapers around the country brandished mixed headlines following King’s speech. While many reported on the march’s orderly and peaceful nature, several complained of the event’s effects on traffic and transport in the area. Others, perhaps deliberately, gave the march only a few column inches, referring to it as a ‘racial march’ rather than a call for equality.

This front page from the Eugene Register-Guard reflects the apprehension felt by many at the time. “Massive Negro Demonstration ‘Only a Beginning’” is somewhat scare mongering, implying the US should be fearful of the black population. The strapline “No Evidence of any Effect on Congress”, meanwhile, seems to purposely undermine the efforts of those involved in the march.

Gettysburg Address (“Five score years ago...”), an equally iconic speech that, 100 years previously, set down the then-president’s vision for human equality. King used rhythmic language, religious metaphor and the repetition of a phrase at the beginning of each sentence: “One hundred years later...” he cries, highlighting Lincoln’s failed dream. “We cannot be satisfied...” he announces, boldly declaring that “America has given the Negro people a bad check.” Jones, watching King captivate the crowd, breathed a sigh of relief. “A pleasant shock came over me as I realised that he seemed to be essentially reciting those suggested opening paragraphs I had scrawled down the night before in my hotel room”, he reveals in Behind the Dream. Then something unscripted happened. During a brief pause, gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, who had performed earlier in the day, shouted “Tell ‘em about the dream, Martin!” King pushed his notes to one side and stood tall in front of his audience. Jones, sensing what was
“King was targeted as a major enemy of the US and subjected to extensive surveillance and wiretapping by the FBI”

about to happen, told the person next to him, “These people out there today don’t know it yet, but they’re about to go to church.”

In a heartbeat, King had done away with his formal address and began to preach from his heart his vision, his dream, which came to represent a legacy that would change civil rights forever. “I have a dream,” he said, in one of the speech’s most famous lines, “that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character.”

“Aw, sh!”, remarked Walker Wyatt, another of King’s advisors. “He’s using the dream.” Wyatt had previously advised King to stay away from his dream rhetoric. “It’s trite, it’s cliché. You’ve used it too many times already”, he warned. Indeed, King had used the refrain on several occasions before at fundraisers and rallies but, crucially, in the days before mass media it had not been publicised. To the millions watching on TV and in person, the speech was as original as they come.

When King had talked about his ‘dream’ before, it had been generally well received, but certainly hadn’t been groundbreaking. This time, however, it was different: thousands upon thousands of listening voices cried out in approval and unity, and King’s final line: “Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty - we are free at last!” was met with a rapturous standing ovation from the enormous crowd.

King’s speech was a defining moment in black history and the fight for civil rights. “Though he was extremely well known before he stepped up to the lectern,” Jones wrote, “he had stepped down on the other side of history.” Even President Kennedy, no mean orator himself, reportedly turned to an aide and remarked: “He’s damned good.”

However, the clout of King’s address was not entirely positive. The Federal Bureau of Intelligence (FBI) was wary of King’s activities, and its director J Edgar Hoover considered King to be a dangerous radical. Two days after the march, FBI agent William C Sullivan wrote a memo about King’s increasing sway: “In the light of King’s powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders above all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro [...] in this nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.”
From this point on, King was targeted as a major enemy of the US and subjected to extensive surveillance and wiretapping by the FBI. According to Marshall Frady in his biography, Martin Luther King Jr: A Life, the FBI even sent King intercepted recordings of his extramarital affairs in a thinly veiled attempt, King believed, to intimidate and drive him to suicide.

It seems incredible to believe, but contemporary criticism not only came from the establishment, but from King’s peers. Civil rights activist and author Anne Moody made the trip to Washington, DC from Mississippi for the march and recalls: “I sat on the grass and listened to the speakers, to discover we had ‘dreamers’ instead of leaders leading us. Just about every one of them stood up there dreaming. Martin Luther King went on and on talking about his dream. I sat there thinking that in Canton we never had time to sleep, much less dream.”

Human rights activist Malcolm X also famously condemned the march, as well as Dr King’s speech itself. Allegedly dubbing the event “the farce on Washington”, he later wrote in his autobiography: “Who ever heard of angry revolutionaries swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily pad pools, with gospels and guitars and ‘I have a dream’ speeches?”

Whatever some of the critics might have said, though, there was no doubt that King’s speech singled him out as a leader. His oration has been lauded as one of the greatest of the 20th century, earning him the title of ‘Man of the Year’ by Time Magazine, and subsequently led to him receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. At the time, he was the youngest person to have been awarded the honour.

Most importantly, though, both the march and King’s speech initiated debate and paved the way for genuine and tangible civil rights reforms, putting racial equality at the top of the agenda. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 - landmark legislation that outlawed discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex or national origin - was enacted less than a year after King shared his dream.

Halfway through the speech, before doing away with his notes, Martin Luther King Jr declared to his thousands of brothers and sisters in the crowd: “We cannot walk alone.” That he spoke from his heart in such a poetic and unrepentant way ensured that, in the coming years, nobody did.
GIbson SG

Dubbed the "fastest neck in the world" when it appeared in 1963, the SG became synonymous with a number of famous names like Eric Clapton. The guitarist’s model, customised by psychedelic collective The Fool, was used during his years with power trio, Cream.
BORN TO BE WILD

THE ROCK REVOLUTION

THE 1960S WAS A SEISMIC DECADE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL
UPHEAVAL, WITH A SOUNDTRACK THAT ECHOED THE CHANGING TIMES

Written by
ROB HUGHES

The crowning moment of Country Joe McDonald's career wasn't exactly planned. Standing before nearly half a million people at Woodstock in the early afternoon of 16 August 1969, he'd already played to a largely underwhelming response. A quick word with his tour manager had resulted in him returning to the stage for one final tune, before the arrival of the next act, Santana.

McDonald began strumming the chords to 'Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die Rag', the political anthem he'd recorded with his band, Country Joe & The Fish. A biting sarcasm critique of US policy in Vietnam, in particular the escalating numbers of young conscripts, the song's power lay in both the immediacy of its message and its singalong verses. The Woodstock masses shook themselves from their slumber and began joining in: "And it's one, two, three, what are we fighting for? / Don't ask me I don't give a damn / Next stop is Vietnam / And it's five, six, seven, open up the pearly gates / Well there ain't no time to wonder why / Whoopie! We're all gonna die."

The crowd became more animated and rose to their feet - yelling, clapping and roaring approval - as McDonald led them to a feverish finale. By the time he'd exited the stage, acoustic guitar held aloft in salute, they were screaming for more. It's a scene immortalised in Michael Wadleigh's Oscar-winning Woodstock documentary, released the following year, and one that came to embody the disaffection and rage that pumped the heart of the American counterculture. Woodstock also served to bookend a tumultuous decade of social and political unrest.

It was an era of protest that had begun at the lunch counters of North Carolina and peaked in 600 acres of farmland in upstate New York. A period of accelerated change that had brought with it racial tensions, riots, student revolts and assassinations. All of this came with an apposite soundtrack, a rush of insurgent music - from folk to rock 'n' roll to psychedelia - that reflected the seismic changes of the times. Moreover, in its emergence as a weapon of cultural revolution, it sought to shape them.

Protest music was hardly a new concept in the 1960s. Against a backdrop of the nuclear threat, McCarthyism, the Cold War and the leftist progressive movement, the post-war years had seen a marked increase in the number of songs that addressed social and political issues. Woody Guthrie, Josh White, Harry Belafonte and The Weavers (featuring the outspoken Pete Seeger) had been at the vanguard in the United States, while a small cadre of voices - chief among them folk singer Ewan MacColl - had aligned themselves to Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain.
But the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, allied to matters surrounding voter registration rights, social equality, the nuclear arms race and the onset of the Vietnam War, resulted in an outpouring of protest in 1960s America that was unprecedented. The decade was barely a month old before the ruptures began. In February 1960, inspired by Martin Luther King Jr’s policy of non-violent protest, four black college students staged a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Word spread fast, fanned by local news reports, and by the fourth day, there were 300 people. Students across the state organised similar protests, soon followed by other Southern cities in Tennessee, Mississippi and Virginia.

As the Civil Rights Movement gathered momentum over the next few years, so too did the songs that accompanied it. Pete Seeger’s ‘If I Had A Hammer’ hit a popular nerve when Peter, Paul And Mary took it into the Billboard top ten in 1962. Twelve months later, the folk trio’s cover of ‘Blowin’ In The Wind’ sold 300,000 copies in its first week and became a huge international hit. Its author, 22-year-old singer Bob Dylan, was quickly gaining a reputation as a leading voice of protest in the cause of civil liberties.

His own version of the song appeared on The Freewheelin’ Bob Dylan, released in 1963, which also housed another key composition: ‘Masters Of War’. This track was a fierce satire on the rise of what ex-President Eisenhower had called “the military-industrial complex”. With its references to “death planes”, “big bombs” and “young people’s blood” flowing into mud, the song was a strong and defining statement on the ever-growing divisions between the American people and those in power. That August, Dylan and his female counterpart, the equally vociferous Joan Baez, were among those who performed at the March On Washington that took place at the Lincoln Memorial. Over 250,000 people were in attendance as Martin Luther King Jr, highlighting the lack of civil and economic freedoms available to America’s Black population amid a climate of boiling racial tension, delivered his historic “I Have A Dream” speech. Others who sang that day included gospel great Mahalia Jackson. Peter, Paul And Mary and black folkstress, Odetta. Baez led the crowd through Odetta’s poignant ‘Oh Freedom’, as well as the old gospel song that was swiftly adopted as the unofficial anthem of the protest movement, ‘We Shall Overcome’.

The latter, first popularised by Pete Seeger and Guy Carawan, offered a succession of declarations...
a better, more compassionate world: "We shall all be free, some day." More than just a song, it was a rallying cry around which all disaffected citizens could unite. Within a year, JFK’s Presidential successor, Lyndon Johnson, would pass the Civil Rights Act. The bill outlawed all discrimination — be it racial, religious or gender-based — and banned state segregation.

1964 also saw the publication of Martin King Jr’s book about the struggles. Why We Can’t Wait. In it, he stressed the pivotal role that the freedom songs — which he called “the soul of the movement” — had played in the drive for equality. “We sing the freedom songs today for the same reason the slaves sang them,” he explained, “because we too are in bondage and the songs add hope to our determination that we shall overcome. Black and white together, We shall overcome someday.”

That day was still some way off, though — the law was one thing, but millions of African-Americans were still dealing with everyday racism and inferior living conditions. Some black leaders began to challenge King's insistence on non-violent strategies as a means of protest. This new militant ideology would find greater traction later in the decade, when, appallingly, King was murdered by a white segregationist in Memphis.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, however, another matter had risen to the top of the political agenda. A skirmish in the Gulf of Tonkin, just off the coast of Vietnam, had led to the United States stepping up its operations in the country from a mere military presence to open war. By early the following year, there were 16,500 American troops deployed in the country, with President Johnson giving the green light to “Rolling Thunder,” a concentrated bombing campaign against the North Vietnamese that would go on until November 1968. As the conflict intensified, so did the protest songs.

The university campus at Berkeley in California was the seat of American activism by the middle of the decade. The son of Communist Party parents from Washington, DC, ex-US Navy man Country Joe McDonald had moved there in 1965. There he fell in with a bunch of fellow radicals, founded a counterculture magazine — Rag Baby — and composed 'I Feel Like I’m Fixin’ To Die Rag'.

Over on the East Coast, meanwhile, folkie Phil Ochs had become a prominent activist figure with songs like ‘I Ain’t Marching Anymore’, ‘Draft Dodger Rag’ and the drooly caustic, ‘Love Me, I’m A Liberal’. New York neighbour Tom Paxton was equally incensed, pouring his rage into ‘Lyndon Johnson Told The Nation’ and the poignant ‘My Son John’, about a returning soldier shattered by his experience.

The main voices of dissent had so far belonged to the folk world. By contrast, pop music was still

**Eyewitness Q&A**

**Country Joe McDonald on politics, protest and the Woodstock generation**

**Can you describe what the political scene at Berkeley in California was like when you arrived in the summer of 1965?**

The university had just had its Free Speech Movement happen, but I don’t think I knew anything about that. I had been with people in Los Angeles State College who were involved in protesting the Civil Rights Movement and making folk music, so I had some contact with like-minded people there. I’d grown up with that kind of thinking, but it was the first time in my life that I’d had such close contact with other progressive-minded people like that.

**Could you detect a palpable change of opinion and attitude in the States as you entered the second half of the 1960s?**

This is hard to answer, because I didn’t have the luxury of pausing, looking around and thinking about what was happening at the time — that only happened when it was all over. But all the demonstrations and riots made it obvious that things were not good and, for a certain age group, the possibility of being drafted and sent to Vietnam was a very harsh reality. It became more and more commonplace to think that we would go, fight and die there.

**How did the countercultural upheavals of the 1960s affect your life from then on?**

It turned me into ‘Country Joe McDonald’ and allowed me to have a career that paid the bills and was very rewarding in many, many ways. For me of course the lesson was — and I knew it before because of my family — try not to get caught up in history and let it ruin your life.

**Can you describe the experience of playing at Woodstock in 1969 and bringing the crowd to their feet with 'I Feel Like I’m Fixin’ To Die Rag'?**

All of those open-air events, like the Human Be-In in San Francisco [1967], had the feeling of a picnic: relaxed and fun. This one seemed like a really big picnic. Of course, the crowd was sympathetic. We were, after all, the new hippie counterculture, soon to be called the Woodstock Generation. When it came to the politics of my Vietnam song, which I’d written in 1965, it wasn’t possible from the stage to really see the crowd’s response. It was only later, when I saw my part in the movie, that I realised how much they’d gotten into it. There were very few overtly political moments at Woodstock, and I was one of those.

**How come ‘Fixin’ To Die’ wasn’t included on Country Joe & The Fish’s first album, 1967’s Electric Music For The Mind And Body?**

I didn’t have any contact with Vanguard as far as the content of songs on albums. The rumour over the years is that they didn’t want the song on the first album because they thought it was too... something. I don’t know for sure if that’s true. It might have just been the producer Sam Charters’ decision.
catching up. This all changed when Barry McGuire took P.F. Sloan’s ‘Eve Of Destruction’—sample lyric: “You’re old enough to kill but not for votin’ / You don’t believe in war but what’s that gun you’re toatin’?”—to the top of the US charts in September 1965, knocking The Beatles’ ‘Help!’ from its perch.

The next few years saw a rapid expansion of the counterculture. As the factional lines became ever more indelible by 1967’s Summer of Love, rock ‘n’ roll adapted to suit. “President Johnson had this continuing build-up of troops and younger people like myself, who could possibly get drafted, were going against it,” recalls US author and journalist, Michael Lydon, who helped set up Rolling Stone that year. “And that really divided families. Popular music was dividing old and young too. I was working for Newsweek in San Francisco, right when people were starting to notice the whole hippie thing. I was at the Human Be-In, where you could sense you were part of something bigger. Then, in June 67, there was the Monterey Pop Festival, which was a big step upward in the numbers of people and the prestige of the bands involved. The Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin, Jefferson Airplane, Jimi Hendrix, The Who. It was all peace, love and brotherhood.”

In contrast to this communal feeling of positivity, things had turned ugly by 1968. Riots, protests and strikes burst out across the United States amid the continuing fight for civil rights; the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr and Bobby Kennedy and the ongoing carnage in Vietnam. In Europe, too, there were bloody student protests against political repression.

As political temperatures soared, so did the levels of vitriol in the songs. The Doors weighed in with ‘The Unknown Soldier’, alongside the likes of Jefferson Airplane (‘Volunteers’), Cream (‘Take It Back’), Janis Ian (‘Society’s Child’), James Brown (‘Say It Loud — I’m Black And I’m Proud’), the MC5 (‘Motor City Is Burning’) and Creedence Clearwater Revival, who offered up the stinging ‘Fortunate Son’. The latter, ostensibly an anti-war song, acted as a wider commentary on elitism and entitlement. “It ain’t me, it ain’t me,” howled frontman John Fogerty, “I ain’t no fortunate one.”

A similar, albeit meandering, sentiment was expressed by Arlo Guthrie, son of Woody, in his epic talking-blues satire, ‘Alice’s Restaurant Massacre’. The song contained comic asides, references to petty crime, the hippie community and the insanity of the draft process. In its own curious way, it perfectly captured the cultural shifts...
boom was happening, the civil rights movement was happening, the anti-war movement was happening, the ban the bomb movement was happening, the environmental movement was happening,” Guthrie explained later. “There was suddenly a generation ready to change the course of history.” The decade of protest reached a peak in the summer of 1969. That June, holed up in Montreal’s Queen Elizabeth Hotel, John Lennon and Yoko Ono staged their second Bed-In for Peace. Joined by the Canadian chapter of the Radha Krishna Temple and an assemblage of famous friends — including Allen Ginsberg and Timothy Leary — the couple instigated a simple two-chord tune whose chorus provided the simplest of messages: “All we are saying / Is give peace a chance”. A worldwide hit, the song gained further importance months later when it was sung by over half a million demonstrators at the Vietnam Moratorium Day in Washington, DC. But it was at the Woodstock Festival that the

divergent strands of 1960s protest came together, from Richie Havens’ rendition of ‘Freedom’ to Country Joe McDonald, Joan Baez and CSNY and on through to the closing act, Jimi Hendrix. The guitarist’s savage deconstruction of that most sacred of US institutions – the national anthem. The Star-Spangled Banner — was emblematic of an alternative society searching for new meaning under the old flag.

“The ‘Sixties was an intense conversation,” concludes Michael Lydon. “People were really talking to each other, trying to discover new ways of living and interacting. There was a lot of serious thought, led in many ways by The Beatles, the Stones and Dylan, who were coming up with very powerful, challenging statements. Millions of people, including myself, took Dylan’s lyric ‘He not busy being born is busy dying’ (from ‘It’s Alright Ma, (I’m Only Bleeding)) as a personal challenge. It was a case of: I hear what you’re saying. I want to do something other than work for a corporation. I want to find something new.”

RICKENBACKER 360

During The Beatles’ 1964 US tour, the head of California’s Rickenbacker company presented George Harrison with the 12-string 360. Its distinctive chime gave the band its defining sound, soon emulated by The Byrds’ Roger McGuinn when he plumped for the 370 model.

Demonstrators outside a schoolboard office protest against segregation, St Louis, Missouri, early 1960s

“The ‘Sixties was an intense conversation”
What was it?
The strike action at Fords in Dagenham began as a protest over job grades, but turned into a pivotal moment in the fight for equal pay for women.

In 1967, Fords had reclassified the jobs of female machinists as unskilled, with wages at 85 per cent of the money paid to men on the same grade. A seven-month-long internal grievance procedure stalled and on 7 June 1968, 187 women at Dagenham went on strike. They had been making car seat covers and within days, stocks had run out. Women at Halewood on Merseyside also downed tools. By the middle of June, Fords had laid off 9,000 male workers as production came to a halt.

Strike leaders organised pickets to stop new materials being brought in to make seats. They also ran negotiations. The government intervened as the car company claimed to be losing £1 million a day. On 28 June 1968, employment secretary Barbara Castle brokered talks focusing on pay rather than job classification. In the end, the machinists accepted a rise that took their wages to 92 per cent of male rates.

Their jobs weren’t regraded until 1984, following a second wave of strike action.

What were the consequences?
As the House of Commons debated ending pay discrimination based on gender in 1970, MP Shirley Summerskill described the Dagenham strikers as playing “a very significant part in the history of the struggle for equal pay”. Legislation banning women being paid less than men for the same work was passed soon afterwards. The Dagenham strike had become a catalyst for a change decades in the making. It inspired the formation of the Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women’s Equal Rights in 1969. Its high-profile demonstrations, including a rally in Trafalgar Square in London, increased pressure for changes.

So too did the UK’s ambitions to join the European Economic Community which, under the Treaty of Rome, expected member states to ensure equal pay.

In 1970, the first National Women’s Liberation Conference took place with ‘equal pay for equal work’ among its demands. In the same year, the Equal Pay Act prohibited unequal pay and working conditions between men and women.

The law finally took effect in 1975, with the strike action at Dagenham seen as crucial in its formation.
DID YOU KNOW?
The famous image of one striker holding a sign saying ‘We Want Sex’ came about after the banner didn’t unfold properly. It actually read ‘We Want Sex Equality’.

Equal rights was always the main demand of the striking machinists, but calls for pay equality grabbed the headlines and took over the protest.

In the 1960s, the plant at Dagenham employed tens of thousands of people and was producing some of Ford’s most popular models.

Who was involved?

Barbara Castle
1910 - 2002
The new Secretary of State for Employment was a long-term advocate of equal pay but was also determined to bring the strike action to a swift close.

Rose Boland, Vera Sime, Eileen Pullen, Gwen Davis and Sheila Douglass
Born in the 1920s and 1930s
The five main protest leaders ran picket lines and took negotiations to the heart of government, although they would later say they felt pressured into ending their action.

Bernie Passingham
1925 - 2015
The main convenor of the Transport and General Workers’ Union at Fords backed the strike from the off, alongside shop steward Lil O’Callaghan, and described any claims that women shouldn’t strike as ‘rubbish’.

TIMELINE

• Off duty
  7 June 1968
  The strike starts and in the following weeks, the machinists take their fight to negotiations in Essex and London, as production at Fords comes to a halt.

• Game over
  28 June 1968
  The leaders agree to call the strike off even though they have to compromise – they would later say they realised the factory was on its knees and none of them wanted to cause long-term damage.

• Flame rekindled
  18 May 1969
  Over 1,000 women take part in a demonstration for equal pay organised by the newly formed National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women’s Equal Rights.

• Written in law
  1970
  The Equal Pay Act of 1970 made any less favourable treatment between men and women in terms of pay and conditions of employment illegal across the UK.

• At last
  1975
  Female workers in the UK celebrate as the Equal Pay legislation finally takes effect. The term ‘pay’ is interpreted in a broad sense to include things like holidays and pension rights.

• Equal grading
  1984
  Ford at Dagenham is hit by a second machinists’ strike. After six weeks and a decision in their favour by an independent arbitration panel, the company agree to regrade.
For centuries, students of all ages have been at the forefront of passionate protest and demonstrations across the world.

DID YOU KNOW?

The University of Cambridge was formed by scholars who left Oxford when the university went on strike after two students were hanged.
Over the decades, students have been at the forefront of protest. From barricades to silent walkouts, they have changed history.

Written by Catherine Curzon

For years, students across the world have been the driving force behind some of the most famous and important protests in history. They have proved to be dedicated, single-minded and determined opponents against everything from their own institutions to national governments and beyond. Though their calls for change often start as localised protests, in some cases they have swept the world and changed the face of history itself.

From the very first recognised student protests at the university in Paris in 1229, when students pushed back against the authority of the Church, demonstrations both on and off campus have become a familiar and powerful phenomena. The protests sometimes take the form of demonstrations against university authorities, but often they raise their voices against more wide-reaching matters, usually issues that can have an impact on society at large rather than only on the students who are protesting. Thanks to mass media coverage, protests now reach more people than ever.

Though student protests can be vital when it comes to raising awareness of issues or spreading word quickly, they aren’t without their critics. Derided as ‘snowflakes’ in recent years, students who choose to protest are often dismissed as privileged, middle class and self-indulgent, beating the drum of the latest fashionable cause to sweep through campus. Yet this does a disservice to the many hundreds of thousands of students who have protested against wrongdoing, corruption and more throughout history. They can truly be said to have changed the world.
GREENSBORO SIT-INS

WHEN FOUR BLACK STUDENTS STAGED A SIT-IN IN GREENSBORO, THEY STARTED A MOVEMENT THAT GRIPPED AMERICA

On 1 February 1960, the so-called Greensboro Four - Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr and David Richmond - staged a sit-in at a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, in protest at the company's segregationist policies. Inspired by Martin Luther King Jr and hoping to use non-violent means to raise awareness of the deprivations faced by black citizens, the plan of the students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University was simple. They would visit Woolworth and, when refused service on account of their ethnicity, they would refuse to leave. They would return every day and repeat the process until Woolworth changed its policy.

As the days of the sit-in passed, the number of students taking part grew from four to more than 1,000, and across the country, customers began to boycott Woolworth in support. Facing massive financial losses, the company changed its policies, though it would be five years before all Woolworths were desegregated.

The sit-ins became a national talking point and caught the attention of media and politicians alike, with President Eisenhower voicing his sympathy for those fighting for equality. The nationwide impact was immense, with sit-ins extending across the country and into other venues such as swimming pools, libraries and outdoor spaces. What began at a lunch counter soon became something far bigger and across the USA, things began to change.

DID YOU KNOW?
The first sit-in was held by black attorney Samuel Wilbert Tucker, who organised a sit-in at the Alexandria Library in Virginia.

USA, 1 FEBRUARY - 25 JULY 1960

HONG KONG UMBRELLA PROTESTS

WHEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT BROKE ITS WORD TO THE PEOPLE OF HONG KONG, PROTESTS CRIPPLED THE CENTRE OF THE CITY

When Beijing promised the people of Hong Kong that they would enjoy universal suffrage in the election for their Chief Executive, it seemed too good to be true. It was. In fact, when election time came, Beijing imposed strict rules on the electorate, including reserving the right to choose the candidates itself.

In response, students called for a strike, and Hong Kong rose up in support as a planned boycott of classes grew into something far bigger. Members of the Hong Kong Federation of Students joined Scholarism, a pro-democracy student group.
SOWETO UPRISING

WHEN BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN WERE TOLD THAT THEY WOULD BE TAUGHT IN AFRIKAANS, THEY CAME OUT IN PROTEST

In 1974, the government of South Africa passed the Afrikaans Medium Decree, which ruled that all black schools must split their teaching so that 50 per cent was given in English and 50 per cent in Afrikaans. Indigenous languages could be used only for music and physical and religious instruction. Afrikaans was indelibly associated with the apartheid regime and as a result, few black South Africans spoke it. English was the language of business and the decree was intended to halt the decline of Afrikaans, regardless of the negative impact such a ruling might have on the education of children who barely spoke a word of the language.

On 30 April 1976, children at Orlando West Junior School went on strike in protest and across the country, other schools followed suit. They called for equality with white pupils, who weren’t subject to the 50/50 decree. On 16 June, nearly 20,000 black students marched to Orlando Stadium to attend a rally against the forced use of Afrikaans in teaching. Despite roadblocks, the peaceful march continued until police opened fire on the children.

With two teenage students dead, the peaceful mood evaporated. Government property was attacked and when injured children were taken to hospital, the government requested a list of their names in order to prosecute them. The doctors treating them refused to comply and though the government claimed only 23 died, the true figure is believed to have been closer to 176.

The events in Soweto were followed by other protests and with the international community condemning the apartheid government’s violent response, South Africa entered a period of political and financial instability. In the aftermath of the uprising, the exiled ANC called for protesters to come together and fight apartheid, a call that thousands rallied to heed. Today, 16 June is Youth Day in South Africa, a time to reflect on the changes the country has undergone and the sacrifices that were made to achieve them.

CHINA, 26 SEPTEMBER - 15 DECEMBER 2014

group, to protest outside Hong Kong’s government headquarters on 26 September 2014. Authorities responded by arresting protesters and spraying them with pepper spray, but the protests simply grew. By lunchtime on 28 September, Hong Kong’s government district was at a standstill.

When one of the protesters opened a yellow umbrella to protest the National Day flag-raising ceremony that went on despite the demonstration, this became a symbol of the fight, adopted by many pre-democracy protesters. When the Communist authorities cracked down hard on protesters, support for the students began to wane and in the aftermath, some felt that little had really been achieved. In fact, the Umbrella Protests proved to the ruling Communist party that the people of Hong Kong would battle for their rights, no matter what the cost.
DID YOU KNOW?
The ultimate fate of the unnamed man who bravely stood in front of advancing tanks in Tiananmen Square remains unknown.

TIMELINE

A nation in mourning
Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, dies. Across China, people mourn his death and blame it on his forced resignation.
15 April 1989

The crowds gather
Students begin to gather in Tiananmen Square in preparation for Hu’s memorial. By 18 April, thousands have marched to the Square.
17 April 1989

We will not be silenced
The Communist Party newspaper, The People’s Daily, publishes a front page editorial slamming the students and threatening retaliation. In response, the protests grow louder.
26 April 1989
What was it?
When the reforming former General Secretary of the Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, died soon after he was forced to resign from office, his student supporters gathered together to mourn. They also called for his planned reforms to be put into action, central to which was a new move towards democracy in China. A number of groups met in Tiananmen Square in advance of Hu's funeral, united by grief.

Though the growing crowd remained peaceful, after several days the police attempted to clear the Square by force. In response, 100,000 students marched on Tiananmen Square and when People’s Daily, the official newspaper of the party, chastised them on its front page, tens of thousands of additional students defied the government to join the protest.

The government were utterly unprepared for the march and agreed to talks that sadly achieved little. As the students went on hunger strike, across China, protests broke out in sympathy. Finally, the government declared martial law. With tanks and helicopters mobilised, the protest was violently put down.

What were the consequences?
As the smoke cleared after the Tiananmen Square massacre, the Communist Party claimed that 241 people had died. Western estimates, however, believed the true figure was far higher. Workers who had joined the protests were arrested, tried and executed but among the affluent students, sentences were far less harsh. Across the higher echelons of the Communist Party, those who had opposed martial law were dismissed or, where dismissal would cause further protest, moved into ceremonial positions. Many of the freedoms that Hu had lobbied for were removed.

China’s tourism and economy plummeted in the aftermath of the protests. Foreign investment and aid was slashed and China faced international isolation. Longer term, however, China made a spectacular economic comeback, fostering strong relations with Russia, in particular. Sadly, for the people of China, the legacy of Tiananmen Square has been one of increased repression and censorship.
VELVET REVOLUTION

THE SO-CALLED VELVET REVOLUTION SAW POWER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA TRANSFER FROM COMMunist STATE TO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT BLOODSHED

The Velvet Revolution began in 1989 when Czechoslovakian students gathered in Prague to mark International Students’ Day. Thousands marched through the city, chanting anti-Communist slogans as they went. Riot police met the marchers with violent retaliation and when one of the protesters fainted during the clashes, rumours began to spread that he had been killed by the authorities. These rumours helped to kickstart the Velvet Revolution in a country that was hungry for change.

Across Czechoslovakia, an outraged populace responded to reports of the violence with horror. Demonstrations and strikes broke out in support of the students. Employees of the government-controlled Federal Television defied censorship to broadcast reports of what was happening, and the Minister of Defence declared that the army would not take action against the people, leaving the Communist authorities powerless to act.

With civil unrest crippling the entire country, pro-democratic group the Civic Forum met with the Prime Minister, Ladislav Adamec. Adamec personally promised that there would be no violent response from government and with protests growing hourly, the writing was on the wall. On 24 November, the Presidium of the Communist Party resigned and three days later, a massive general strike organised by the Civic Forum heralded the final collapse of the Czechoslovakian Communist regime. For the first time in more than four decades, the country was a democracy again.

USA, 24 MARCH 2018

USA, 1964 - 1973

DID YOU KNOW?
The Velvet Revolution was so-called because nobody was killed during the transition of government from Communist rule to democracy.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 17 NOVEMBER - 29 DECEMBER 1989
MARCH FOR OUR LIVES

WITH THE USA GRIPPED BY GUN VIOLENCE, HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS MARCHED IN FAVOUR OF INCREASED WEAPON CONTROL

On 14 February 2018, a gunman opened fire on staff and students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, killing 17 and injuring 17 others. It was the latest in a series of mass shootings and for many in the United States, it was a watershed moment in the country’s relationship with firearms.

Students responded with calls for change and, led by student group Never Again MSD, they planned a demonstration. More than 1,000,000 people marched in favour of gun reform, including universal background checks and an increase in the minimum age for firearm ownership, making March for Our Lives one of the most well-attended protests in the history of the US. Eight-hundred thousand protesters marched in Washington DC to hear speeches from school pupils who had been touched by gun violence. They included survivors and the families and friends of those who had died.

The long-term impact of the March for Our Lives has yet to be realised, but the demonstrations both in the United States and across the world opened a new chapter in the ongoing debate around firearms in America. As the protesting students of today become the voters and decision-makers of tomorrow, the future of gun control in the United States and the place of the March for Our Lives in deciding it has yet to be known.

VIETNAM

STUDENT PROTESTS AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR WERE PERHAPS THE MOST FAMOUS ONGOING SERIES OF PROTESTS IN THE USA’S HISTORY

The famed student protests against the United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War began in 1964 and lasted for the better part of a decade. Over the years, the students were joined by other groups and the protests became part of a larger peace movement that became intrinsically woven into the fabric of the nation and the era. The demonstrations were mostly peaceful and when they were met with violence, protesters responded with peace, winning support from people across the world.

By the outbreak of the war in Vietnam, American students were already increasingly involved in protest. As participants in the civil rights movement and the fight for equality for women, students had become accustomed to protesting against what they didn’t believe in.

Some of those who protested against the war did so because they were fundamentally opposed to conflict, others because they had no desire to go and fight in a war which they felt was nothing to do with them. Yet protests against the war in Vietnam soon became about far more than that distant conflict and as they grew and spread across the nation, they were regarded by some as proof of a peaceful new generation, and others as the ultimate expression of selfish privilege.

Demonstrations against American involvement in Vietnam became symbols of a wider social movement that kicked back against traditional values and refused to conform to establishment conventions. They also allowed students an outlet to protest against the rules and authorities of their own institutions and forge a sense of identity as a group.

The media responded by painting the protesters as violent criminals, but in fact this was far from the truth. The vast majority of campus protests were peaceful and passed off without conflict.
ACT UP

What was it?
ACT UP was born out of concern that silence could kill, and it used noise to get its message across. The campaign, to find cures for AIDS and make them accessible, began with radical and non-violent protests in the United States of America and spread globally.

The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power crept silently into consciousness with a poster campaign in New York, and then loudly with a call to arms from author Larry Kramer in March 1987, which began a series of high-profile mass demonstrations across the country.

Within a year, protesters had targeted Wall Street, demanding better access to potentially life-saving drugs, and Northwest Orient Airlines, which refused to carry passengers with AIDS. A protest at the Food and Drug Administration, responsible for approving new treatments, was so large it briefly shut the organisation. By the time ACT UP declared a ‘Day of Desperation’ in 1991, it was one of the best-known protest movements in the world.

Within years, it had helped change the perception of those with AIDS and increased access to medication. It eventually fragmented in its first epicentres, but continues its demonstrations in 2019 in cities around the world.

Why did it happen?
When ACT UP was formed, conservative estimates put the annual death toll from AIDS at 60,000 people around the world. Thousands of new HIV diagnoses were being made every year and for many it was a death sentence, as treatments were rare and costly. Patients also suffered discrimination, while education around the spread of the condition focused almost solely on the gay community.

ACT UP attracted a wide range of activists, among them scientists who became involved with the development of drug treatments. In 1992, a group broke away to form the Treatment Action Group, which continues to work for more effective drugs and eventually a vaccine against HIV. Activists for ACT UP also continue to demonstrate for better education about the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Despite breakthroughs - new cases of AIDS were put at 1.8 million in 2016, compared with 3.1 million in 2001 - ACT UP chapters around the world believe their protests remain a vital weapon against the virus.
Who was involved?

**Larry Kramer**

1935 - present

The playwright’s passionate 1987 speech on AIDS led to the formation of ACT UP and he became one of its best-known faces, taking part in many protests.

**Sarah Schulman**

1958 - present

Co-founder of the ACT UP Oral History Project, which documents the protest movement through activists’ own stories, Schulman has been an active member since the late-1980s.

**Didier Lestrade**

1958 - present

Introduced to ACT UP on a visit to New York, he helped set up the protest movement in France and led it for 15 years as it expanded across the country.
SCARGILL, SCABS & FLYING PICKETS

DID YOU KNOW?
Between 1983 and 2009, Britain went from 174 working pits down to a mere six mines
When the National Coal Board decided to close 20 coal mines, due to their inefficiency, it sparked one of the most violent industrial protests Britain had ever witnessed. With the potential loss of 20,000 jobs, the miners, led by Arthur Scargill of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), instigated a national strike in retaliation. Although the strike was deemed illegal, it garnered support from around the world with lorry drivers bringing Christmas presents to the miners’ children from Europe. The action put huge financial pressure on the striking families, leading some to return to work only to be called ‘scabs’. The strong presence of police in riot gear resulted in terrifying clashes along the picket lines. The strikes were an unmitigated failure, heralding the beginning of the end of trade union domination, devastating the political power of the NUM forever and instigating the privatisation of the coal industry.
What was it?

Whether known as the Revolutions of 1989, the Fall of Nations or the Autumn of Nations, the two-year period that saw the dismantling of Communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe changed the face of the continent forever. It began in Poland when a rash of strikes broke out, led by workers who were demanding that the Communist authorities legalise their trade union, Solidarity.

After intensive talks, Solidarity was recognised and at the elections that followed, it swept parliament, capturing all but one of the Sejm’s 100 seats. Faced with the political wipeout of the ruling regime, the Communists’ political allies, the Democratic Party and the United People’s Party, joined forces with Solidarity. His support gone and his administration in tatters, Prime Minister Czesław Kiszczak stepped down in favour of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a supporter of democracy.

Across the country, the statues and memorials to Communism were pulled down. With little resistance from the Soviet Union, Poland dissolved the Warsaw Pact and moved towards a new future of democracy.

What were the consequences?

With political triumph in Poland, across the Communist strongholds of Central and Eastern Europe, people who had long been behind the Iron Curtain began to call for democracy.

In 1989, demonstrations in Hungary led to the dismantling of the literal Iron Curtain, a vast fence that marked its border with Austria. With freedom open to them, Hungarians flocked illegally into the west. Thousands of East Germans followed and after the border was closed, East Germans protested in Leipzig despite harsh government reprisals. Though authorities met them with violence, the people wouldn’t be silenced and soon, 9,000 protesters had swelled to a crowd of 300,000. They couldn’t be ignored.

When the Berlin Wall fell, it marked the beginning of the end for the Communist powers and at the ballot box, they faced defeat. The Soviet Union dissolved in December 1991, bringing the once-impenetrable Iron Curtain down with it.
DID YOU KNOW?
The non-violent Czechoslovakian transition from Communism to democracy in late 1989 is known as the Velvet Revolution.

When the Berlin Wall fell, Checkpoint Charlie was no longer a place to be feared, but a tourist destination.

Tired of the daily hardships of life under Communist rule, the people of Poland wanted democracy.

Who was involved?

Lech Wałęsa
1943 - present
In 1990, Lech Wałęsa, the leader of Solidarity, was elected president of Poland and oversaw its transition from Communism to democracy.

Mikhail Gorbachev
1931 - present
Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev presided over the swift unravelling of the once seemingly all-powerful Soviet Union.

Harald Jäger
1943 - present
Lieutenant Colonel Harald Jäger was in charge of Berlin Wall passport control. On 9 November 1989, he opened the crossing.

Start of talks
31 August 1988
Lech Wałęsa, the leader of Solidarity who had previously been imprisoned, is invited to talks with Communist authorities in Warsaw.

In agreement
6 February 1989
The Round Table Agreement is signed. This legalises Solidarity and puts in place plans for partly free elections in Poland.

Clear winner
4 June 1989
Solidarity wins by a landslide, claiming 99 out of 100 seats. One seat is won by an independent electoral candidate.

Free to flee
2 May 1989
Hungary begins dismantling its border with Austria, allowing thousands of people to flee Communist regimes in Czechoslovakia.

Undeterred
23 October 1989
300,000 pro-democracy protesters gather in Leipzig despite threats of violent retaliation. They call for open borders and freedom.

The wall falls
9 November 1989
Harald Jäger disobeys orders and opens the crossing point on the Berlin Wall. The fall of the Berlin Wall begins.

THE ANTI-POLL TAX MARCHES

ENGLAND, 1990

MY MUM CAN'T PAY
When Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative Party introduced the Community Charge in 1990, it sparked a series of demonstrations resulting in violence and criminal damage. A number of peaceful protests had been organised, but it was the overwhelmingly large march which stormed through central London, that instigated a wave of destruction. The Labour Party had already voted against a campaign of non-payment, but several far-left groups - particularly members of the All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation and the Anarchist Communist Federation - were suspected of whipping up trouble amongst those wishing to peacefully vent their opposition to the new tax. The march led to an aggressive altercation between riot police and the protesters, culminating in 339 arrests. The campaign against the Poll Tax was ultimately successful; the system was abolished and was a major factor in the downfall of Margaret Thatcher. Changes were also made to improve police handling of mass demonstrations.
ANDREAS RAMOS

Born in Colombia and raised in the USA, Ramos lived in West Germany for seven years before moving to Denmark. He’s authored ten books, including a number of best-selling titles. He’s also a lecturer in Digital Marketing at the Silicon Valley Business School. He remains an outspoken commentator on the fall of the Berlin Wall and hopes future generations will remember its importance.

“As we made our way into West Germany we could all sense that the whole continent was about to change forever”
For 28 years, the Berlin Wall stood resolute, an imposing symbol of the Soviet Union's cast-iron hold over much of Eastern Europe. For almost three decades, the citizens of the Wall's Eastern side lived under the watchful eye of the German Democratic Republic, a semi-autonomous government laid in place by its Soviet masters in Moscow. Heavily guarded and laced with barbed wire, the 155-kilometre (96-mile)-long, 3.6-metre (11.8-foot)-high structure ensured the German capital remained divided through the fearful years of the Cold War. No East German was permitted to cross the border into the West; the sights and sounds of a free Berlin a few hundred yards away a constant reminder of how fractured Europe had become in the decades following the end of World War II. But as the 1980s drew to a close, this symbol of division became the breaking point in European socialism. Based in Denmark at the time, science and technology student Andreas Ramos travelled to Berlin to witness first-hand the frustrations of a continent boil over in the streets of a divided city.

"When I went to study at Heidelberg (in southwest Germany) in 1978 no one in government, academia or the general public could imagine the Berlin Wall would ever fall or the Soviet Union could collapse", explains Ramos. "NATO was built on the premise of eternal conflict with the USSR. But by the mid-1980s, after the USSR's failure in Afghanistan, it was clear the Soviet Union had to change. But collapse? They simply hadn't planned for change. It all happened on the streets, not within the government. I was in Germany for seven years and then went to Denmark to work on a doctoral dissertation. I'd been to Berlin many times and had friends there. From the edge of the Wall we watched everything, and when the East Germans began to tear down the wall, we joined them."

A month prior, the first metaphorical cracks in the Soviet Union's hold on Eastern Europe started to show. Communication between Moscow and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) government led by hardline party leader Erich Honecker had broken down as the Motherland struggled to contain its rapidly unraveling vision for a united socialist future. Up until this point, the borders of the Eastern Bloc remained intact, but the growing pressure from refugees attempting to flee the failing communist system became too much for the neighbouring Hungarian government to ignore. On 19 August 1989, Hungary effectively opened its physical borders and allowed over 13,000 East Germans to surge across the border into Austria. As the refugees sought sanctuary in the West German embassy, it sent a shock wave through the infrastructure of the Eastern Bloc. A wave that would reach all the way to Berlin and beyond.

Back in the capital, the streets were more alive than ever. A previously morose and subdued city was now bustling as its citizens took up arms in peaceful protests. East Berliners could sense the
Prior to the Wall's physical collapse, the political landscape regarding it is already falling apart. The opening of Hungary's borders with Austria can be seen as the initial catalyst.

Peaceful protest
Following a similar influx of refugees into a now-open Czechoslovakia, a series of peaceful protests are organised across East Berlin.

East German leader Erich Honecker is forced to resign by his own party following his refusal to change the city's immigration policies.

We are the people
With Erich Honecker and his 'shoot to kill' edict removed, the Peaceful Revolution of 1989 reaches its height. The chant, “We are the people” echoes through the streets of East German cities.

Crowds begin to gather all along the Berlin Wall as rumours of a policy change run amok.

The GDR holds a press conference where it announces all GDR citizens are permitted to cross over to West Berlin.

The first few East Berliners make their way into the West as guards quickly lose control of the situation.

Media announcement
Huge crowds gather at the Berlin Wall, hacking it to pieces as the media televises the scenes around the world.

Despite multiple breaches in the Wall, the Brandenburg Gate is officially opened for all Berliners to pass through.

With the Wall itself almost completely demolished, East and West Germany are united in a formal ceremony. The US, British and French governments relinquish stewardship of West Berlin into the hands of a new united and democratic German government.

government was starting to unravel. The resignation of Erich Honecker, the staunch ideologist who had stated only months before that the Berlin Wall would stand tall for a century to come, had galvanised the nation's hope for change. The 'Peaceful Revolution', as it came to be known, reached its height on 4 November 1989, an event that attracted Ramos and many others to Berlin. Arriving on the afternoon of 9 November, Ramos could sense an air of tension, but also one of burgeoning hope. “The build-up wasn’t just in Germany; it was the whole year of revolutions across Eastern Europe. The Soviet Bloc was disintegrating, one nation after another”, comments Ramos. “As we made our way into West Germany we could all sense that the whole continent was about to change forever.”

That evening the inevitable finally became a reality. In the weeks since Honecker’s forced resignation, his successors had attempted to rejuvenate the party’s reputation by holding a series of press conferences that promised radical changes to national policies. Shortly before that day’s official press conference, GDR’s official and unofficial spokesman Günter Schabowski was handed a small note that confirmed all East Berliners were now allowed to cross the border into the West with the proper identification. However, without any other explanation to help him digest this news, Schabowski was thrust in front of a ravenous media. One garbled and mostly improvised statement later and it was official: the once impenetrable gates of East Germany were opening. The problem was, this news wasn’t communicated down to the guards and officials manning the many guard posts along the wall. With frustration building among the crowds of East Berliners, the situation was a powder keg waiting to explode.

As the news started to flood across East Berlin, hundreds of people began to gather at each checkpoint demanding to let through into West Berlin. To Colombian-born Ramos, it was utter chaos, but it was chaos charged by hope rather than anger. “It was November and it was extremely cold that night, but in the excitement everyone was milling around in anticipation. Restaurants and bars, which by law were meant to close, were all open well into the early hours. Laws became meaningless that night,” he recalls. “People came from all over Europe – we spoke in many languages. There were British, French, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks and many Scandinavians, plus, of course, the Germans. That night, Berlin was Europe. Remember, at the time, there were no cell phones, no video, no Twitter, no Facebook, no selfies, so remarkably, there aren’t that many photos of that night. Today, of course, there would be billions of photos.”

As Ramos and his friends approached the Wall itself, the air seemed alight with a mixture of confusion, frustration and apprehension. “As the news of the law changing spread it became a massive sense of relief, of ‘it’s over’, of excitement. After decades of baseless promises from politicians and pointless dreams of uniting of families, it suddenly became possible in a delirious joy”, he says. “Someone wrote it was the world’s largest street party, and it was. 5 million people in one city. East Germans flooded across the borders and went visiting throughout all of Germany. The cities declared free bus and streetcar tickets for them, free museums and zoos, free everything for the visiting
East Germans. It was an incredible time.” The Wall was suddenly no longer the impenetrable barrier to another world. East Berliners were flooding into the other side of the city while others started attacking the wall with any tool they could find. The military looked on dumbfounded. Some of them even joined in the demolition job. “It was clear that both governments, East and West German, plus the US military, had lost control,” comments Ramos. “They stood by helplessly, watching everyone bustle around. I talked with East German soldiers who told me their rifles were empty. No bullets. They looked forward to coming across the border. West German police, who are always so orderly and authoritative, just watched. They didn’t know what to do; this had never been planned.” He adds, “many of us pushed through the wall and went to the East Berlin side. It was mutual: West Germans and East Germans tore down the wall together to unite themselves once more.” Breaking down the wall itself was no easy task, but it became a cathartic coming together of a nation suddenly reunited in matter of hours. Citizens from East and West gathered on each side to start hacking away, pulling away chunks and lifting them on high, like mementos from a fun day out. Ramos himself was right in the middle of the crowds tearing into the wall that evening. “Opening the Wall went on for hours”, he remarks. “It was made of thick slabs of concrete, nine or twelve feet (three or four metre) high. Small holes were made with hammers, but to open the wall so large numbers of people could pass, industrial machinery was needed. Somehow, West German construction companies showed up with jackhammers and cranes which broke apart the slabs and lifted them out of the way.”

In the months that followed, Germany was unified as a single, free nation for the first time since the final shots of the Second World War and Europe – and the world – was changed forever. Germany would go on to become an economic superpower, but that chilly evening in Berlin has remained an iconic image of social and political upheaval. “It was one of the most astonishing events of my life. It was 25 years ago and I still remember so many moments, especially the mood”, recalls Ramos on that historic day. “The fall of the Berlin Wall ended a chapter of European history reaching back more than a hundred years. However, it also opened a new chapter, and so far, we don’t yet know what it’s going to be or where it’s going to lead.”
The Stonewall Inn was a bar in Greenwich Village. Jerry Hose, founding member of Gay Liberation Front, said that "the bar itself was a toilet, but it was a refuge, it was a temporary refuge from the street." The bar lighting would change from black to white as a warning sign for any imminent police raids. Surprise busts were often undertaken on bars and clubs where LGBT+ people gathered, and patrons had to be ready to separate themselves from same-sex partners at a moment's notice to avoid arrest for lewd conduct.

The raid on the Stonewall Inn on the 28 June 1969 was different from any that had come before, as it triggered a three-day riot after patrons refused to leave and many fought back against the police.

Many commentators have pointed to the funeral of Judy Garland on 27 June 1969 as being part of the reason for the Stonewall Uprising. Barry Walters wrote in the The Advocate, October 1998, that "she is an Elvis for homosexuals... not a figure of sexual liberation... but she's a symbol of emotional liberation." However, upon further examination this connection is tenuous, as many of Stonewall's patrons were street kids and hustlers. They were more concerned with where they would sleep, or where the next meal was coming from, than the death of a celebrity.

Crowds gathered outside of the bar and the battle against the police went on for around five nights. Transgender activists such as Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera have been credited with 'throwing the first brick' at Stonewall, despite both denying this; Johnson herself stated that "the riots has already started" when she arrived. An unidentified butch lesbian has also been attributed as the one who triggered the pivotal moment. After being struck on the head by a police officer, she shouted at the gathered crowd, "why don't you guys do something?" Both Johnson, Rivera and other activists such as Miss Major Griffin-Gracy emerged to lead and support the LGBT+ community.

Growing from this Black and Latinx heritage of LGBT+ activism, Black and Latinx specific pride parades have taken place since 1991. These events work to celebrate cultural identity and also LGBT+ pride, celebrating heritage and also raising awareness and money for Afro or Latinx centred LGBT+ issues.
The Pew Research Center in the US found that acceptance of homosexuality is directly related to secular and affluent countries, and this is reflected in the attitudes of their armed forces. Official bans on LGBT+ people serving in the military occurred in the 20th century, with the US in 1916 and the UK in 1955. Currently, there are around 30 countries which allow LGBT+ service people, and ten that don’t outwardly prohibit service. Russia has a blurred line, ‘well adjusted homosexuals’ are allowed to serve but those with ‘sexual identity problems’ are only to be drafted during wartime.

After the repeal of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell in the US, active service people were allowed to wear their uniforms to march in the San Diego Pride parade in 2019. Service people, both active and veterans, have marched proudly in the past and since, yet often wear t-shirts bearing the names of their service branch. Many pride march organisers direct marchers to check with commanding officers regarding wearing their uniforms in public.

In the UK, the 1967 decriminalisation of homosexuality did not apply to the armed forces or merchant navy, for whom sexual relations between people of the same sex was still a criminal offence, and those convicted of it could still be jailed until 1994. LGBT personnel were given equality in the armed forces in the year 2000 and can now serve openly. The Royal Marines took part in London’s Pride celebrations for the first time in 2018, and all branches of the UK armed forces have presences in pride marches around the UK.

A member of the US Army holds a sign during the Gay Rights March on 25 April 1993 in Washington, DC

A lady holds a Gay Pride sign during the first Stonewall anniversary march, then named the Christopher Street Liberation Day march.

such as AIDS, which has disproportionately affected African-American gay men.

In the year 2000, 51 and 53 Christopher Street – the site of the original Stonewall Inn – became a National Historic Landmark.

Many gay and lesbian organisations existed before Stonewall, but instead of wanting to be recognised according to the norms of society, Stonewall was a flashpoint in the fight for LGBT+ people to be recognised on their own terms.

Christopher Street Liberation Day marked the first anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in 1970 with a march, organised by Brenda Howard and the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Howard is referred to by many as the ‘Mother of Pride’, and as well as being openly bisexual she was active in the BDSM community and was a grassroots activist.

The US-based GLF used Quakers as trainers for those first marchers on how to march in a non-violent fashion. They also took cues from the African-American civil rights movement.

Within the committee to commemorate Stonewall, activist Craig Schoonmaker coined the word ‘pride’ for the cause. There was a question of whether to use the phrase ‘gay power’ or ‘gay pride’, but Schoonmaker said that, for many, “the poison was shame and the antidote is pride.”

The first Christopher Street Liberation Day march in New York City was attended by an estimated 3,000 to 5,000 people, with additional marches taking place in San Francisco and Los Angeles. These demonstrations were notable, Schoonmaker explained, as it was unusual to “be able to be out in public.”

The first official UK Gay Pride Rally took place in London on 1 July 1972, with around 2,000 people taking part. Previous marches had been organised by the (UK-based) Gay Liberation Front in 1970, consisting of around 150 men walking through Highbury Fields holding lit candles.

14 October 1979, National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights took place. The concept of a gay march on Washington was inspired by the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, led by African-American activists including A Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin and featuring Martin Luther King Jr. The 1979 march was championed by Harvey Milk, an openly gay San Francisco Supervisor. He was assassinated in 1978, so activists Steve Ault, and Joyce Hunter moved Milk’s plans forward. Estimates of the crowd size varied – the Park Police stated that 75,000 people attended, whereas the organisers estimated that around 100,000 people marched.

Harvey Milk was the first openly gay elected official in California and is now treated as something of a gay martyr. He and San Francisco’s Mayor,
George Moscone, were murdered on 27 November 1978 by disgruntled former Supervisor, Dan White. The lenient sentence of their murderer led to the ‘White Night riots’, which culminated in the new mayor appointing a pro-gay chief of police easing some of the city’s tensions.

London’s Lesbian and Gay Pride in 1985 was notable as included contingents from mining communities, who were returning the solidarity of Lesbian and Gay protestors in the 1984-85 miners’ strike. During the strikes, the Thatcher Government sequestered funds of the National Union of Mineworkers, meaning that supporters of the strike were unable to donate directly to the union. Instead, groups and activists were encouraged to twin with mining communities as a direct means of support. The 2004 movie Pride retold the story of the alliance between Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners and a Welsh mining village in South Wales.

Many of the same requests that were made in the 1979 March on Washington were made again in 1987 at National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay rights on 11 October. At this time, the US Supreme Court were upholding state sodomy laws, meaning that it was a crime for consenting gay and bisexual adults to engage in sexual relations. Many prominent LGBTQ+ activists were also frustrated that President Ronald Reagan’s administration was failing to respond to growing AIDS crisis in the US. It was during this march that the AIDS Memorial Quilt was unveiled for the first time. The idea for the NAMES Project Memorial Quilt was conceived on the 7th anniversary march of the Milk-Moscone assassinations by AIDS activist Cleve Jones, who began asking marchers how many people they’d lost to AIDS.

Throughout the 80s and 90s, the energy of LGBTQ+ organisations and activists moved to fighting the AIDS crisis and many moderate groups took over. This led to criticism that pride events became more commercialised and parade-like rather than political marches. It is worth remembering that there is not a single unified LGBTQ+ community that has one shared goal or tactic, and this has been the case since the start of the LGBTQ+ movement. Groups such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis focused on showing the ‘respectable’ face of lesbian and gay members of society, and used many marches and protests to show that they were employable. These two groups, along with the Janus Society in Philadelphia made up the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO), and were responsible for some of the earliest LGBTQ+ demonstrations in the US with the Annual Reminder on the 4th of July between 1965-69.

When marching these ‘homophile’ (emphasising love over sex) groups appeared mainstream, conforming to gender norms in modes of dress; women marching were expected to wear dresses and the men ties. The term ‘homophile’ has since dropped out of use almost completely.

Stonewall itself radicalised a generation of LGBTQ+ people, and groups such as the GLF in the US, used radical tactics borrowed from the Black Panthers.

Transgender activism cannot be ignored when talking about pride, LGBTQ+ activism and beyond. Many mark the beginning of transgender activism in the US as San Francisco’s Compton’s Cafeteria riot of August 1966, when police arrived to arrest men dressed as women, which was illegal at the time. In response to this riot, the trans community of San Francisco picketed the cafeteria. This was unsuccessful but is one of the first demonstrations against police violence towards transgender people.

Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) was founded in 1970 by Sylvia Rivera and Marsa P Johnson, NYC drag queens of colour, and was an street activist organisation. STAR worked towards the recognition of trans people within the gay and lesbian movement, as well as society in general. Many previous riots and uprisings had not been recorded, either due to police records being incomplete or newspapers not reporting on them. Events such as the Cooper Do-nuts riot of 1993 pre-dated Stonewall, but did not have as wide an impact.

Violence towards transgender people is still ongoing, and the Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR) is observed every 20 November to bring attention to this. TDOR was observed over 20 countries in 2010 and events often include a reading of names of those murdered during the previous year.

The UK campaign group Press for Change was founded in 1992, “seeking respect and equality for all trans people in the UK.” It champions the rights and legal recognition of transgender people in the UK, and has regularly worked with the UK government on legislation and regulation.
and anti-war activists. With the rise of second-wave feminism alongside the gay rights moment, some subsections of lesbian groups decried drag queens for using offensive stereotypes, which led to incidents of infighting.

Organisations like Queer Nation appeared in the 1990s, and worked to rebrand LGBTQ+ activists as revolutionaries again. The punk movement also brought with it ‘queercore’, another reaction against anti-gay violence in the music scene. Gay Shame appeared in 1998, using resistance and instigation against commercial gay identity with an intersectional focus. (The theory of intersectionality was introduced in 1989 by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw and is, in short, the way different aspects of social and political discrimination overlap with gender, class, ability – especially for those most marginalised in society).

The 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation was one of the largest civil rights demonstration in American history with estimates of the crowd size ranging from 300,000 (Federal Park Police) to 1.1 million (District of Columbia Police), and 2 million by some organisers. The groups represented included Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual Veterans of America, Republicans for Individual Rights, Amnesty International, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, the National Organization of Women and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The support from such historic civil rights organisations led to more support for LGBTQ+ rights and legislation in the US. There was much optimism in this year as Bill Clinton was two months into his presidency and had expressed support for gay rights during his campaign. However, the reaction was mixed when President Clinton sent a written message after declining an invitation to speak at the march. The official US policy on military service by gay, lesbian and bisexual people was the main point of contention. It barred openly LGBTQ+ service people, yet also prohibited personnel from discriminating against those who identified as LGBTQ+. ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ (DADT) was instituted in 1994 and was not repealed until 2011.

While the US was grappling with DADT, LGBTQ+ marches in the UK throughout the 1990s were battling the Local Government Act’s Section 28. This legislation was intended to prevent local authorities from ‘intentionally promoting homosexuality’. The phrasing was open to much debate, as then MP Tony Benn said during a debate, “The House had better be very careful before it gives to judges… the power to interpret ‘promote’.” The rallying call in Pride ‘98 was “Scrap 28!”, but Section 28 was not repealed until 2003.

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**MILESTONES IN LGBT+ ACTIVISM**

**Decriminalisation**

- After the Wolfenden Report’s recommendations, Lord Arran, a Conservative Whip in the House of Lords, sponsored a bill in 1965 to legalise male homosexual relations. Bizarrely, no such law had been applied to homosexuality between women, as there was a fear in Parliament that the mention of lesbianism may encourage women to explore homosexuality. This bill led to The Sexual Offences Act of 1967, decriminalising male homosexuality between consenting adults above the age of 21. This reform only applied to England and Wales. Scotland and Northern Ireland followed suit in 1980 and 1982 respectively.

**Stonewall**

- The riots at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, and in response to the police raid there, have often been referred to as a flashpoint in LGBT history, triggering many other demonstrations.

**London Pride**

- The UK Gay Liberation Front was founded in 1970 to fight for the rights of LGBTQ people in response to Stonewall. They organised the very first UK pride march in London on 1 July 1972.

**Terry Higgins Trust**

- Terry Higgins was one of the first people in the UK to die with AIDS. The Terry Higgins Trust was then set up by his friends to raise fund for research and awareness of the illness.

**Lesbian and Gay Police Association**

- The Lesbian and Gay Police Association was founded by Constable James Bradley, and was a staff association with members in all of the UK’s 52 police forces. The association ended in 2014, and now the National LGBT Police Network exists over England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

**Danish same-sex laws**

- Denmark became the first country in the world to give legal recognition to same-sex partnerships with respect to inheritance tax. This was followed in 1989 by a law regarding registered partnerships, and gender-neutral marriages were lawful in 2012.
The commercialisation of pride in London during the 1990s and early-2000s, with ticket-only events, was considered by many to detract from the cause. The 2000 Millennium March on Washington for Equality had much of the same criticism levelled at it. With many celebrities among the 800,000 attendees, the Equality Rocks concert received more publicity than the causes marched for.

Pride London was formed in 2004, bringing politics back into the party with a rally in Trafalgar Square after the parade. In the US, the National Pride March took place on 11 June 2017 in conjunction with Washington DC’s annual Pride parade. This march commemorated the 49 victims of the 2016 Orlando nightclub shooting, and was more political than pride festivities of recent years. It was also a protest against the Trump Administration – particularly Vice President Mike Pence, who has been a vocal opponent of LGBT+ civil rights.

While attitudes in the UK appear to be softening towards LGBT+ rights and legislation (as seen in former Prime Minister Theresa May’s voting record) there is still a way to go before securing full acceptance. London Pride in 2018 was disrupted by a group of Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERFs) making their way to the front of the march, claiming that transgender activism equates to ‘lesbian erasure’.

Despite marking the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall Uprising, the fight that began in 1969 is not over yet.
What was it?
On 16 December 2010, Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi’s wares were seized by officials, the latest incident in what his family and friends claimed was a campaign of harassment and mistreatment. Humiliated, angry and with his living snatched away from him, Bouazizi attempted to lodge a formal complaint with the Governor of the city of Sidi Bouzid, who refused to meet with him. In protest, the desperate Bouazizi doused himself with petrol and lit a match. He died three weeks later in hospital.

As news spread of what had occurred, protests broke out around Tunisia and snowballed into a revolution. The protesters called for freedom of speech, the right to political freedom and an end to soaring unemployment and political corruption. Security forces hit back hard, killing and wounding demonstrators, but their protests only grew louder. Less than two weeks after Bouazizi’s death, the Tunisian government collapsed and President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled into exile in Saudi Arabia. Across the Middle East, the Arab Spring had begun.

What were the consequences?
The impact of what became the ‘Jasmine Revolution’ in Tunisia spread across the region, and major pro-democracy uprisings broke out that resulted in wholesale changes of government in countries such as Egypt and Libya. With the wave of protests sweeping across Yemen, Syria, Bahrain and other countries, security forces took a hardline approach to dealing with them and lives were lost.

Although hopes were high for a new move towards democracy in the wake of the Arab Spring, the reality was not so cut and dried. Though conditions improved in Tunisia, this wasn’t always the case, and the resultant power vacuums left by ousted leaders in countries such as Libya plunged those lands into civil war, with the people still suffering to this day.

With the struggle for democracy ongoing in the region, the effects of the Arab Spring have not been as positive as those initial protestors might have hoped.
**Who was involved?**

**Mohamed Bouazizi**

1984 - 2011

When officials roughly confiscated the vegetables he sold on the street, Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest against his treatment.

**Zine El Abidine Ben Ali**

1936 - present

The Jasmine Revolution forced President Ben Ali to flee Tunisia and go into exile after 23 years at the top.

**Muammar al-Gaddafi**

1942 - 2011

The ousting of Colonel Gaddafi, after four decades in power in Libya, was a sure sign of the Arab Spring's impact.

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**DID YOU KNOW?**

The four leaders of a group of organisations collectively known as the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet won the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize.

Though the Tunisian government called in the military, the people continued to call for democratic rule.

Faced with massive protests in central Cairo, Egypt's president had no choice but to resign.

**TIMELINE**

- **The fire is lit**
  17 December 2010
  Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself alight to protest his treatment by officials. As news spreads of his actions, pro-democracy protests break out across Tunisia.
  Image Source: Reuters

- **Ben Ali ousted**
  14 January 2011
  With all efforts to put down the Jasmine Revolution thwarted, Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali flees into exile in Saudi Arabia.
  Image Source: UPI/Mark Bryant

- **Beyond borders**
  February 2011
  Pro-democracy protests are held across the Middle East on the so-called Days of Rage, including in Iraq, Yemen, Egypt and Palestine.
  Image Source: AP

- **Mubarak down**
  11 February 2011
  After using every means possible to crush protests against his rule, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak stands down after three decades in power.
  Image Source: US Department of State

- **Gaddafi killed**
  20 October 2011
  Having greeted Arab Spring protesters with gunfire, Libyan president Muammar Gaddafi is forced to flee. He is killed while being captured.
  Image Source: William Murphy

- **People’s vote**
  23 October 2011
  The first democratic elections since 1956 are held in Tunisia, with voter turnout at around 90%. The first local elections follow seven years later.
  Image Source: Sam Mokoko
POWER OF PROTEST

WE ARE THE 99%

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 2011

OCCUPY WALL STREET
born from political corruption, financial inequality and the overwhelming greed of the American Government and major corporations, the Occupy Wall Street movement set about creating a ‘million-man march’ through Lower Manhattan. People of all ages, faiths and genders banded together in a bid to undermine the influence of large-scale corporations on politics and, at the same time, raise awareness of the considerable discrepancy between income and resulting wealth across the United States. Protesters camped in Zuccotti Park, but when they refused to leave in order for the area to be cleaned, riot police were called in and arrests were made. Many demonstrators moved on, turning their focus to corporate headquarters, banks and various university campuses, leading to a variety of fierce clashes. The OWS movement highlighted the importance of free speech but, without clear political goals and a strong figurehead, little more was achieved. The impact of the ‘99%’ is, sadly, negligible.

DID YOU KNOW?
The ‘We Are The 99%’ slogan refers to the American inequality between the wealthiest 1% and the remaining population.
BIRTH OF THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BLACK LIVES MATTER HAS SPARKED THE SPIRIT OF PROTEST AGAINST THE RACISM FACED BY AFRICAN AMERICANS AND BLACK PEOPLE ACROSS THE GLOBE. THE NEW STRUGGLE MIXES CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE POLITICS OF BLACK POWER

Trayvon Martin was only 17 when he was killed walking back from the shops. His killer, George Zimmerman, followed him because he looked ‘suspicious’, provoked a confrontation and then shot the unarmed teenager to death. But police had to be pressured into arresting him, weeks after the event, because they believed he acted in self-defence. The eventual trial stirred all the stereotypes of the ‘black super human menace’, and Zimmerman was ultimately acquitted. On hearing the verdict, activist Alicia Garza wrote a Facebook post in dismay, which ended with the words “Our Lives Matter”. Her friend Patrisse Cullors took this phrase and created the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, which spread as quickly as the pain from the verdict. The killing of an unarmed black teenager ignited the spirit of protest not for the first or last time in American history.

Emmett Till had a profound impact on the Civil Rights Movement without ever marching, protesting or making a speech. As a 14 year old visiting family in Mississippi, he was lynched by a racist mob for ‘disrespecting’ a white woman. His mother, Mamie Till, insisted the mutilated body of her child was displayed in an open casket at the funeral. The image sent shivers down the collective spine of America and galvanised support for the Civil Rights Movement. It is a sad testament to just how little has changed that 60 years later it was the killing of a black teenager that awoke the masses.

#BlackLivesMatter was sparked by the killing of Trayvon Martin but found its platform when unarmed teenager Michael Brown was shot dead by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri on 9 August 2014. Protests erupted in Ferguson, whose population was two-thirds African American, while its police force had only three black officers in total. Michael Brown’s killing was the straw
that broke the camel’s back in police-community relations and major periods of unrest broke out in the city through the remainder of 2014 and into 2015. Stories of police brutality, racism and the targeting of African Americans were a reminder that many of the same problems that existed in the original civil rights struggle persist in contemporary America. The original movement may have outlawed discrimination and segregation, while securing voting rights for African Americans, but it had not guaranteed equality before the law or her officers. Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, Philando Castile and Korryn Gaines represent just a fraction of those killed by the police that are testament to the most fundamental form of racial injustice. Since emancipation from slavery, African Americans have been victims of the criminal justice system. One of the ways that free black labour was retained in the South was to put prison chain gangs to work. African Americans were subject to incarceration for fines and minor offences to ensure they would populate the chain gangs. Though being victimised by the prison system is not new; between 1980 and 2012 there was a 222 per cent increase in the incarceration rate in America. The war on crack cocaine was a major factor in this steep rise, and hugely disproportionately put African Americans into prison. Almost a million African Americans spend time in prison each year, and it is estimated that there are more black men behind bars today, or on probation and parole, than there were enslaved in 1850. Mass incarceration has become perhaps the most important civil rights issue in the 21st century. The impact of loss of liberty, voting rights and ability to find employment led Michelle Alexander to declare the prison industry the “new Jim Crow”. With around five million African Americans outside of prison under state supervision on a daily basis, the police have become ever-present in black
communities. To some they have come to symbolise the boots on the ground of racism, the militarised storm troopers of racial injustice.

Black Lives Matter is similar to the Civil Rights Movement in that it is a banner for a number of independent organisations, which existed before the hashtag came into being. It has grown into an international organisation with 40 chapters around the world. They use the same name and adopt the policy platform but are run by those who were already working on the ground. Just as with the Civil Rights Movement, they offer support and training for activists in an effort to maximise their effectiveness. The movement is a coalition of forces aimed at bringing about social change. In the same way that the Big Six civil rights leaders, which included Martin Luther King Jr, James Farmer and A Philip Randolph, were national spokespeople for the movement, so are figures like Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi. Leadership is an area where Black Lives Matter tries to distinguish itself from the Civil Rights Movement, as Alicia Garza explained in an interview for The Guardian: “If you’re only looking for the straight black man who is a preacher, you’re not going to find it.”

An enduring criticism of the civil rights struggle is that it was sexist, and focused too narrowly on issues that impacted directly on men. We remember the charismatic male leaders who rallied the troops and set the agenda, and ignore the women who toiled behind the scenes. BLM has rejected this patriarchal idea, started by three gay black women, it has aimed to empower a leaderful organisation that is open to the whole black community. Bayard Rustin is one of the most important civil rights activists but because he was gay, his story is most often overlooked. In contrast, DeRay Mckesson has become one of the most prominent voices associated with BLM. This is no small difference; civil rights was blighted by its pursuit of presenting a respectable version of blackness that would be palatable to mainstream America. Mckesson’s mantra “I love my blackness, and yours” is the perfect response to the limits of past movements.

BLM aims to be leaderless in order to promote a diversity of voices but also to prevent damage caused by the figurehead being brought down or betraying the cause. Assassinations of figures like Martin Luther King Jr act as a cautionary tale for investing too much in a leader. Emphasis is placed on being ‘leaderful’ and empowering activists within different chapters. This is more similar to the organising of the Civil Rights Movement than we have been taught to remember. The figureheads may linger in the memory but the reality is that it
BLACK LIVES MATTER IN THE UK

One of the notable differences to the Civil Rights Movement is how BLM has spread across the world. The movement has inspired protests in countries such as France and South Africa, as well as becoming a driving force behind black struggle in the UK. In July 2016, following the killings of Alton Sterling and Philando Castile, who was live-streamed bleeding out on Facebook, protests erupted across the UK. Thousands of mainly young people took to the streets in all the major cities protesting in solidarity. BLM UK had been organising before, with the support of the American founders, but the movement gained national attention with these protests. In August 2016, BLM organised civil disobedience, shutting down the tram service in Nottingham, and blocking roads in Birmingham as well as the M4 exit to Heathrow Airport. BLM UK aims to raise the profile of those who have died in custody, or after police contact, in Britain, including Kingsley Burrell, Sarah Reed, Mzee Mohammed and Mark Duggan. Just as in America, black people in the UK are more likely to die under suspicious circumstances after police contact and are actually even more over-represented in the prison population. BLM UK has also broadened the issue from criminal justice to issues such as immigration, poverty and climate justice.

“BLM aims to be leaderless in order to promote a diversity of voices”

was a broad coalition of black activists that made the movement a success. BLM is actually more traditionally led, with a platform, chapters and its own programmes. In contrast, the Civil Rights Movement is a label we have placed over a range of different and sometimes competing ideas and organisations.

Trying to both lead, and be leaderless, puts BLM in a difficult practical position. In the desire to not dictate solutions, they have created BLM as more of a kitemark than an organisation. A badge that sanctions the work of activists on the ground. When asked about the similarities between BLM and the Black Panther Party, former Panther Kathleen Cleaver insisted that they “were not a movement” but an organisation. She stressed the clear ideology, structure and programmes of the Panthers, which is something that BLM purposefully lacks on the national level. The national agenda of BLM includes Channel Black, for media representation, a Black Futures Month programme, and a series of high profile “provocateur events”. This is a far cry from the Panthers’ newspaper, free breakfast programmes, medical clinics, legal advice, as well as strict party discipline being centrally administrated. It should not be a surprise that BLM is more similar to the Civil Rights Movement in terms of scope when the goals are similar: to protest in order to produce policy change. The Panthers could take up arms to defend the community from the police, while BLM engages in peaceful protest, because they were not interested in public opinion but revolutionary practice. Both groups gained a high profile by taking up the issues of criminal injustice, and the youth and urgency of BLM has created a connection to the Panthers in the popular imagination. But to really understand BLM we have to go back to a fissure

There have been more than 2,322 Black Lives Matter protests across the globe
In September 2016, San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick brought international attention to the issue of police brutality and racism by refusing to stand for the national anthem, which is routinely played before every NFL game.

He explained: “I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of colour.” His protest was inspired by Black Lives Matter and before long, other players joined in by taking a knee during the anthem. The protests proved controversial with NFL owners, many fans and even the US president. In October 2017, President Trump encouraged the NFL to take a zero-tolerance approach to players who “disrespect our flag, our country” and said that he would implore owners to say “get that son of a bitch off the field right now” if they refused to stand during the anthem.

The following week over 200 NFL players took a knee. Since July 2017 Kaepernick has been without a team and is suing the NFL for collusion. He has continued his activism and donated $1 million to a range of social justice organisations.

On 25 May 2020 in Minneapolis, George Floyd was being placed under arrest for allegedly using a counterfeit bill. After being pulled out of his vehicle and handcuffed by officers, Floyd became distressed, telling officers he was claustrophobic. One officer, Derek Chauvin, restrained Floyd on the ground, with his knee on his neck. As soon as they noticed Floyd’s distress, despite Floyd begging to be let go, gasping for breath and repeatedly telling officers “I can’t breathe”, Chauvin kept his knee on Floyd’s neck for over eight minutes. After several, agonising minutes, Floyd fell silent, and bystanders told officers to check his pulse – they couldn’t find one. But still Chauvin did not release Floyd until after paramedics arrived. Floyd’s motionless body was then taken by ambulance to a local hospital, where he was declared dead an hour later.

It is a sad, shameful fact that George Floyd’s death was one of many senseless killings of Black Americans by white police officers. But for millions of people across the world, this was the first time they found themselves faced with the horrific, brutal reality of it when footage of Floyd’s last moments spread online.

Protests over Floyd’s death began in Minneapolis but soon spread across the rest of the United States and beyond. BLM and anti-racism demonstrations took place in cities around the world, with crowds chanting Floyd’s words: “I can’t breathe.”

On 29 May, Chauvin was charged with murder and manslaughter, and the three other officers at the scene were later charged with aiding and abetting second-degree murder. But the protests continued. The injustices that people rallied against extended far beyond this one case. Neither America, nor the rest of the world, could continue to feign ignorance of systemic racism and its human cost.

In the wake of George Floyd’s death, organisations and policymakers have begun to address a wide range of racial issues, from police brutality to displays of Confederate symbolism. These extend far beyond politics, too. The entertainment industry, for example, is starting to address its problematic past. Films and television shows where actors used blackface have been removed or edited on streaming services, and many animated shows have recast roles where white actors were voicing non-white characters.

There’s no denying that society still has a long way to go, but some positive steps are being taken. Time will tell if the commitments made by organisations across the world will indeed help to root out and eliminate cases of institutionalised racism, as they have pledged.
level of human rights”, what he meant was that black people were not respected as human beings. The phrase “Black Lives Matter” is the simplest representation of that idea. You cannot legislate our basic recognition as people, and this is where BLM directly embraces the legacy of Black Power and explains the generational divide between BLM and the surviving civil rights royalty.

Open hostility has been displayed towards some of the veterans of the Civil Rights Movement when they have tried to engage in the moment defined by BLM. At a rally in Washington in 2014, organised by Al Sharpton’s organisation, BLM activist Johnetta Elzie stormed the stage, upset that the younger activists’ work was being co-opted. There is the feeling it is time for a fresh, grassroots approach to the problems and the established way of parachuting figureheads into hotspots has run its course. This split is not a new development and goes back to the debate in the 1960s. The younger activists were inspired by Malcolm X’s urgency and bought into being Black Power, but it largely remained in the sphere of civil rights. There are a few examples, like the Panthers, who took up the revolutionary mantle, but in the main the movement aimed to better integrate African Americans into the system. Even cultural activists like Amiri Baraka, who wanted to maintain distinct African American cultural communities, did so in tandem with civil rights gains. Baraka started a Committee For a Unified Newark (CFUN) in 1968, an organisation that worked extensively with Newark officials to try to carve out some space in the city for African Americans. This meant supporting electoral candidates and encouraging people to vote, rather than destroying the system.

Black Power became so loosely defined that it was used in calls for better integration into capitalism as well as by those wanting to bring about communism. Black Lives Matter faces the same problem of being too broad a platform. It is almost as impossible to disagree that black life matters, as it is to agree to what the solution is. In taking the coalition for policy reform model, BLM is the 21st century version of the Civil Rights Movement. The question now is whether we need to reinvent the civil rights approach, or abandon its politics for a more radical vision of revolution.

“There is the feeling it is time for a fresh, grassroots approach to the problems”
THE WAR ON WOMEN IS A WAR ON EVERYONE.
COMING THE DAY AFTER PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP’S INAUGURATION, THE WOMEN’S MARCH OF 2017 WAS A BACKLASH TO THE UPSWING OF MISOGyny IN POLITICS WORLDWIDE

Written by REBECCA LEWRY-GRAY

The shock of Donald Trump’s election - and to a similar extent his vice presidential pick, evangelical Christian Mike Pence - soon turned to anger and desire for change. Rights that had been hard fought for by the LGBT+ community and women were seemingly being ‘rolled back’.

The 2016 presidential election was undoubtedly divisive, with extreme language being used. And while Black Lives Matter, founded in 2013, took the opportunity to enter the political fray, meeting with Democratic donors, things looked bleak in the days after the announcement of the results.

The Women’s March started as a grass roots organisation, far from the incorporation it is today. In 2016, a small group of women got together in a New York restaurant to plan a demonstration. One of them, Teresa Shook, a first-time activist, made a single Facebook post. After the revelation of Trump’s ascendency to the presidency on 8 November, she vented her frustration and disappointment on the Pro-Hilary Clinton page Pantsuit Nation, and claimed that a pro-women march was needed. No one took the lead, so she did it herself.

After just one night, 10,000 people had said they would attend. New York fashion designer Bob Bland also proposed a “Million Pussy March”, and other protest pages were consolidated. Planning was then handed to more experienced activists like Tamika Mallory, a gun control advocate, Carmen Perez, the head of a criminal justice reform group, and Linda Sarsour, a Muslim political activist.

The Facebook group used to organise the first march still stands, its creed clear: “The rhetoric of the past election cycle has insulted, demonised, and threatened many of us - women, immigrants of all statuses, those with diverse religious faiths particularly muslim, people who identify as LGBTQIA, Black and Brown people, people with disabilities, the economically impoverished and survivors of sexual assault. We are confronted with the question of how to move forward in the face of national and international concern and fear.”

Using the tools on Facebook, 223,000 people are marked as ‘attended’ and 249,000 as ‘interested’,
AND THIS WAS BY NO MEANS THE END OF REACTIONARY WOMEN’S MARCHES. ANOTHER ONE TOOK PLACE IN 2017, AND IT CAN ALSO BE VIEWED AS A GLOBAL BACKLASH AGAINST A ROLLING BACK OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS.

THE WOMEN’S MARCH ON VERSAILLES WAS ONE OF THE EARLIEST EVENTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Women’s March took place on a grey Saturday, on 21 January 2017 in Washington, DC, the day after Trump’s inauguration. The organisers estimated that there were 500,000 marchers in DC alone, while the local metro authority told the New York Times that it had logged 1 million individual entries to the underground train system. It was the second highest amount in its history, with the highest being 1.2 million, recorded on the day of Barack Obama’s inauguration in 2009.

Three times more people attended the march than Trump’s inauguration the day before, despite the spin of Trump’s administration. Trump himself claimed that his crowds “looked like a million, million and a half people” - which, to be fair, from the low perspective of the podium the Mall in Washington, DC, would have looked packed.

On the day of the Women’s March, President Trump ignored it almost entirely, instead speaking at the Central Intelligence Agency’s head office, ruminating on how big the attendance had been at his inaugural speech.

The organisers made pains to reiterate that they were not targeting the president specifically, and that the march was more about basic equality for all people regardless of gender, race, religion and sexuality. Trump instead became a symbol of what the marchers were fighting against.

Four million people attended 653 sister marches across the United States and 271 took place around the world on the same day, each with the same agenda but their own speakers. In DC, Maryum Ali, author, social worker and daughter of Muhammed Ali, spoke: “Don’t get frustrated, get involved. Don’t complain, organise.”

THE DAY ITSELF

THE INFLUENCE OF FOREMOTHERS

A group of protesters march in favour of the ERA

Women have always marched in protest - in fact, the Women’s March on Versailles was one of the earliest events of the French Revolution. Started in response to the price and scarcity of bread, many of the women were carrying makeshift weapons and successfully sieged the palace.

First-wave feminism, given its name in 1968 by Martha Lear, took place during the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and it was primarily concerned with the right to vote. Many of the feminist waves that followed would find themselves influenced by the American leader of the Suffragists, Alice Paul, who was impressed with the work that British Suffragettes and Suffragists were undertaking. American Suffragists paraded in advance of President Wilson’s inauguration in 1913.
and in both 1916 and 1917 they picketed the White House. American women, excluding Native and immigrant women, were finally given the vote in all states in 1920. Second-wave feminists then aimed to increase equality for women beyond voting, starting in the early 1960s until the early 1980s.

Black women were key in civil rights protests, both as marchers who were arrested and in organising events themselves. 1963 saw civil rights marches in both Birmingham, Alabama, and Washington, DC, with the latter culminating in Dr Martin Luther King Jr’s famous speech. Yet women were marginalised during this march and, to this day, Rosa Parks has been characterised as a tired seamstress who had just had enough rather than the activist and civil rights leader she really was.

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) became a battleground for feminists and activists in the 1970s and 1980s. It was an amendment to the US Constitution to guarantee equal rights regardless of sex: “Section 1. Equality of rights under the law... and anti-Semitic comments, such as those made by Louis Farrakhan, an anti-Semitic Nation of Islam leader who compared Jews to termites. Board member Linda Sarsour, has also faced scrutiny over her views on Israeli policy. The separation of race and feminism has also been highlighted by Amir Talai, a Persian-American actor who held a sign during the 2017 Los Angeles women’s March which read: “I’ll see you nice white ladies at the next #blacklivesmatter March right?” Singer and actress Janelle Monae led the crowd in a chant against police violence in Washington in 2017. “Sandra Bland! Say her name!” She then invited the Mothers of the Movement to join the chant inserting their child’s name, each a murder victim of police or gun violence.
“In a departure from previous waves, this one has turned attention to the ways in which the patriarchy also hurts men.”

shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” In 1978, the National Organisation of Women (NOW) organised the National ERA March on Washington, DC: the March for Equality. This was a continuation of the work NOW had been carrying out from 1972, with growing success. A march for ERA in 1976 had 16,000 supporters, while 100,000 braved the July heat in 1978. They wore purple, gold and white, the Suffragist colours, and many were actually Suffragist veterans. Despite a number of stumbling blocks along the way, the ERA has been re-introduced in Congress every year since 1985.

Three important marches organised by NOW also took place over three decades, all focusing on one issue: the reproductive rights of women. After not organising a march for almost ten years after 1978, they finally held the Sunday March for Women’s Lives in 1986, where 120,000 people marched in Washington, DC, in support of abortion rights. Of course, a counter-rally, March for Life, has occurred every year since 1974.

Anti-pornography feminism arose in the late 1970s and precipitated a schism in feminist circles, with groups either believing that pornography was another form of male domination or that women’s liberation should be sexual too. Many historians point to the feminist sex wars as ushering in the third wave of feminism in the early 1990s.

Writer and activist Rebecca Walker defined this new movement in “Becoming the Third Wave” in 1992 for Ms. magazine, saying that it focused on the “search for personal clarity in the midst of systemic destruction, to join in sisterhood with women when often we are divided, to understand power structures with the intention of challenging them.”

The 1992 March for Women’s Lives took place in response to a supreme court case, Casey v. Planned Parenthood, which threatened abortion rights. Approximately 750,000 marchers took part and made sure that reproductive issues were at the forefront of the 1992 presidential debates. NOW then organised the 2004 March for Women’s Lives, again focusing on protecting reproductive rights and healthcare. Around 115 million people, made up of a coalition of women’s rights and social justice groups, marched in Washington, DC.

Fourth-wave feminism sprung up in the 2010s with a focus on intersectionality, empowerment and using the tools of the internet. However, in a departure from previous waves, this one has turned attention to the ways in which the patriarchy also

21ST-CENTURY ACTIVISM

Celebrity appearances

The 2017 Women’s March was notable in the history of modern protest in that many famous faces attended, using their celebrity and public interest in their lives to inspire activism and resistance. Many of these celebrities – such as Gloria Steinem, Angela Davis (pictured with actress Emma Watson), Jesse Jackson, Amy Schumer and Jane Fonda – were already known for their activism. Others attending marches across the world included Helen Mirren, America Ferrara, Cher, Laverne Cox, Ian McKellen, David Beckham. Mark Ruffalo and Uzo Aduba. Many celebrities who were unable to attend voiced their support through social media, most notably Beyoncé, who had previously been seen to be apolitical. 2017 onwards

President Trump’s inauguration

The 2016 US presidential election was won by Republicans Donald Trump and Mike Pence on 8 November 2016, with 304 electoral votes to Hilary Clinton’s 227. While Clinton won 2.87 million more votes nationwide, the electoral college decided the outcome. This policy upset galvanised many to protest. Trump’s inauguration took place on 20 January 2017. Sean Spicer, the then White House press secretary claimed that Washington was packed with “the largest audience to ever witness an inauguration”. When fact-checked by reports, Trump’s spokesperson Kellyanne Conway stated that Spicer presented “alternative facts”, which has been mocked on social media and has been criticised as Orwellian language. 20 January 2017

Pussy hats and creative anger

The pussyhat is a pink knitted, sewn or crocheted hat, popularised during the 2017 Women’s March. The Pussyhat Project was started by Krista Suh and Jayna Zweiman to create a strong symbol and cohesive look over the March. These hats also guarded against the January weather in the northern hemisphere. The hats found their name due to their corners looking like cat ears, and as a way to reclaim the derogatory term ‘pussy’. The use of the word ‘pussy’ was also present across picket signs, and the most creative went viral. 21 January 2017
hurts men by raising awareness of male suicide rates, toxic masculinity in the media, and male sexual assault. Writer Jennifer Baumgardner dates the start of the fourth wave being around 2008, with social media platform Twitter being used to great effect, making feminism more accessible through hashtags going viral.

The 2017 Women’s March on Washington was a perfect example of this, and coverage on the internet was vast across many social media platforms and websites that focused on tweets, hashtags, the art on placards and even the iconic pussyhat itself.

HAS ANYTHING CHANGED?

Arguably the largest impact that the Women’s March movement has had is potentially ushering in more political age. While large-scale activism for LGBTQ+ and black and indigenous people of colour rights has continued, women’s rights may have entered an age of complacency during the Obama administration. But with recent changes in the global political landscape, people are actually having to fight for their rights again, especially in the face of polarisation of political parties. People on opposite sides were not and are not talking to each other.

As one of the triggers for the Women’s March, people have been made more aware of abuses of privileges and power. Misogyny appeared to be more blatant – something that is no more the case than when the serving US president is on tape having a lewd conversation about women. However, the 2005 Access Hollywood tape didn’t harm Trump’s campaign, and many people were angry. In October 2017, a hashtag #MeToo went viral in response to the allegations of sexual abuse by American film producer Harvey Weinstein. While this phrase wasn’t new – civil rights activist Tarana Burke started using it in 2006 – it seemed to be embedded with more meaning in a post-Trump world.

It was reported in 2017 that one in 100 Americans had marched. While this sounds like a low ratio, it misses the meaning of protest numbers - the motivation to march is much higher than just coming out to vote, and many people are actually putting themselves in danger if they are expressing a minority sentiment. The numbers of women in political office rose after the Women’s March in the United States. Many women began mobilising politically after Trump’s election and the Women’s March, and a record number of women entered the Democratic primaries and ran for local and state office. After the 2018 midterm elections, around 112 women were elected to Congress, beating the previous record of 107. This is also notable due to a few other milestones that were hit in the process: Deb Haaland and Sharice Davids became the first elected Native American women, alongside Rashida Tlaib and Ilham Omar as the first Muslim women to represent their states, while Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Abby Finkenauer have become the youngest women to serve in the US House of Representatives at 29 and 30 respectively.

Interestingly, Trump has helped many women interested in politics redefine how ‘qualified’ they are to serve. As with many professions, women tend to underestimate how much experience they have and overestimate how much they need to apply for a role. Women are also often treated as outsiders in politics, which can be helpful if the public is fed up with politics as usual.

Whether it was the influence of the Women’s March or an increased awareness and need for political resistance, many demonstrations have had increased coverage, including 2018’s March for Our Lives for gun control.
THE GRETA THUNBERG EFFECT

What began as a lonely vigil that got her into trouble with her teachers turned into a global movement that saw over 1 million children protest against governments’ lack of action on climate change. The impact of one Swedish schoolgirl to try and put the environment at the top of political agendas became known in 2019 as the Greta Thunberg effect.

Greta herself started protesting for tougher laws on carbon emissions outside the Swedish parliament in August 2018. She vowed to demonstrate every Friday until that year’s general elections in her country. Her only banner was a piece of cardboard with the slogan ‘Skolstrejk för klimatet’, or ‘School strike for climate’, and she was a lone demonstrator. But when her campaign got attention on social media, other school pupils around the world began to follow her lead.

#Fridaysforfuture protests saw young people around the world miss classes to picket for green issues. But it also led to a rise in high-profile youth activists, with teenagers in countries including the Netherlands and Uganda making public speeches and using traditional protest methods like soap box orations to try and win new followers. The movement held a mass walkout in March 2019, which saw over 1 million pupils around the world walk out of class.

Greta Thunberg has since spoken at the United Nations and met world leaders including French President Emmanuel Macron. Her lonely vigil has become a global vehicle for youth protesters to make their voices heard.
PROTESTS TODAY

THE RISE OF POPULIST POLITICS HAS LED TO A GROWTH IN PROTEST MOVEMENTS, AND SOCIAL MEDIA HAS MEANT FINDING A CAUSE AND FELLOW CAMPAIGNERS HAS NEVER BEEN EASIER

Written by
JUNE WOOLERTON

The state visit of US President Donald Trump to the UK in June 2019 was like no other before it. The carriage ride along the Mall was replaced by helicopter hops across central London, while the pomp and ceremony took place behind closed palace doors. It meant he was kept well away from some of the biggest protests London has ever seen.

The mass turnout, estimated at around 75,000 people, was the latest in a long line of protests against the Trump administration. And like many high-profile demonstrations of the past few years, organisers used social media and strong visual symbols to make a quick, far-reaching impact.

In the weeks before the state visit, campaigners spread their message on Twitter and Facebook; a tactic used with success since the 2016 presidential campaign, when protests against Trump’s White House candidacy took shape. Large demonstrations on the day of his presidential inauguration began a series of turnouts against his politics and personality. Demonstrations accompany any administration, but anti-Trump campaigns have taken on a global dimension, and have inspired several other movements that have risen to prominence during his presidency.

The day after President Trump took up office in January 2017, the Women’s March swept across the US. After criticisms of the President’s attitude to women and allegations of sexism, the protest’s organisers said they wanted to send a message that equal rights for all was a basic requirement in the new era. It was thought to be the biggest single-day protest in US history, with an estimated three to five million people taking part. The main demonstration in Washington involved almost 600,000 people, and was streamed live on social media. Sister protests took place in cities around the world while the march, through its high profile on social media, drew in other campaigns including those focused on racial equality, gun laws and LGBTQ rights.

The march itself eventually came to be seen as part of a wider movement that took hold globally in 2017, refocusing on women’s rights and equality. In July that year, UK activist Gina Martin reported a man after he used his mobile phone to take unauthorised photos up her skirt, only to find the offence wasn’t illegal. A social media campaign picked up tens of thousands of followers, as well as the attention of Westminster MPs and in 2019, upskirting was made a criminal offence.

In October 2017, actress Alyssa Milano invited Twitter users who had been sexually assaulted to share their experiences using the hashtag #metoo. Within 24 hours, over 500,000 people replied, while the hashtag was used over 4,000,000 times on Facebook in the same period. Milano’s aim was to show the extent of harassment in the wake of sexual assault allegations against film producer Harvey Weinstein.

“It was thought to be the biggest single-day protest in US history, with an estimated three to five million people taking part”
“Protest has developed into a tool of first resort for those angry with the status quo”

The huge response turned #metoo into a global protest. Google found the term had been searched for in every country in the world, boosted partly by high-profile Hollywood support, which saw female stars dress in black at major awards ceremonies that year as a visual reminder of the ongoing protest.

But the appeal to women from all walks of life to share their experiences and bring about change led to an increase in calls to support groups, as well as the establishment of a fund in the USA to help those affected by sexual assault. Meanwhile, networks working to end sexual violence were established globally as the movement continued to gain ground.

The impact of quick-growing protest movements hasn’t always been so clear-cut. In March 2018, students mobilised a mass demonstration against US gun laws after 17 people were killed in shootings at a Florida school. March for Our Lives brought hundreds of thousands of people to the streets of Washington DC to demand tighter control on firearms. Protests in support took place around the world. However, US laws remained the same.

These global campaigns have taken place at a time of increased internal protest in countries in Africa and South America for regime change. In Venezuela, President Nicolás Maduro has withstood several years of protests against his regime, and as the country’s economic and social situation deteriorates further, demonstrations continue.

However, in Sudan, pro-democracy protesters were invited to take part in talks over the formation of a new government in the early summer of 2019, just six months after beginning their campaign against long-standing president Omar al-Bashir.

Their success came as another movement challenged the government in France. In September 2018, confirmation of a fuel tax rise led to the ‘yellow jackets’ protest, named after the hi-vis vests all French motorists must carry in their cars. Anger at the tax led people to display their jackets in their car windows and share photos on Facebook. A truck driver then used the same platform to call for a day of action by the ‘gilets jaunes’. Weekly protests began in November and continued even after French President Emmanuel Macron made a televised address promising more economic benefits for groups including pensioners and low-wage earners.

Meanwhile, many governments found themselves challenged on environmental policies when school children, inspired by the lone protest of Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg, walked out of class on 15 March 2019 to demand more action on climate change. Over 1.6 million children and young people took part in the protests across 125 countries and held another mass walkout at the end of May 2019. Their demonstrations became part of a wider movement demanding fresh legislation on environmental issues, and unfolded as other green

MODERN MOVEMENTS PUSHING PROTEST

- A global women’s movement
  Actress Alyssa Milano posts the hashtag #MeToo for the first time, to encourage women to share their stories of sexual harassment. It is part of a newly formed campaign to show how widespread sexual assault is and to make it easier for those affected to come forward. Within 24 hours, it is used 200,000 times on Twitter and over 4,000,000 times on Facebook.
  The movement quickly turns into a global protest by women in all walks of life. Within weeks, the hashtag has led to a global movement against sexual assault, harassment and discrimination.
  15 October 2017

- The rise of the gilets jaunes
  The first day of protest by the ‘giets jaunes’ in France takes place, with around 300,000 people blocking roads and fuel depots across the country in protest at planned increases on diesel.
  It is the beginning of weeks of demonstrations.
  Every Saturday, protesters take to the streets, eventually bringing parts of central Paris to a standstill.
  The movement quickly becomes a campaign against the government’s general economic policy.
  17 November 2018

- President versus the players
  Over 200 NFL players sit or kneel during the US national anthem, a gesture begun the previous year by Colin Kaepernick to protest against racial inequality. The mass movement in September 2017 follows President Donald Trump’s call for players who kneel to be fired.
  24 September 2017

- March for our lives
  Over 1000000 students take part in marches and lie-ins across the USA in protest at the country’s gun laws, following shootings at a Florida school. Hundreds of thousands more hold similar demonstrations around the world.
  24 March 2018

- Sex survivors speak out
  Protest marches against police and government attitudes to rape take place in Spain and India following local cases of perceived leniency for offenders. The rallies target national and local authority buildings.
  April 2018

- Pressure on Parliament
  Around 100000 people march through central London to Parliament Square to demand a second referendum on the UK’s decision to leave the EU. It is organised by People’s Vote, a campaign group set up by MPs two months earlier.
  23 June 2018

- A voice for vegans
  Tens of thousands of people take part in marches in major European capitals demanding better rights for animals and a wider move to plant-based diets. Organisers estimate that 2018 turnout is 400% higher than the first event two years earlier.
  August 2018
campaigns gained prominence. In the early part of 2019, concerns over animal rights as well as the impact of meat production on the environment led to a proliferation of campaigns promoting veganism and a rise in interest in plant-based living. Meanwhile, protests about plastic waste continued to grow. Both of these campaigns have become part of the mainstream conversation, with supermarkets introducing vegan ranges and national TV stations promoting anti-plastic measures.

Another environmental campaign, however, was determined to disrupt rather than integrate. The actions of Extinction Rebellion in the spring of 2019 saw its campaigns take their message of saving the planet to London, where they occupied four central areas including Oxford Circus. Protesters disrupted train services and roads, with over 1,100 people arrested during weeks of ongoing action.

They took their campaign to Parliament just as it was debating another matter that had caused major demonstrations. Twelve Extinction Rebellion activists stripped and glued themselves to the House of Commons’ viewing gallery as MPs continued to discuss Brexit. Just weeks earlier, protesters demanding a second referendum had taken to the streets of London for the ‘Put it to the People’ march, which organisers claimed had attracted over 1,000,000 participants. Campaigners demanding an exit from the EU as soon as possible held their own march in London soon afterwards, while both camps have staged demonstrations outside the Houses of Parliament from the moment the referendum result came through in 2016.

Today, the power of protest can be seen in the way it has developed into a tool of first resort for those angry with the status quo. The question remains whether the impact of quick-moving, social media-based demonstrations can be sustained beyond an initial burst of resistance.

**THE BALLOON PROTEST**

When protesters took to the streets of central London during the state visit of US President Donald Trump in June 2019, they suffered a high-profile casualty. One of the ‘Trump Baby’ balloons that had become a symbol of their demonstration was slashed by a presidential supporter. Its demise made headlines around the world.

The damaged blimp was a smaller copy of the original artwork that had first grabbed global attention in July 2018, when it was flown above Parliament Square in protest at another Trump visit. Depicting the President as a nappy-wearing orange baby, scrambling and holding a smartphone ready to tweet, its £18,000 cost was covered by crowdfunding. London’s Mayor, Sadiq Khan, gave permission for the six-feet-high model to be flown over the city. The following day, it was taken to Edinburgh for protests against President Trump’s trip to Scotland. It quickly became one of the most identifiable parts of the protests against the Trump presidency, with balloons being flown at demonstrations across the United States as well as in France and South America. By the time the UK state visit had been announced, it had inspired other public protest artworks, including a giant model of the President sitting on a toilet with his trousers round his ankles while using Twitter, which was shipped across the Atlantic specifically for the June 2019 protests.

The balloon became so well known it became the star of TV features about its creation, ensuring more publicity for protesters. The Museum of London later asked to exhibit it, describing the balloon as a spotlight on how people protest in the UK capital.

![Donald Trump](https://example.com/donald-trump.jpg)

Donald Trump said the famous blimp of him used in protests in London had made him feel unwelcome, and he was kept well away from it during his state visit in June 2019.
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