

HST



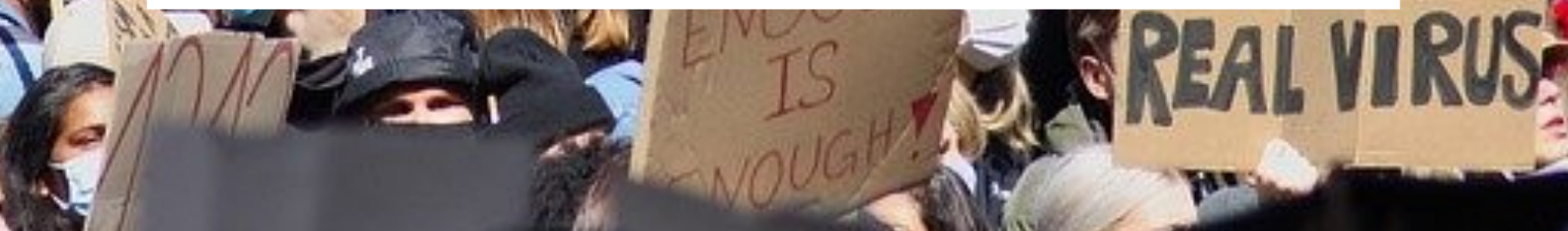
UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

HISTORY STUDENT TIMES

PROTESTS AND PROGRESSION



EXTENDED EDITION



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A THANK YOU TO THE TEAM OF ASSISTANT EDITORS FOR ISSUE 2 2020/21

Cover Image: Black Lives Matter Protest

https://cdn.pixabay.com/photo/2020/06/06/18/50/blm-5267765_1280.jpg

PROTESTS AND PROGRESSION

EXTENDED EDITION OF HST



Reclaim the Night marches spread around the country after starting in Leeds (1977)

Letter from the Editor

The years 2020 and 2021 have been fundamental years of protest and change. The regeneration of the Black Lives Matter Movement not only displayed the power of collective action but also expressed the necessity of ideological and governmental change. More recently, the revival of the Reclaim the Night narrative, expressing the need for greater safety for women across the UK, allowed for conversations across the gender and generational divide and continues to push for better education and awareness of women's rights and gender equality.

Inspired by these movements and conversations, this second issue of History Student Times 2020/21 will explore protest, resistance, and social movements throughout history that have sought to challenge oppression and advocate *progression*.

I am very excited to call 'Protests and Progression' the first Extended Edition of HST, featuring over forty articles from very dedicated students within the School of History. The overwhelming response to this theme demonstrates our generation's passion for progression and our desire to make the world a fairer and more accepting place to live. I hope you enjoy reading these articles and that you learn something new from these talented young people.

Jenny Speakman

NOTE: The content and discussion in this issue will necessarily engage with protests, revolutions and social movements including violence and surrounding sensitive subjects. Much of it will be emotionally and intellectually challenging to engage with. I have tried my best to flag especially graphic or intense content that some readers may find triggering.

Methods of Protest

The Importance of Studying Protests and Social Movements in History to Aid with Progression on a Wider Scale

The importance of studying protests and social movements manifests itself within how influential education can be on young people. It cannot be underestimated how impactful history lessons are in shaping the way young pupils think and act. Whilst it is undoubtedly important to study protests, there is a need for a multi-faceted approach to learning to ensure students are aware of historical events from a multitude of perspectives. It is clear that studying the effectiveness of protests can lead to a significant increase in confidence and evoke the awakening in social injustice.

It should be a compulsory part of the curriculum to learn about specific aspects of colonialism, particularly the protests carried out by the subjugated individuals. A recent government petition to make Britain's colonial past a compulsory part of the curriculum received 268,772 signatures. Although the statutory theme 'ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain 1745-1901' is part of The Key Stage Three curriculum, the importance of studying colonialism from the perspective of the colonised is currently being marginalised in the form of non-statutory modules. From an epistemological perspective it is clear that history is being taught in the UK from a subjective and highly politicised viewpoint.

It should not be the case that some students never have the opportunity to learn about such prevalent events in history. The Haitian revolution is a prime example of a protest rebellion about which students should be taught. Studying an example of a protest carried out by self-liberated slaves against the French colonial rule would ensure students understand the brutal conditions of a colony that caused the slaves to rebel. Changes to the curriculum would mean students would be more aware of the injustices that took place in the colonial period from many perspectives. This increased awareness could have profound impacts on the way students understand not just their own cultural heritage but that of other people.

Studying the effectiveness of protests would aid students in being more aware of the impact they can have on implementing change in the future. Protesting can serve as a fundamental protection of our human rights, as Martin Luther-King stated, 'the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right.' The Civil Rights Movement was a moment in history defined by

protest. There were a multitude of protest groups formed such as the National Association for Advancement of Coloured People, who organised protests to demand change for equality. The Montgomery bus boycott took place 1955-1956 and is a prime example of how effective protests can be, due to the significant economic impacts it had. Larger protests such as the March on Washington in 1963 and the Selma March in 1965 were major catalysts towards the implementation of the Civil Rights Act 1964 and the Voting Rights Act 1965. Students studying how and why African Americans fought for civil and economic rights through protesting could lead to valuable changes in ideology regarding why protesting is still so important today. A powerful consequence of the civil rights protests was how they influenced other groups in society to also fight for change. Feminist, anti-war and gay rights were just a few protest movements that were inspired by The Civil Rights Movement. For students to learn about this period and how it was dominated by groups rallying for change is so essential in order to recognise the inequality of such groups in society and why this could not go ignored.

Being aware of the history of protest movements would undoubtedly aid progression today. Fighting current injustices and implementing change through protesting is something students may struggle to understand without the benefit of first studying the significant histories of protests and struggle.



Megan Ward

To the Land of Milk and Honey: Rabble Rousing Speeches Throughout History

Georgie Burgess

Speeches have a unique power to rally and inspire. They are well recorded in history as precursors to major historical events and their most famous phrases even occasionally seep into our own speech. Whether they are pre-meditated or given *on the fly*, a powerful orator can bring out a passion that many people may not even know they had. Here are three historical speeches of interest that do just that.

Pope Urban II – ‘Speech at Clermont’ (1095)

After Emperor Alexios I Komnenos asked Pope Urban II for military help in 1095, Urban raised the issue at the Council of Clermont. Here, he gave a speech that would become the driving force behind centuries of war. Initially the speech inspired the People’s Crusade - a small army of mostly peasants bound for the Holy Land. This consequently created the momentum which paved the way for the succeeding Crusades.

Urban used his speech to inspire potential crusaders to take the Holy Land from the Turks and incite the liberation of Jerusalem from the Muslims. He achieved this by promising absolution and heavenly reward for anyone willing to fight and die for Christ. His most famous - though contested - phrase epitomises this idea; Urban, quoting the Scripture, called Jerusalem the ‘land of milk and honey’, an idealised place overflowing with goods and bounty.

While there have been several versions of the speech recorded, each differing slightly, there is no doubt that the words had more effect than anyone could have predicted. The deeply held belief that they were fighting for the right reasons spurred the Christians on even when they were being crushed by the superior military power of the Turks. To them, there was no opportunity for failure because this was God’s mission.

Urban’s words have gone down in history as an extraordinary example of the influential power of speech.

Queen Elizabeth I – ‘Speech at Tilbury’ (1588)

Queen Elizabeth I ascended to the throne during a tumultuous period of schism and, as both a Protestant and a woman, she faced resistance on many fronts. As the threat of Spanish invasion was at its height, troops gathered to protect the country. At Tilbury, on the east coast, Elizabeth delivered her speech to revive and inspire the troops.

Her rhetoric used ideas of nationhood and patriotism, encouraging the men to fight for the good of the people and the country. Her most famous passage begins, ‘I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too’. Elizabeth

acknowledged her womanhood but stressed that nothing could be stronger than her love for her country. Although not true in the social reality of Tudor England, Elizabeth let the men imagine that they were all equals on the battlefield and that to succeed they needed to channel their energy into their common foe, Spain. Through this, she managed to strike the difficult balance between being relatable and maintaining authority.

The consequent naval victory against Spain went on to solidify her place as ruler and brought relief and celebration to the country.

Arthur Balfour - The Pleasures of Reading (1887)

Whilst quite a different tone to the previous speeches, Arthur Balfour’s address has the same aims of uplifting and inspiring. Balfour served as prime minister from 1902-1905 and held an honorary degree from the University of Leeds. His focus on education brought about the Education Act of 1902, among other reforms.

Balfour’s rector’s speech was given to St Andrew’s University in 1887 and it raises questions that are still pertinent today.

The central theme of the speech is the joy of reading. He asks the students gathered to question why we read things. Are we just reading to learn and regurgitate information or are we reading for our own pleasure? Do we read books just so we can say we know them if someone asks, not because we truly want to know what is in them? Balfour even questions the efficacy of exams, a discussion that is still taking place today. He argues, as many of us could agree, that they take the joy out of acquiring knowledge and lead us to become mindless in our inquiries. While not quite a speech rallying troops to battle, his passion for knowledge is evident. It can be difficult, doubly so right now, to keep sight of why we are working so hard, but Balfour’s words are a reminder that genuine passion will always see you victorious.

He ends the speech with a fitting statement, ‘so long as we have good health and a good library, [the world] can hardly be dull.’

The mystery some speeches contain is intriguing. Words can be changed or omitted, and the exact dates may not be recorded. However, although it is difficult to know word for word what was said, the legend and the sentiment live on. Passed down through generations, it is what we choose to remember that is arguably more important and revealing. It is the emotion that the words create which has the most impact.

Gender Protests: An Alternative Voice



The handmaid's tale intervention in Santa Fe for free, legal and safe abortion in Argentina

CW: References sexual violence

Within protests, we are able to observe multiple ways in which people attempt to evoke change. Though differences do appear, common attempts have included petitioning or extensive public demonstrations.

However, when observing gender protests, alternative practices emerge which have rarely been seen elsewhere. Within gender protests, alternative approaches emphasise individual's actions as well as universal symbols to evoke meanings. The reasoning behind this is naturally unclear, although modern studies have been seen to investigate differences in communication between men and women, which may propose suggestions.

A poignant figure who can be praised with consolidating greater rights for black women is Prudence Crandall. In the 1830s, Crandall emerged as a figure who would take steps towards creating the foundations for greater representation of young black women. As a teacher, Crandall was seen to oppose the population of her town that disagreed with black women receiving an education. Her decision to welcome a black girl into her school may be viewed as a minimal act of protest, however, this act had the ability to bring about a season of change. For example, Crandall proposed a racially inclusive school which eventually opened in 1833.

Despite Crandall's dedication towards creating equal rights for young black women, her actions were met with condemnation. In particular, her protest was seen to be opposing ladylike behaviour. However, despite her arrest, her actions were perceived as an important symbol within the fight for equality and, subsequently, she has been regarded as a symbol of victory for the desegregation of education systems.

Alternative means of protest are also demonstrated within attempts for women's suffrage. The fight for greater political representation included Suffragists, who fought through non-violent means, and Suffragettes, who resorted to using all means to

achieve the vote. Within the movement, particularly for Suffragettes, the concept of 'Deeds not Words' was widely advocated. Within the movement, Emily Wilding Davison was a prominent figure who adopted this concept. Davison's protest for suffrage notably resorted to the use of alternative methods of protest. Acts of protest committed by Davison included her choice to hide within a cupboard in the Houses of Parliament. She proposed this idea in order to place her residence for the 1911 census as the Parliament building, an act of protest against those in power who opposed voting equality. Perhaps Davison's most notable act of protest was her choice to step in front of the King's horse at the Epsom Derby, resulting in her death in 1913. Davison's acts of protest have been considered greatly significant to the suffrage movement and, subsequently, several plaques have been placed within the House of Commons to commemorate her actions.

In recent years, alternative means of protesting for gender equality have remained consistent. This is possibly best illustrated through the persistent use of Margaret Atwood's 1985 figure of the Handmaid. Readers of this dystopian novel have used its events to highlight parallels within our own societies. The most prominent parallel is the idea of state induced pregnancy through non-consensual sex. As a result, the image of the handmaid has been adopted to convey a universally understood message of support for pro-choice rights. Drawing upon the motif of voicelessness within the novel, protesters have adopted this symbol to combat the issue of women being denied a voice. The nature of this has allowed the message to reach the masses and therefore, has been adopted worldwide.

Evidently, there have been many ways in which women have chosen to protest despite the struggles they faced. However, the importance remains on the courage and determination that these women, and others, possessed.

Emily Parker

'Cartography, colonialism and the exclusion of minorities' Can we trust the map of the world?

This article aims to explore cartography - the art of mapping - to show that mapping is an intrinsic practice of colonialism that has historically resulted in the exclusion of indigenous and minority voices.

In 1538 Gerardus Mercator, a Dutch geographer, developed world maps and placed Europe at the centre as the 'privileged site of meaning for the rest of the world'. Colonisation itself is often a result of a voyage of discovery, making known a supposedly undiscovered land, which is textualized by mapping. These maps, which supposedly represent the 'history of the world' from a 'birds-eye view' in reality only recognises a history created by a Christian European white man. This has pervaded mapping across time and has resulted in people seeing the world in binaries. In the era of postcolonialism, this has thankfully been recognised and 'counter-mapping' or 'indigenous mapping' incentives now take place.

Colonised places were already named, yet colonisers reinscribed over these names as symbolic acts of control. For example, New Zealand was given this name by European settlers, but to indigenous Maori's, the country is called Aotearoa. The use of combined 'Aotearoa New Zealand' has been somewhat popularised since the 1980s to recognise the bicultural elements of New Zealand's society. This highlights the importance of naming, which can exclude a language, a population and a culture.

The boundary lines drawn by colonisers reflected their imperial ambitions and conceptions of space, and as geographer J B Harley wrote 'as much as guns and warships, maps have been weapons of imperialism', often dispossessing and erasing indigenous peoples. Colonialisation is like an act of displacement for the people who already lived there. Their landscape and history become spoken for, which makes them lose their own sense of place. If we take the example of India, which was partitioned in 1947 as a result of Britain (finally) acceding to granting independence, over 14 million people were displaced as a result of the creation of Pakistan, and 1 million were killed. What makes this worse is that the man who created the borders - the 'Radcliffe Line' - had never been to India. Radcliffe was expected to create borders based on a place whose landscape and environment he had never seen, the communities he had never encountered, and the geography and people he was entirely unfamiliar with. Why the British chose a white male from Whitehall totally unequipped for the job will forever be one of Imperialisms greatest mistakes. This reinforces the idea that maps are acts of control, and albeit borders often being just dashed lines on a piece of paper, a closer look at the communities that are often torn apart by western cartography would make anyone question the supposed 'truthfulness' of cartography.

Protests and Progression – 'Counter' or 'Indigenous' mapping

In the wake of colonialism, a pervasive feature in society even today, colonised nations and communities recognised that they needed to fight back. 'Counter-mapping' refers to efforts to map against the dominant power structures towards progressive goals and as a tool of empowerment. Especially since the 1990s, indigenous communities have deployed mapping tactics as a

form of resistance by using historical memory and ancestral knowledge to assert territorial rights and challenge the exclusions of colonial cartography. These fights are often also inextricably linked to environmental threats that indigenous communities want to prevent. These are 'bottom up' attempts to advocate policy change to recognise and protect the land of indigenous communities.

In the modern-day, maps are still used by governments and large companies to claim lands and resources often at the expense of indigenous populations. It is thought that indigenous groups and communities occupy about half of the world's land but hold legal rights to only a fraction of it. Consequently, making their land vulnerable to being taken by governments and corporations for development or processes like deforestation, or the exploitation of their natural resources like oil and timber. As Apoorva Tadepalli mentions, the problem of renaming is still happening today, with New York as an example renaming unpopular neighbourhoods to attract a more 'refined' population, like changing Harlem to Morningside Heights. She argues that this 'narrativization is part of the legacy of colonial projects imposing identity through visual means to override the past character of a place.'

The importance of counter-mapping and recognising the flaws in our traditional cartographic methods is essential for creating a world that recognises and supports minorities and indigenous populations, instead of excluding them. There is a gap between reality and representation in mapping, and postcolonial cartography asserts a right to rethink the way we see the world.



Double Hemisphere Polar Map, Frederick De Wit, c 1668

Lottie Almey

Feeling Hangry? The Contested Relationship Between Food and Protest

Many historians traditionally view food as a mere catalyst for protest. They focus on protesters who lament the lack of food or extortionate food prices and eliminate any other reasons behind the protest. Even after several iterations of historical revisionism, historians still struggle to think beyond food as a *cause* of discontent to the deliberate use of food itself as a *means* of protest. Yet we have plenty of evidence, past and present, that demonstrates the diversity of meanings of food in protest to the protesters themselves.

To name just one example of the traditional view, historians of the February Revolution in the Russian Empire argue that those involved in the so-called “bread” protests were “politically unconscious”; only concerned with the most obvious issues, the shortage of food and extortionate prices. They did not have any other grievances, nor could they articulate their grievances to an attack on the responsible political system. The protest is moreover characterised as spontaneous, sporadic and violent. Historians speak more of food “riots” than food protests, or protests involving food.

Generally speaking, this simplistic interpretation continued until the ground-breaking work of social historian E.P. Thompson in the early 1970s. Focusing on English food “rioters” in the 18th century, Thompson turned scholarship on its head. Instead of violent chaos, he noticed restraint and discipline, all elements that speak to agency, to a consciously willed and planned protest. The protesters had an agenda that went beyond mere hunger, in fact, their hunger was only an accessible site to project more complex political demands.

Indeed, food supply is inherently political; food shortages do not come out of thin air. Yes, there is bad weather and poor harvests, but agricultural and subsistent societies understand this and build up sufficient stocks. In modern times, the development of government led to more interventions in agriculture. A genuine shortage of food can commonly be the result of fiscal policy (for example Cornwallis’ Permanent Settlement in colonial Bengal), or the pressures of war, including disrupted supply chains, the pressure to feed an army, and blockades. A lack of food is a product of power and corruption. Building on the work of E.P. Thompson, historians argue that “food protesters” show an understanding of this dynamic and deliberately protest against power centres accordingly.

However, my concern is that in attempting to distance themselves from the elitist and condescending view of ‘agencyless hangriness’, historians are neglecting cases where protesters choose to use food as a *tool* for resistance, even where food is a *form* of resistance.

For instance, we have evidence of some enslaved people in West Africa braiding seeds into their hair before their violent transportation across the Atlantic. It is an act of resistance that is both a rejection of the forcible loss of culture and a means for survival. Here, food is consciously employed as an indispensable way to retain a sense of one’s culture and heritage.

In the United States today, Soul Food is a means for some self-identifying African-Americans, such as chef and writer Michael Twitty, to reclaim their African heritage on their own terms. Owing to the accessibility of cooking, Twitty powerfully directs his cookbook *The Cooking Gene* (2017) in part towards white Southerners, inviting them to understand how chattel slavery and its legacies have impacted them. Twitty argues, after visiting Senegal and Nigeria, “Southern white folks are some of the most African white people in America. They don’t realize just how much of their foodways, ways of looking at the world, ways of relating to each other, mannerisms, language, sounds, come from West Africa.” Speaking directly to white Southerners, he asserts, “you’re not some separate white-topia. You’re up in this. You have absorbed the people around you for centuries. And they’ve absorbed you. And you’re part of each others’ worlds.”



For Twitty, Soul Food is a form of resistance to reevaluate race relations in the Deep South, to reassess and come to terms with history, a history predicated on slavery, violence and cross-cultural interaction.

Again, this protest is not violent in nature, nor is the conversation around food reduced to its supply and price. Rather, food is again used as a site to create a dialogue around who we are and where we’ve come from. In this case, it’s focused on the role that race has played and continues to play—too often exploited to create a sense of difference and otherness. Protest involving food does not have to be concerned with present issues, as an obvious constant throughout history, it can also be a lens to look into the past. It invites us to examine who had power and why, and the lasting legacies of inequalities in power.

Harriet Purbrick

The Times, They Are a-Changin': Protest Music Through The Years

Song has been etched into the character of protest arguably since the beginnings of any kind of revolt. Music has the ability to simultaneously unite and educate the masses. While Billie Holiday's *Strange Fruit* (1939) (considered by some as the first great protest song), John Lennon's *Give Peace A Chance* (1969) and Bob Marley and the Wailers' *Get Up, Stand Up* (1973) may be the immediate examples you look to, music has been used in a myriad of ways throughout history to stir up dissent.

Early Interpretations

Theorist A. L. Lloyd has contested that the fourteenth-century folk song *Cutty Wren* constituted one of the earliest examples of sedimentation of dissent, associated with the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. While this claim warrants more exploration, oral expressions of protest are evident within the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century. Satirical songs and Voodoo chants that often employed African call-and-response structures were embedded into the famous 1791 Haitian Revolution, enabling communities of dissent to form a bedrock of enslaved African resistance. The tradition made its way across the Atlantic and spread throughout the African diaspora via the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In 1855, the abolitionist song *Slavery is a hard foe to battle*, along with many others like it, built on a tradition of Christian hymns, fuelling fervent protest against the brutal regime of slavery.

The 1960s

The 1960s in America holds the imagination as the epicentre of historical political anthems. Countless tunes were released during this cacophonous decade, greatly influencing millions globally. Bob Dylan, Sam Cooke, The Doors, and Creedence Clearwater Revival all released chart hits which, in particular, narrated the divisive war in Vietnam. The iconic Edwin Starr's single *War* (1970) bookended a decade many considered to be one of the most tumultuous in recent US history. *We Shall Overcome* (1963) was engraved as a provocative Civil Rights anthem. Aretha Franklin's 1967 take on Otis Redding's tune, *Respect*, was a definitive challenge to prominent gender roles and inspired many to come.

The 1970s

While the decade changed, the war in Vietnam raged on and the inflammatory period was not over. Poet Gil Scott-Heron rose in prominence calling for a "live" revolution across the world with *Johannesburg* (1975) bringing light to the situation in South Africa. Fela Kuti recorded *Zombie* (1974) whose satirical take on the Nigerian army attracted dissidents like a magnet.

Owen Frost

The 1980s

Between 1987 and 1991 the Singing Revolution sparked revolt protest against the Soviet Union's far-reaching authority over the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The revolution's defining characteristic was singing; 300,000 Estonian citizens gathered to sing traditional nationalistic songs at the Tallinn Song Festival Grounds to counter domineering Soviet influence. The 1980s also witnessed the famous anti-Apartheid and civil rights hit, Special AKA's *Nelson Mandela* (1984), which topped the charts and defined the Free Nelson Mandela Movement. It demonstrated the triumph of the protest song in enacting widespread social change.

The 1990s

The nineties did not let up. Incendiary rap groups such as Public Enemy dealt the punches; *Fight the Power* (1989) became a unanimous anthem for protest across the globe (including the most recent strikes at the University of Leeds). Rage against the Machine exploded onto the scene as a response to the Rodney King Riots. Feminist bands such as Bikini Girl came together to form the 'Riot grrrl' feminist punk movement, expanding worldwide. They addressed issues such as rape, domestic abuse, sexuality and female empowerment.

The 2000s

News of 9/11 shocked the world to its core and, similar to the Vietnam War, political tensions mounted as the Iraq War broke out. Hip-hop businessman Russell Simmons claimed that there had "not been a lot of political [music] in the last 10 years". However, Lily Allen's *F*ck You* (2009), originally intended for George W. Bush but also taking on Prop 8, (an anti-gay marriage state constitutional amendment), illustrated the growing intersectional application of songs of the recent era.

The 2010s

This decade was not lacking in politically satirical hits. Songs continued to address varying social issues: *Alright* (2015) by Kendrick Lamar, *This is America* (2018) by Childish Gambino, *We the People...* (2016) by A Tribe called Quest and *Black* (2019) by Dave (to name but a few), drew listeners into the current Black Lives Matter movement. Songs by artists such as Kae Tempest and Ezra Furman expressed proud gender fluidity, and MILCK's *Quiet* (2017) spoke out for women's rights.



Slavery is a hard foe to battle

Each decade of musical protest is worthy of further attention; they demonstrate the critical importance of interdisciplinary frameworks for modern history. While it is valid to focus on the American 1960s as the defining era of protest songs, we must not idealise this viewpoint: it is clear that future intersectional uprisings will continue to be forged in an alliance of music and action. As Dylan proclaimed, “the times, they are a-changin’.”

FURTHER LISTENING

1. ‘Bella Ciao’ – 19th Century Mondina Paddy field workers (late C.19th)
2. ‘This Land is Your Land’ – Woody Guthrie (1944)
3. ‘Go Down Moses’ – Louis Armstrong & Sy Oliver Choir (1958)
4. ‘Mississippi Goddam’ – Nina Simone (1964)
5. ‘Say It Loud – I’m Black and I’m Proud’ – James Brown (1968)
6. ‘Ohio’ – Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young (1971)
7. ‘What’s Going On’ – Marvin Gaye (1971)
8. ‘Redemption Song’ – Bob Marley & the Wailers (1980)
9. ‘Nothing to my Name (一无所有 in simplified Chinese)’ – Cui Jian (1986)
10. ‘Freedom’ – Beyoncé feat. Kendrick Lamar (2016)

Jazz as a Means of Resistance

Writing about music is like dancing about architecture.'

Perhaps only Thelonious Monk could articulate the futility of such an endeavour in as abstract and profound a way as this. Though it is with this very provocation in mind that I wish to confront such futility and, just as Monk himself regularly did on stage, dance; not about architecture, but about protest.

Such futility is exacerbated by the word *jazz* itself. Yet the decision to title this article under such a term is deliberate. Of all the idle genres supposedly designed to refine our musical conceptions, 'jazz' is surely the most ambiguous. Still, it is the elusiveness of jazz and the redundancy in defining it that accommodates such heterogeneous protest. From the explicit 'jazz music' of John Coltrane's *Alabama* to Public Enemy's subversive *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* (sure to offend the most orthodox of jazz aficionados), even to John Martyn's *Solid Air*. For it doesn't have to be overtly called jazz to contain it.

This article, then, has no concern with suggesting an explanation as to what jazz is, for not only do I lack the jurisdiction to make such judgements, but its intrinsic ambiguity renders any attempt to do so fruitless. The intent of this article is instead to provide one possible employment of these various conceptions of jazz as a means of resistance. Something sewed into the very fabric of this music, however intangible this fabric may be.

Though the ability to construct such protest is not exclusive to jazz alone, its capacity to do so on such an array of fronts demands this isolated attention. And perhaps obviously, the most profound front upon which such resistance is mounted is in its articulation of the Black Experience; from Roberta Flack's *Tryin' Times* in America, to Hailu Mergia in Ethiopia. Some would say that its politicisation is intrinsic. Miles Davis puts it differently, saying:

'Jazz is the big brother of revolution. Revolution follows it around.'

Such revolution has taken on many manifestations, some more explicit than others. Charles Mingus' *Fables of Faubus* is a heavily celebrated example of this. Not only does it confront former governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, over his public prevention of the integration of Little Rock Central High School in 1958, but its very publication stirred controversy. The original recording was scrapped and replaced with a version without Mingus' direct lyrics, calling Faubus out for the 'sick' man that he was. However, this was no exception. Marvin Gaye's *What's Going On* was disputed by the man who founded Motown Records himself,

Berry Gordy; as well as perhaps the most famous protest song of all time, Billie Holiday's *Strange Fruit*. 'Lady Day' had to go to Commodore Records to get the song produced after her own label, Columbia, refused. Thus, not only was the music revolutionary, but the very act of recording and then distributing the record became an act of resistance in itself, let alone its live performance.

'Jazz is a white term to define Black people. My music is Black classical music.'

Here Nina Simone sets an important precedent, fundamental in considering jazz as a means of protest. Namely, that the construction of the genre was used to categorise and confine Black artists. And it is in the artist's refusal to conform to these established boundaries, and operate beyond them, that the music has the ability to resist further. Though this is not unique to jazz alone, the role of improvisation within jazz establishes each performance as an act of subversion in its own right, entirely removed from passivity and constantly changing in the active pursuit of revolution. It is precisely because of improvisation that Max Roach asserts:

'Jazz is a very democratic musical form.'

Such democracy has since been inherited in hip-hop, where the tradition of improvisation is maintained through freestyling in cypher. Yet hip-hop's foundation in jazz has many roots. Sampling probably represents the greatest of these roots, allowing the sampled music to take on new meaning. Gang Starr's sampling of Mingus' *Haitian Fight Song* in *I'm the Man* perfectly illustrates how sampling can perpetuate the capacity for resistance which previous generations of artists had constructed. Something to which the revolutionary poetry of Gil Scott Heron and Langston Hughes also serves, bridging the gap between the two styles and initiating such spoken word as seen on Nicole Willis' *Still Got a Way to Fall*. Such examples of sampling and poetry are similarly expressed in various sub-genres of electronic music, beautifully captured in Soel's *Memento*.

'It takes an intelligent ear to listen to jazz.'

Here Art Blakey captures a common belief, that jazz is intellectual music. Maybe he's right. Still, however intellectual jazz may be, it's in transcending pretence and engaging with the masses that jazz was, and is, a means of resistance.

Joe Howell

Gen Z: Have TikTok Teens Changed the Course of Political Activism?



CW: VIOLENCE AND COVID-19

Aimee Bartman

The internet phenomenon that is TikTok, a video sharing platform, has taken centre stage during lockdowns around the world in the lives of most teens and young adults, with over 800 million downloads worldwide in 2020. What started as a space for influencers to post silly dancing videos and crazy viral challenges has been transformed into a space for young people to voice their political activism on a global scale.

In a world where Gen-Z is the most racially and ethnically diverse generation to date, they show continuous and dedicated support to social justice movements, whether they affect them or not. The best recent example of this is the Black Lives Matter campaign. With over 23.4 billion views, the hashtag 'BLM' has mobilised one of the largest civil rights movements in history, and we are living through it.

So, is this all because of TikTok and other social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram and others? To an extent, yes. With the novel coronavirus pandemic bringing the world as we know it to a complete halt, young activists have adapted to using online platforms to voice their opinions. For the most part, this has been a huge success.

It has created trends to get more people involved than ever before, allowing creators to produce candid and informative videos with hardly any censorship. The idea of influencer culture has been transformed from models and marketers posting about the latest fashion trends to giving platforms to those educating their viewers on the history and origins of underrepresented social issues.

The Black Lives Matter movement has been around since 2013, but the murder of George Floyd by three white police officers in

June last year saw an explosion of outrage across social media platforms and opened peoples' eyes to the most important issues that are often overlooked. For months, TikTok became a place where people spoke out about personal experiences and those of the people that never got the opportunity to share their story. It also became a space to share petitions and organise protests across the world.

The reason for a protest is to make noise about the issues that are too often silenced. Despite the absence of physical protests in some countries due to the coronavirus pandemic, social media played a bigger part than just spreading the word of protests but used TikTok as a form of protest in itself. The app's key age demographic is 18–24-year-olds, which means that as well as making videos that educate the younger generation, these are people who are able to vote and not only make a social change but a political one as well.

Being such a large and open platform also means that TikTok and Instagram come with the negative sides of "free speech" too. While the lack of censorship on TikTok has allowed for many influencers to share educational and important content, it has simultaneously made way for internet trolls to flood hashtags such as #BLM with racist memes and false information to try and silence the voices of those doing their part to create a more inclusive society.

So, the question we are left with is this: As the world returns to a rough semblance of normality post-COVID, will these platforms revert to being a forum primarily for witty cat videos? Or have they truly galvanised the political discourse amongst younger voters and changed the way political campaigns will be fought for years to come?

The Press and Protests in the 20th Century:

Distortion and Misrepresentation

CW: VIOLENCE

Newspapers are vital historical sources, crucial to understanding how protests unfolded. With reports being marred with glib characterisations and newspapers so often driven by political agendas, it has always been difficult to decipher what really happened and to uncover the plight of protesters.

On November 18th, 1910, 300 women marched to the Houses of Parliament in response to the Government's refusal to take the Conciliation Bill further. This Suffragette demonstration is known as Black Friday. In the media coverage of the event, Suffragette Gladys Morrell noted that the reports "almost unanimously refrained from any mention of police brutality". *The Times* reported that "several of the police had their helmets knocked off in carrying out their duty, one was disabled by a kick on the ankle, one was cut on the face by a belt, and one had his hand cut." *The Daily Mirror*, remarked on the policemen's "good temper and tact throughout." Any discernible sympathy in the reports is directed towards the policemen, not the women who were victims of sexual assaults and violence at the hands of the same police force. *The Guardian* stated that their behaviour was "such as one was accustomed to attribute to women from the slums". Reports at the time emphasised that women should not resort to such unladylike behaviour and the protesters should instead acquire their demands through calm, reasonable debate. The Suffragettes were depicted as women who were mad, irrational, and out of their right minds, instead of an oppressed group in society, forced into militancy by their consistent subjugation. The incident was displayed as a spectacle, with the emphasis on the highly dramatic and emotional behaviour of protesters.

In the east end of London both Oswald Mosley's fascist 'Blackshirts', and counter-protest anti-fascists gathered in 1936. This incident came to be known as the Battle of Cable Street. An event so ideologically charged, of course, elicited various interpretations of how the conflict unfolded. For those who were not sympathetic to left-wing causes, the incident was not an "all London in united action", but rather it represented a clash between two extreme groups: fascists and communists. *The Guardian* referred to both sides as "extreme parties" and stated that the Government was "attacked by Fascists and Communists." *The Daily Mail's* sub-headline 'Reds Attack Blackshirts' clearly demonstrates their stance on the conflict. The clashes in 2017 between white supremacists and counter-protesters in Charlottesville, Virginia, represented an incident much the same as that seen in 1936. Their chanting of free-speech and Trump's claim of 'blame on both sides' raises many of the same questions of media bias.

In the 1960s, anti-war demonstrations took hold in the UK as a reaction to British support of America's participation in the Vietnam war. The media spun into a frenzy of hyperbolic headlines and were later denounced for their speculation. *The Times* overstated the risk of imminent large-scale violence that the protest posed. Articles about the protests mainly detailed the arrests and injuries sustained from the events. The focus on aggressive acts overlooked the subtleties of what really happened, in favour of emphasising the dominance of the revolutionary left and their



Suffragette procession after release from prison (1908)

perceived threat to law and order. The use of the passive voice to describe the police, and the active voice to describe the behaviour of the protestors established blame and further demonstrated bias. *The Daily Telegraph* claimed that the majority of students had been 'sold by a militant minority' the notion that the authorities desired to suppress their expression of anti-war sentiment. A feeling of opposition to the war was felt across the political spectrum and the media's attempt to frame the movement as a leftist revolutionary challenge to British democracy obscured the anti-war campaign.

The coverage of the 1980s miner's strikes and protests heavily relied upon the use of the 'war metaphor'. The miners were depicted as the enemy, with language reminiscent of WW1. Andrew Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers at the time, was described as a "dictator" in *The Sun* and an "army general" in *the Express*. The harsh language of the media used to condemn the miner's and present them as idle thugs, fed into the government's agenda. The press became an extension of the abuse that the government inflicted on the mineworkers. By limiting the discussion of protestor's demands and grievances, the press framed the workers as disruptive and combative. The role of journalism is to hold powerful people and institutions accountable to the public. But, instead, a medium that could have provided vital debate, became a tool to demonise the workers and further the government's agenda.

It is worth noting that while many protests were indeed distorted and hindered by the press, events such as the Bristol Bus Boycott in the 1960s were largely ignored by the media altogether. Aside from articles in the *Bristol Evening Post*, there is very little in the papers to mark one of the most significant moments in British civil rights history. The way the press frames these protests dictates how the campaigns are perceived by the public and the government. The bias of the press towards the status quo inhibits progress and suppresses the very people it exists to serve.

Ella Clapp

Protests, Revolutions, and Progression

Peterloo: A Pivotal Moment for British Democracy?

CW: VIOLENCE

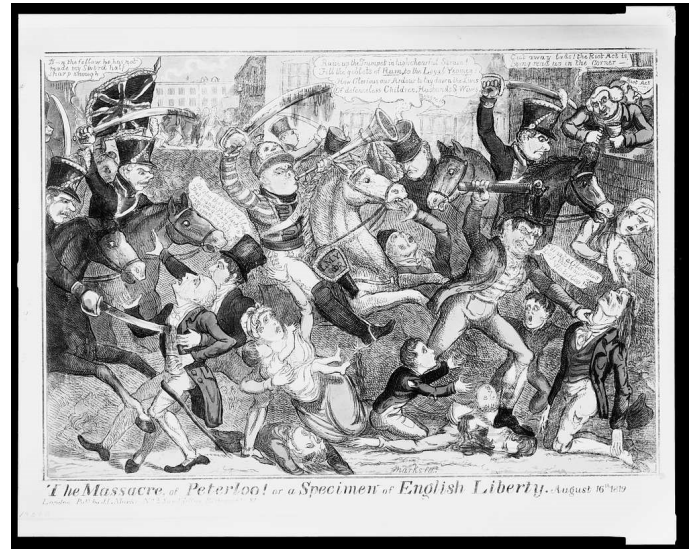
The historical narrative of democratic reform in Britain normally begins with Magna Carta, followed by the English Civil War, and ends in the twentieth century with the Suffragette movement and the lowering of the voting age. Whilst, these events are undeniably momentous in the development of present-day democracy, other significant reformation movements are pushed out of the national narrative when there is too much focus on these particular milestones.

A sometimes forgotten but nonetheless important event in the British progression towards democracy is the protest at St Peter's Fields in 1819. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain was in the midst of economic strife and mass unemployment. A reformist attitude was also rising within the working class, especially in North West England, where there was pressure to enfranchise more of the population. Thus, on 16th August 1819, 60,000 men, women and children attended a peaceful protest on St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to demand greater democratic rights. However, with the recent French Revolution still at the forefront of the minds of the English establishment, there was a fear that the protests were a hotbed for revolt, so authorities violently clamped down on the crowd. It is estimated that eighteen people were killed and seven hundred were injured; historian Robert Poole named it 'the bloodiest political event of the nineteenth century on English soil'.

The protest and subsequent massacre are better known now as Peterloo, a name coined shortly after the turbulent event by the Manchester Observer's James Wroe; this was presumably to evoke an emotional response in the population by comparing the brutality of the cavalry against the innocent crowd, to the violence of the Battle of Waterloo. The charged language used by contemporaries to describe the event suggests that Peterloo should have a more significant place in our country's history today - it was clearly seen as an horrific and shocking event.

More scholarly and journalistic attention has been focused on the events at St. Peter's Fields following the release of the 2018 film *Peterloo*. Jenny Mabbott, from the People's History Museum in Manchester, has called it 'a turning point' in the route towards British democracy. Peterloo can be seen as a quiet historical watershed. Progress for democratic reform was slow, however, arguably it indirectly helped to galvanise the mood and events which led to the Great Reform Act being passed in 1832. Most importantly, Peterloo is symbolically significant; it represents the struggle of the working-class against an anti-reformist establishment, where some have even drawn parallels to modern-day movements. If it is a turning point, then, why do so few people mention it in the general historical narrative of the UK?

The autocratic suppression of the story immediately after Peterloo could help explain this. In Lucy Worsley's documentary *Royal*



History's Biggest Fibs she states that the true story of the Peterloo massacre was quickly silenced by the establishment. The authorities tried to change the narrative to portray the protestors at St Peters Fields as a violent, rioting crowd and not as a peaceful demonstration that was crushed by yeomanry. Maybe, then, the relatively forgotten nature of Peterloo in our historical narrative is a continuation of this deception.

The question of Peterloo's legacy has created a heated debate between the Left and the Right. Dominic Sandbrook, for the Daily Mail, has stated that despite Peterloo being a dreadful day for Britain, it was insignificant because, relative to the French Revolution, it was 'barely a massacre at all.' However, an event should not be classed as historically irrelevant just because hundreds of people did not die. Undoubtedly, protests for democratic rights that result in large numbers of casualties should never be forgotten; however, death should not be the only item on the historical checklist to make an event noteworthy. Despite this, the death of eighteen people is still a massacre in my eyes. On the other side, the Left's commemoration of Peterloo epitomises the working-class struggle to gain democratic rights. Moreover, The Guardian has named it 'a milestone in the long road to political reform'.

Perhaps the significance of Peterloo will never be agreed on, however, the memory of Peterloo should still be kept alive. It was an important milestone for the working class in the nineteenth century to express their political voice and their demands for democratic rights. Peterloo represents a symbolic moment in history against anti-democratic establishments and rightly embodies the proletariat struggle on the road to modern democracy. Whilst progress has been made to revive the historical significance of Peterloo, seen through commemoration efforts in schools across the country on the 200-year anniversary of the massacre, there is still a way to go.

The Massacre of Peterloo! Or a specimen of English liberty, August 16th, 1819 // Marks, fact. - PICRYL Public Domain Image

Hannah Taylor

What's in a name? The 1857 'Sepoy Mutiny' and British Narratives

CW: RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

On the 10th May 1857, in a cantonment forty miles north of Delhi, a company of sepoys – Indian soldiers serving the British East India Company – had received a new shipment of firearms. Mostly Hindu or Muslim men, they had been drilled to load these rifles by biting the tip off of the cartridge before inserting it. They had heard, however, that these new guns used cartridges pre-greased in pig and cow fat; deeply offensive to consume for Muslims and Hindus, respectively. The men were enraged and their British commanding officer did not ease their concerns. In the following months, sepoys en masse took up arms against their commanding officers and the British governing elite.

Such described is the commonly accepted, if simplified, explanation of what would come to be known as the 1857 'Sepoy Mutiny'. Remaining the most popular shorthand for the events of 1857 in Britain today, the events have otherwise been called the 'Indian Rebellion', 'Indian Mutiny', 'Sepoy Revolt', or the 'First War of Indian Independence.' 'Sepoy' and 'mutiny' are *technically* accurate terms in how they describe the situation. It is, however, debatable as to how faithful they are to the historical perspective.

'Mutiny' downplays the scale of events. Introduced to highlight the supposedly treacherous nature of things in the weeks following the first shots, one MP described the events as a mutiny because it was 'a very small affair... certain to be repressed in good time.' The rebelling Bengal Army alone consisted of seventy-four infantry and ten cavalry regiments, not including citizens and nobility that would later involve themselves. Some estimates locate the death toll well into the hundreds of thousands.

Furthermore, many names obfuscate the event's proximity to a war. The Victoria Cross, the most prestigious military award for British soldiers, is reserved for extreme acts of gallantry in times of war; just over ten per cent of its recipients were British troops that fought during the so-called mutiny. The explanation for one such award reads:

During the assault on the Fort, Bombardier Brennan brought up two guns...laying each under a very heavy fire from the walls and directing them so accurately as to compel the enemy to abandon his battery.

This is hardly the language of the scuffle that the conflict's name might suggest. This is the language of serious warfare. Of course, perhaps 'war' generally eludes the terminology because it was never officially declared on either side. Peace, however, was officially declared in 1959, contrary to conceptions that confine the

conflict to 1857 alone. Despite this, it would not be until the first Indian historian to publish on the subject, V D Savarkar in 1909, that the term 'Indian War of Independence' would enter vernacular as at least an alternative term.

In Britain, news of the war reverberated profoundly. Spurred on by news, but also exaggerations and outright fabrications of what the sepoys had done, Queen Victoria called for a day of mourning for British lives lost. In the Crystal Palace, preacher Charles Spurgeon gave a sermon to a congregation of 25,000, during which he called for mass violence and for India's populace to be 'cut off... by their thousands.' Beloved author, Charles Dickens, advocated genocide:

I wish I were Commander-in-Chief in India... I should do my utmost to exterminate the race upon whom the stain of the late cruelties rested...to blot it out of mankind and raze it off the face of the Earth.

Despite such vitriolic reactions, the Anglo-Indian conflict seems to have been another episode of British history undiscussed in today's public sphere. Few modern British citizens are likely to have heard of the 'Sepoy Mutiny', fewer are likely to understand its nuances and causes. This is far less the case in India, with some notions of commemoration surrounding 1857; certain folk cultures passing down oral histories through generations. Figures such as Mangal Pandey, the sepoy who initiated it all, is unheard of in Britain. In India, he has had his face on postage stamps and biopics made about him.

A handful of British newspaper articles did appear in 2007, the 150th anniversary of the events. *The Times* published:

The revolt arose out of real or imaginary grievances among troops of the East India Company, such as the issue of greased cartridges that offended both Hindu and Muslim religious sentiments...

If they appear at all, this is often how British popular accounts read. Highlighting, in particular, the 'cartridge affair', and reducing the *casus belli* of a brutal conflict to something trivial; greased bullets. This was a notion rejected by Benjamin Disraeli, now over 150 years ago: that surely, 'the decline and fall of empires are not affairs of greased cartridges.' In other words, to pretend that the cartridge affair alone was the inciting incident, and not British control, general governance, religious erasure, the brutality of colonialism, or a whole host of other factors, would be a mistake. What we name a conflict seemingly impacts how we remember it, indeed, if we do at all .

Thomas Poole

Small Acts of Protest: The Suffragette Penny



When one considers the word protest it evokes a mass movement of individuals standing in collective solidarity for a just cause, bringing to mind such bastions as the Suffragists, the Suffragettes, or the Civil Rights movement. These dramatic historical sequences have immense repercussions today, but this can give a somewhat skewed view of reality. In this article I want to shed light on the power of the small protest; acts by individuals at difficult times which represent a stark reality of struggle but also an inspiring and achievable action. This shall culminate in considering the dangers of protest and the trajectory of a movement.

The emergence of the universal suffrage movement in the 19th century remains a story of adversity and courage punctuated with memorable individuals such as Emmeline Pankhurst, Emily Wilding Davison and John Stuart Mill. The movement began after the Reform Act of 1832 and evolved into a paroxysm in the early 20th century, when after successive reform, women as well as men were excluded from political life with W.D Rubinstein arguing Britain was 'not a democracy.' A coin is an unassuming object yet this penny from 1903 has an image of King Edward VII with the stark stamped words 'VOTES FOR WOMEN' disfiguring the coin as a protest against the laws of the state. The shock factor of the strong Britannia on the reverse with the defaced king makes for a powerful piece of symbolism. This act of civil disobedience is a brilliantly invented piece of low budget propaganda which at the time was a criminal act, signifying the rise of political engagement and the continued evolution of mass consumption and production. This small act of vandalism was what Felicity

Powell notes as a piece of 'genius' in two regards: allowing for the easy and untraceable dissemination of propaganda and it being completely free and quick.

The coin was created by a campaigner by hammering each letter individually into the metal – a powerfully crude motif with each letter as a deliberate act of thought and acknowledgement; a contrast to Gladstone's sentiment of women as 'delicate.' This sends a very stark message to the many individuals that would inevitably handle these coins with the advantage that currency is widely circulated, getting the message out subversively with a penny too low in value and too numerous to recall.

Such small acts can herald immense change, but this brings into question the danger of protest and the difficult nature of civil disobedience. The danger of protest can be separated as an external threat, from those around the group who are against the protesters, or internal, where the cause can descend into crime and rioting. Human rights lawyer Hellen Kennedy considers the ambiguity of civil disobedience and whether it is 'ethical' to break the law, arguing that there is a consensus that if one harms other individuals, it cannot be morally justified. Such actions can ultimately undermine the gallantry of small acts of protest which symbolise a personal commitment and desire for change – represented by the simple and inconspicuous penny.

Jamie Ashton

The Kiel Mutiny: The Spark that Ignited the German Revolution

Thomas Smith

By the Autumn of 1918, Germany was stricken with war-weariness. Following the failure of the Spring Offensive and the arrival of vast quantities of American soldiers onto the Western Front to strengthen the Allied counterattack, defeat seemed inevitable. Despite heavy investment in the decades leading up to the outbreak of the war, the Imperial German Navy had laid largely dormant in port since the Battle of Jutland in 1916, whilst the Royal Navy imposed a naval blockade on supplies into Germany. With a ceasefire appearing to be imminent, it was obvious that one of Britain's key demands would be the surrender of the German navy.

To restore the Navy's honour, Rear Admiral Adolf von Trotha devised a plan for the Navy to lure the British Grand Fleet into a final battle. The Naval Order of 24th October 1918 was issued and, without informing the German Government, Chief of the German Admiralty, Admiral Reinhard Scheer, ordered Admiral Franz von Hipper to gather the fleet at Wilhelmshaven. The Naval Command was aware of the potential opposition from their sailors to the assault, so the plans were kept secret until the fleet was at sea and communication to the mainland had been cut.

As the fleet gathered in Wilhelmshaven, word began to spread amongst the sailors of the planned assault. With the war seemingly lost, the sailors viewed the plans as a futile sacrifice and discipline within the ranks began to deteriorate. On the eve of 29th October, sailors aboard the *SMS Thüringen* and the *SMS Helgoland* mutinied. The senior commanders of the High Seas Fleet responded by ordering the arrest of all mutineers, yet the mutiny continued to expand. The Naval High Command then ordered two torpedo boats into position, but this resulted in a naval stand-off. However, neither vessel wanted to open fire first and, as the situation de-escalated, around 600 mutineers were arrested. Von Hipper instructed the five largest battleships to sail to Kiel in the hope that additional shore time would prevent further mutinies from occurring.

The port town of Kiel was renowned for being a stronghold for the German socialist party, the SPD, and there was a heavy presence of workers and soldiers in the town, who were sympathetic towards the discontented sailors. When the five battleships arrived, 150 mutineers were transferred to the town's military prison, Arrestanstalt. Meanwhile, Karl Artelt, a sailor, emerged as the mutineers' new ringleader.

In the early evening of 2nd November, a meeting was organised

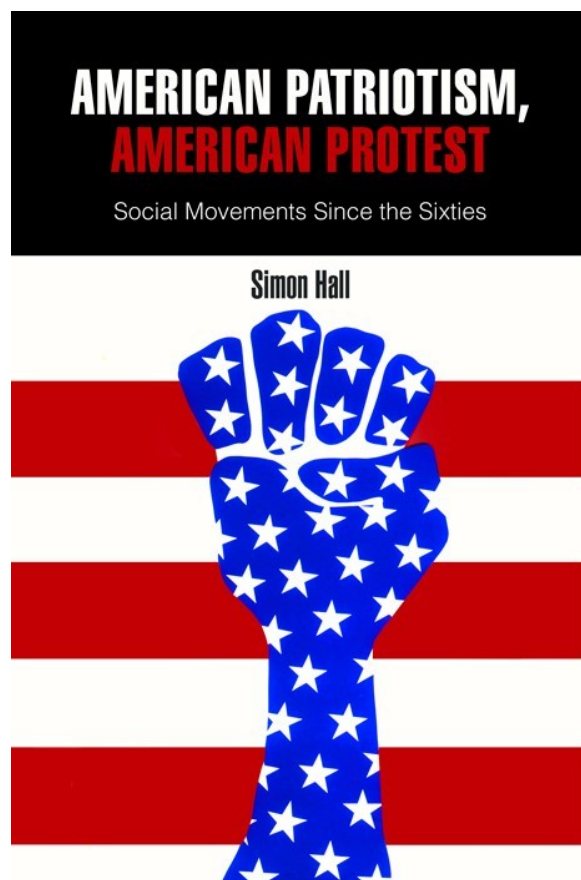
by Artelt at the town's parade ground and several thousand sailors attended. Initially their demands revolved around the abandonment of the assault. However, over the course of the meeting, the movement became politicised and the aim shifted towards demand for peace, political reform and the abdication of the Kaiser. A march was then conducted towards Arrestanstalt to free the imprisoned mutineers.

Aware of the meeting at the parade ground, Sublieutenant Steinhäuser and his patrol had established a road blockade on the route to Arrestanstalt. He ordered his men to give warning shots and subsequently open fire on the demonstrators. In the carnage that ensued, seven demonstrators were killed and a further 29 were seriously injured. The skirmish had successfully dispersed the march, but it was evident that the authorities were on the brink of losing complete control. The following day, a mob of mutineers marched through the town and Artelt established a soldiers' council. In response, the Governor of the Naval Station, Wilhelm Souchon, made contact with Berlin, requesting the support of several SPD Deputies to appease the mutineers. Panic ensued within the Government and Gustav Noske and Conrad Haussmann were dispatched immediately.

Souchon organised a meeting with the leaders of the mutiny, who continued to express their demands of peace, political reform and the immediate release of imprisoned sailors. In response, Souchon threatened to call for external troops; however, the mutineers issued an ultimatum that if external troops were summoned, the battleships would shell strategic points of the city. With over 40,000 heavily armed mutineers and the entire harbour's naval artillery, Souchon was forced to back down and accept the immediate release of imprisoned sailors. On the evening of 4th November, the soldiers' council officially formulated their demands in the form of 'The Kiel Points'.

Noske and Hausmann's arrival into Kiel was celebrated by the mutineers and Noske was inadvertently elected as the chairman of the soldiers' council. Soon afterwards, he also replaced Souchon as the Governor of the Naval Station. However, the Kiel Points were duly adopted by other groups of discontented workers, soldiers and sailors, with uprisings beginning to occur across other northern coastal towns in Germany. Discipline on the home front soon disintegrated and Government authority began to collapse across the whole country. The German Revolution had begun.

Interview with Professor Simon Hall on Student Protest in 1960s America



Picture Credit: Simon Hall

Dr Simon Hall has been a lecturer of American History here at the University of Leeds since 2003 and Professor of Modern History since 2016. His areas of expertise lie in 1960s America, the Civil Rights Movement, LGBT history and global protest during the Cold War. After starting his module on 'America in the Sixties' this semester, I was keen to learn more about the role of student protest in the decade.

What areas of protest did students of this period become most involved with?

Students became involved in all kinds of causes. A holdover, I think, from the McCarthy period when political activity on campus was banned in places like the University of California, and so students pushed back against that. The civil rights movement is an area that a lot of students became interested in, either travelling South to provide practical support for the movement or organizing sympathy demonstrations and things in the North. It obviously depends on what you mean by students too. If you're talking about African-American students in the South, they're at the cutting edge of the civil rights movements in the early sixties. In the mid-sixties, there are some student campaigns around pov-

erty; the Students for a Democratic Society set up projects in some of America's Northern cities to campaign for greater welfare rights. Increasingly, the main thing from the mid-decade onwards is the Vietnam War, particularly for white college students in the North.

At what point did student protest gain political prominence in 1960s America?

Certainly, student protests got publicity. If we're talking about the African-American students who launched their sit-in protests in the spring of 1960, then they get not just publicity but are taken seriously both by the local and federal government.

Groups like the Free Speech Movement of the University of California get a lot of publicity and a lot of headlines, but it's less that the government interferes and more that they are able to wrestle concessions out of the university administrators' leaders.

I think the big question is around the anti-war movement, which is not just students, it's part of a much bigger coalition. And the question there is: they get a lot of publicity, but did they achieve anything? There's a big debate about whether they do or not.

What forms did student protest take and how effective were they in achieving their aims?

I think that form and effectiveness have a relationship with each other, but it's also a really big question. There's a huge variety of ways in which students protest, from letter-writing campaigns and petitions to forms of direct action, civil disobedience, rallies and marches.

As the decade goes on the forms of protest often become more militant, and more confrontational. As the counterculture comes along, particularly on college campuses in America's Northern cities, they take on a flower power element.

In terms of effectiveness, I think one thing to say is that protest is always really unpopular. The default position is that protests are bad and disruptive. Some student activism was more effective than others. I think that the student involvement in the civil rights movement of the early 1960s was very effective, partly because they deliberately sought to use respectable methods of protest.

When it comes to things like the anti-war movements, it was always extremely unpopular. It's probably the only thing in the United States that was more unpopular than the Vietnam War.

What was the general perception of student activists throughout the 1960s?

There's a lot of hostility towards student activism in the second half of the 1960s as part of a broader backlash. There's an increasingly significant constituency of Americans who don't like what they see on their newspaper front pages or their TV screens; they think that these students are ungrateful, disrespectful and dangerous. As the sixties draw on, there is increasing prominence of more radical forms of protest that is used to tar the whole student activist movement with the same brush.

It's a kind of paradox that the movements achieved some victories, even though they were unpopular. America in the 1970s looks totally different from America at the start of the sixties in terms of culture and social attitudes. Some of that has to do with the activism of students but it's hard to measure exactly. We can't rerun the 1960s without these protests and figure out what changed as a result of them. It is a hard task, which is why historians disagree a lot about it, but that's part of the fun of history, I think.

Professor Hall's 2011 book, *'American Patriotism, American Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties'* is available to buy online.

Rosie Harkin-Adams



Student protesters marching down Langdon Street at the University of Wisconsin-Madison during the Vietnam War era.

A Look Back at the Tokyo University Riots of 1968-1969

CW: VIOLENCE

1968 was a year of turbulent protest around the world. The Anti-Vietnam war protests in the US, the Cultural Revolution in China and the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia saw grassroots protests reach international heights. 1968 was also a year that deeply divided Japanese society, as the Tokyo University riots of 1968-1969 shook Japan as the culmination of a building tide of political and social unrest.

Student discontent had been steadily growing since the early 1960s. As University attendance rose, overqualified graduates struggled to find jobs in an oversaturated employment market. The Tokyo University riots were ignited by the plight of the University's medical students; unhappy with the rule of 12 months' compulsory unpaid service at the campus hospital on completion of their degree. Although some small effort was made by the National Diet of Japan to overturn this, the medical students of Tokyo-U felt the new legislation did not go far enough. Medical students nationwide began to boycott their exams in support of the Tokyo-U students, while graduation ceremonies became a zone of political protest.

Yasuda Auditorium still stands today as the centrepiece of Tokyo University. In 1968 the auditorium was home to the office of the University President and when the medical students staged a sit-in protest inside the auditorium on June 2nd 1968, the day-to-day workings of the University were paralyzed. The students made worldwide news on their removal by riot police 2 days later. The battle for Yasuda continued, when students once more gained control of the Auditorium on June 15th 1968. By this time, the efforts of the medical students had gained a substantial follow-

Danica Johnson

ing, with a 6000 strong crowd of students from all disciplines congregating outside the Auditorium on June 20th. The riots were symbolic of the overarching social and economic discontent faced by students; rising University fees and a declining standard of teaching as Universities struggled to cope with the overwhelming numbers of students enrolled.

The student force held strong, establishing a makeshift settlement in the immediate area around the auditorium, electing leaders and forging plans to continue the battle against the restrictions of the State. January 18th, 1969 saw 8,500 riot police descend onto campus; guerrilla warfare ensued. The students fought back, armed with Molotov cocktails, slabs of concrete, and desks that were hurled from windows down onto the police below.

Eventually, the student force was suppressed. On January 19th over 300 students were arrested as riot police were finally able to infiltrate the fortress of the Yasuda Auditorium. The same day, the Japanese Prime Minister, Eisaku Satō (great-uncle of Shinzo Abe), visited the University and the unprecedented announcement of the cancellation of the University's entrance exams for that year soon followed.

The plausibility of future student campaigns was quashed by the Diet in 1970 with the introduction of 'The University Management Law'. This law authorised the right of the police to solve campus disruption with force. As the Japanese economy began to boom, student anger and sentiment faded. However, the Tokyo Riots of the late 1960s were nonetheless a seismic wave in the tumultuous sea of worldwide protest and progression.



Yasuda Auditorium, the Heart of the Student Protest of 1968-1969.

Mai '68 Through the Eyes of the Réalisateur



La Chinoise (Jean-Luc Godard, 1967)

The month of May 1968 in France was a period of protest of such fervour that France's government feared a second French Revolution. Initially, a student-led movement protesting against the government of Charles de Gaulle, capitalism, consumerism and American imperialism at large, Mai '68 expanded across la République to include roughly two-thirds of the French workforce. Having occurred less than a decade after the birth of the revolutionary Nouvelle Vague of cinema - a style of filmmaking focusing on realism and engagement with socio-political issues - the events surrounding Mai '68 coincided with a significant era of French filmmaking. Thus, these events have been well documented in films by both réalisateurs of the Nouvelle Vague as well as by present-day directors in the following films:

La Chinoise (Jean-Luc Godard, 1967)

Godard's fourteenth film of La Nouvelle Vague focusses on revolutionary ideas circulating amongst students and young French people a year prior to the Mai '68 protests. Following a group of Parisian students and their discussions of the Maoist Cultural Revolution in China, the students consider how it may be possible to carry out a similar cultural and political revolution in France. *La Chinoise* marks a turn away from the romanticism and playfulness of his earlier films and towards the exploration of political ideology, something that came to embody the spirit of Mai '68.

Godard, Mon Amour/Le Redoubtable (Michen Hazanavicius, 2012)

Set in the years 1967-1968, Hazanavicius' biopic of Godard com-

mences just as Godard begins to film *La Chinoise* and presents Godard himself, and his political views in the running up to the Mai '68 protests. Godard's link to the protests comes through his documentation of them: each riot scene he rushes towards the action, camera in hand, ready to capture what ensues. *Godard, Mon Amour*, therefore, captures the spirit of the protests and is a vital watch to understand the context in which Godard's politically charged films were realised, as well as the impact of cinema in cultivating ideas leading up to the protests and alternatively, the impact of the Mai '68 protests on French cinema.

The Dreamers (Bernardo Bertolucci, 2003)

A more romanticized account of Mai '68, *The Dreamers* follows a young American student who befriends two French siblings, who have an intimate relationship. This light-hearted romance is set against the backdrop of Mai '68, showing the rallies and protests in archival newsreel footage as well as through re-creations. Although the three spend most of the film inside their apartment, perhaps what is most significant to Mai '68 is what is happening outside of their window.

Glossary

Réalisateur – Director

La République – France

La Nouvelle Vague – New Wave

Olivia Tait

The Prelude to the Stonewall Riots: Early Gay Rights Movements in America

The June 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York became celebrated as the spark that ignited the modern gay rights movement. With violent resistance erupting as a result of the attempted police raid on the Stonewall Inn gay bar, attitudes of tolerance that homosexual people had adopted towards their discrimination began to shift. The importance of the Stonewall Riots is rooted in the fact that huge change was initiated by arguably little violence. This article aims to address the early gay rights movements in America from the 1920s up until the 1969 commencement of the modern gay rights movement. Arguably, the early resistance of homosexual people in America set the tone for the Stonewall Riots, having paved the way for later generations of queer people to further the push for equality.

EARLY GAY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

The emergence of the first officially recognised gay civil rights organisation came in 1924 with the organisation of the Society for Human Rights, chartered in Chicago. The society's founder, Henry Gerber, did not publicly acknowledge the true aim of the group, to reform anti-homosexual laws in America; instead, he did not explicitly mention homosexuality at all in the group's mission statement in an effort to prolong their existence. Despite the organisation not openly stating their goals, their mere existence was a significant step forward for the progression of the gay rights movement; an organised group of people aiming to change laws against their discrimination was a critical advancement that had not yet been a part of the timeline in queer people's fight for equality. It is important to acknowledge that the group was disbanded after a few months due to the arrest of several members. However, the Society for Human Rights was successful in influencing further groups of homosexual people to organise themselves into societies for reform.

The Mattachine Society further progressed the gay rights movement in America. Established in 1950, Kaczorowski suggests that the main aim of founders of the Mattachine Society included re-defining what homosexuality was in the context of contemporary America, as well as constructing a program for queer people to be culturally and politically liberated. In comparison to the Society for Human Rights, the Mattachine Society publicly addressed its aim of challenging anti-gay laws in America, as well as providing spaces for queer people to hold discussion groups to share personal experiences. This was hugely important in the early American gay rights movement, as not only did it provide gay people with the opportunity to connect deeply with others within their community, it also made it significantly more difficult for authorities to shut down the group due to their widespread nature as well as the unambiguity and decisiveness concerning their goals.

QUEER PEOPLE IN THE US ARMY

The role of homosexual people within the US army shows an important milestone in the progression of the gay rights movement in America. Within the psychological screening of potential recruits for the army were questions about the person's sexuality; lesbians or gay men could be dismissed from the army even

Lucy Knowles

CW: HOMOPHOBIA

without there being proof that they had engaged in homosexual relations- simply being released on suspicion. Inadvertently progressing the gay rights movement, the queer people who had dishonourable charges against them after World War II initiated a campaign to fight against their charges, garnering the support of influential political groups such as the American Legion and the NAACP. The gay rights movement was progressing from being a primarily cultural movement, to also consisting of political, military and economic tones.

STONEWALL RIOTS 1969

Having considered significant points within the early gay rights movement in America, the events of the Stonewall Riots demonstrate the culmination of pent-up frustrations, as well as a leap from the early movement into the more modern fight for equality. It had become common place for police to conduct raids on gay bars in New York, however, Stonewall was the first influential example of the bar patrons fighting back, initiating riots that went on to last for about three days. There has been historical debate surrounding whether or not the Stonewall Riots deserved all the acclamation they received. Some, such as John D'Emilio, suggest that the riots divided gay history into 'pre-Stonewall' and 'post-Stonewall', whereas others, including Elizabeth Armstrong, suggest that Stonewall was not as instrumental in initiating the modern gay rights movement as other resisted raids in the 1960s were, but Stonewall managed to be the event that became commemorated within gay history.

In the period from 1920-1969, the gay rights movement evolved significantly. Changing from a quiet underground movement, to a widespread, often violent and omnipresent movement relevant in all periods of life, with the Stonewall Riots being significantly influential in this shift.



Pageants and Protests: Miss World 1970

Victoria Beningfield

CW: SEXISM AND VIOLENCE



Jennifer Hosten, Winner of Miss World 1970

The 1970 Miss World beauty pageant, the 20th such competition, took place at the Royal Albert Hall in London on 20th November. The pageant was met with huge controversy for a number of reasons, before, during and after the contest had taken place. The Miss World competition was a significant aspect of British television by 1970 with 24 million viewers by that time, so any criticism the competition received was highly vocal and received a significant amount of media attention.

There were a total of 58 contestants in the 1970 Miss World pageant. Prior to the televised event, the primary controversy of the competition resulted from the acceptance of two entries from South Africa, one of which was black and one white. The two entrants, Pearl Jannsen and Jillian Jessup, were respectively entered as Miss Africa South and Miss South Africa, causing public outcry from both the press and the Anti-Apartheid movement (which had been gaining increasing traction around the same time). In the history of the competition, South Africa had never had two entrants, and there was criticism not only because of this but also because of the different competitions the women had to take part in to be selected, one of which was white only. Pearl Jannsen, Miss Africa South, went on to place second in the competition, with Jillian Jessup, Miss South Africa, placing fifth.

There was also controversy surrounding race at the competition as the winner. Jennifer Hosten from Grenada was the first black winner of the competition. This was significant because the competition, being one of beauty, was deemed by contestants of colour to be heavily Eurocentric in its judging. This was most notable when Eric Morley, the head of the production company responsible for televising the event, chose 15 out of the 58 girls to practice with only one being a woman of colour. The contestants not included in the practice have since suggested that the women chosen by Morley were his personal favourites to win and that this was indicative to the others of what the media's definition of beauty was at that time.

Hosten's win was followed with more public outcry as one of the judges was the premier of Grenada. Foul play was never proved, and the outcry was likely only a result of the media's favourite, Marjorie Johansson of Sweden, placing fourth overall.

In many ways, the competition can be seen as a turning point for women of colour in the beauty industry. In 2019, Miss World, Miss Universe, Miss USA, Miss Teen USA and Miss America were all won by women of colour, indicating that some degree of progress has been made towards equality in the pageant industry.

Probably the most memorable response to the Miss World 1970 pageant was the protest conducted by the Women's Liberation Movement, the actions of whom took place during the competition and startled compere Bob Hope, leading to the halting of proceedings for a short time. It is important to acknowledge that these women were not responsible for the bomb that exploded under a BBC vehicle the night before the competition, responsibility for this came from the Angry Brigade, a far-left militant group. However, the bomb did lead to increased security and uncertainty on the night itself.

The late Bob Hope has since been criticised for referring to the competition as a 'cattle market' and for many other lewd jokes

made at women's expense, which were often not well received by the audience. It was at this point in the proceedings that a football rattle was used to signal the start of the Women's Liberation Movement's protest. Approximately 100 women threw leaflets and flour bombs from their seats onto the stage. Initially, the plan had been for the action to start during the round where contestants donned swimsuits, but the organisers of the protest were so outraged by Hope's comments that they elected to start the disruption early. Ultimately, the competition still went ahead, but the protest was still considered successful due to the vast media coverage the Movement received in its wake. Additionally, the competition was viewed live by approximately 22 million people in Britain and 100 million worldwide, leading many to suggest that the event was highly important in introducing the public to feminist issues and the Women's Liberation Movement itself.

The 1970 Miss World competition continues to be important as a site of both racial and feminist protest, surrounding the contestants and the nature of the contest itself. The competition is most significant for enabling greater public awareness of feminist issues. However, the controversy surrounding women of colour in the competition, and the results of this, should not be undermined.

The Lyons Protest: the Fight for Sex Workers' Rights

CW: SEX CRIMES

On the 2nd of June 1975, the church of Saint Nizier in Lyons was occupied by over 100 prostitutes in protest, all of them fighting to end police harassment, re-open the hotels where they worked and for certain prostitution murders to be properly investigated. Essentially, they were asking to be treated fairly by the French Government.

The occupation of Saint-Nizier was a pivotal moment in the sex worker's rights movement, it gained attention at both a national and international level. There were several significant reactions across France; a church in Marseille was occupied, a petition in Paris was signed to end police brutality, and the prostitutes of Nice held a strike over the weekend. The protest lasted 10 days, but it left the question of how the sex workers managed to continue this occupation for so long.

On the Monday of the protest, when 40 prostitutes entered the church and announced that they would not leave, the Reverend Antonin Bdal declared he would not call the police as it would not be very 'evangelical' of him. Throughout the period of occupation, the protesters permitted journalists and friends inside where they ate food and sometimes watched films. The leader, 'Ulla', met with Archbishop Renard and the Mayor of Lyons. Eventually, the latter agreed that the law should be changed. The attention these women gathered opened the conversation about sex worker's rights and treatment, with the protest leading to an end to the unfair fining that the police had previously distributed in an attempt to make the sex workers lose their money or get arrested.

Whilst prostitution was legal, soliciting was not. The decriminalization of prostitution is a controversial issue for many people, with some finding the job immoral or wrong. Nevertheless, we must ask ourselves the question of what benefits are gained when prostitution is legalized. This profession will be carried out despite laws against it. Countries like Norway, Hong Kong and Argentina where prostitution is illegal still have evidence of it occurring, and the prostitutes have found themselves exposed to violence which they cannot report. On the other hand, countries such as New Zealand, which since June 2003 had decriminalized prostitution, found safer regulations for the job. From research conducted in August 2015, Amnesty International found that the dangers involved with prostitution such as exploitation, rape or unsafe sex would be better managed.

With the legalization of prostitution, concerns about sex trafficking could be dismissed as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) found that it would be far easier for sex trafficking to occur if it is kept hidden from the public eye. Germany saw a rise in sex trafficking crimes after they restricted certain laws against prostitution. Whilst this statistic may imply that the rise in trafficking cases was a result of decriminalising prostitution, it

Megan Khan

instead exposes cases that were already there. Overall, evidence points to a generally safer environment for prostitutes and their clients if they work with the law instead of against it.

Sex workers are shunned members of most societies and personal prejudices impact their lives every day. The Lyons protest will forever remain an important moment in the fight for prostitutes' rights. Its legacy remains, especially on the 2nd of June which has since been marked as 'International Whore's Day' as a tribute to their protest. Whilst you may or may not agree with the profession of prostitution, the bravery that these women showed must be admired.



Facade of Saint-Nizier Church, Lyons.

'Ban the Jab': The Campaign Against Depo Provera, 1978-1983

CW: INTENSE MEDICAL LANGUAGE

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) is known for its reproductive rights campaigns, which saw the introduction of the pill in 1961 and the legalisation of abortion in 1967. What is not as well-known is the grassroots campaign against the contraceptive Depo Provera (DP). The Campaign Against Depo Provera (CADP) is referenced in passing in a number of feminist texts but only one historical study has been solely devoted to it. This is surprising as the campaign is an interesting case study that provides an example of second-wave white feminists being involved in intersectional, anti-racist and anti-imperialist activism.

DP was first introduced in Britain in 1976 as an alternative to oral contraceptives. It was an injectable contraceptive, which made the user infertile for around three months and unlike the pill, it was not reliant on women remembering to take it each day. The drug was only given restricted licensing due to safety concerns over its potentially carcinogenic properties, with the American Food and Drug Administration (FDA) rejecting a license for DP in 1978 due to findings that suggested it caused cancer in animals. There were also unpleasant side effects which, amongst other things, included weight gain, irregular bleeding, and depression. Considering this, DP was only supposed to be administered on a short-term basis under two circumstances: if a woman had recently had a rubella vaccination, this was due to concerns that the vaccine could cause foetal damage, or if her partner had recently undergone a vasectomy. However, DP quickly made waves due to accusations of discriminatory and unlicensed use.

Spearheading the opposition to DP was the CADP, which started in London in 1978. The campaigners argued that doctors were disproportionately offering DP, often without informed consent to working-class and ethnic minority women, who were considered by the medical profession to be 'promiscuous' and 'unreliable', as a form of racist and classist population control. Janet Hadley, one of the campaign's key organisers, remarked that it was the "next best thing to sterilisation." They argued that injectable contraceptives were particularly open to abuse and, unlike the pill, took reproductive agency away from women.

The campaign's three main aims were:

- To expose the way in which Depo-Provera has been developed, experimented, and used on women, often without prior knowledge or consent of the women involved
- Withdrawal of Depo-Provera
- Free, safe and reliable contraception on demand- contraception that does not endanger people's health

They campaigned through their campaign newsletter, adverts and information published in feminist periodicals like *Spare Rib* and newspapers like *The Guardian* and through the production of information pamphlets, produced in various languages such as Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati, to advise women and raise awareness about the drug's misuse and side effects. They collected information about the use of DP through questionnaires and encouraged women to compile information about the use of the drug where they lived. They also collaborated with black feminist organisations like the Brixton Black Women's Group and the Organisation of Women of Asian and African Descent.

The campaigners were not just concerned with the use of DP in Britain but its global use. DP had originally been trialled on women in the Global South and continued to be used by international population control programmes. For example, in 1981 the International Planned Parenthood Federation annually supplied 400,000 three-monthly injections of DP across 53 countries. Even the American government supplied DP to developing countries despite it being unlicensed there. Hadley argued that this was a form of imperialism.

The campaign was initially successful. In 1982, the Secretary of State for Health, Ken Clarke, rejected the Committee of Safety of Medicines approval that DP should be given a long-term license due to safety concerns. However, after a public hearing in 1983, Clarke approved the long-term license the following year. Although the campaigners did not succeed in their main aim of having DP withdrawn, the extended license came with conditions, these included:

- The drug's manufacturer Upjohn had to produce an information leaflet explaining in simple terms the pros and cons of DP
- Doctors had to advise women on its side effects and irreversibility
- It was not supposed to be given to women who were breastfeeding or who had recently given birth
- Lastly, Upjohn had to monitor the drug's long term effects

In conclusion, the CADP provides an interesting historical case study of grassroots WLM activists being involved in an intersectional, anti-racist and anti-imperialist campaign that went beyond promoting reproductive freedom around choosing when *not to* have children to encompass choice around when *to have* children.

Georgia Mackay

Reproduction and Resistance: Eastern Europe's History with Anti-Abortion Legislation

CW: ABORTION

In post-war Eastern Europe, communist regimes across the Soviet bloc held women as second-class citizens, valuing them primarily for their roles as mothers and workers. Although the 1960s saw some improvements to female life via state employment efforts and increased welfare benefits, social policies concerning women essentially sought to enhance their prescribed roles as workers and creators of socialist citizens. Claims of female 'emancipation' masked the real aim of advancing state leaders' communist visions.

Regimes' desire and intent to control female bodies largely stemmed from the demographic decline of the 1950s and 1960s. Falling birth-rates across the Soviet bloc sparked 'demographic panic', prompting many leaders to respond with harsh pro-natalist policies, which directly and disproportionately affected women. This drive to control reproduction and improve fertility rates is particularly noticeable in the histories of Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland. Pro-natalist policies typically included the strict control of birth control and severe restriction of access to abortion. Hungary banned abortion in 1953 and pushed the conduction of 'show trials' as a scare tactic, prosecuting doctors performing illicit abortions as well as the women who sought them. Most Eastern European states combined methods of intimidation and bribery, imposing penalties for abortion while rewarding women who had children.

State violation of women's bodies extended into media and print culture, as propaganda across communist states aggressively encouraged motherhood, emphasising childbearing as the most central feature of a women's identity. Propaganda became an effective weapon of symbolic violence, as it was used to push the patriotic narrative of the 'woman-creator', representing an assault on women's individual and reproductive rights. In Romania, the Communist Party used propaganda to construct its own version of 'sexual normalcy' to convince women that giving birth to as many children as possible was somehow beneficial to their health. This involved the publication of deceptive magazine articles on female sexual health, including advice on how to alleviate 'female frigidity,' with an alleged specialist advising against the use of contraception to combat this. Female social suffering was particularly severe under Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania (1965-1989), with 1966 ushering in a total ban on abortion, and complete restriction of access to birth control. While Romania represents the extreme of anti-abortion legislation in Eastern Europe, many other countries imposed rigid abortion restrictions for married women, including Bulgaria and Poland.

Criminalising abortion did not prevent its practice. Illicit abortion became routine for many Eastern European women, with underground abortion networks providing a means for women to remain in control of their bodies. As active protest and dissent under communist regimes were typically met with brutal repression, illegal abortion served as an important method of female resistance against state control of women's bodies. As illicit abortion became the only means of birth control in Romania, by 1989, most Romanian women had undergone between five and seven abortions. Surveys conducted after 1990 suggest that some wom-

Amelia Wood



Protests Against Poland's New Abortion Laws (October 2020)

en had undergone as many as 20-30 abortions in their lifetimes.

It is important to acknowledge feminist action under state socialism. Although typically viewed with suspicion by the West due to their top-down, bureaucratic nature, state feminist organisations under communist regimes worked hard to promote women's rights. Kristen Ghodsee emphasises the 'rich history' of feminist activism in Bulgaria, arguing the significance of Bulgarian women's organisations in pressuring the Bulgarian Politburo towards expanding state resources to support women as mothers and workers.

Has Eastern Europe seen progression since the fall of communism? While progress on women's rights has been made, many countries have seen increasingly strict abortion provisions since 1989, and abortion rates remain high due to the scarcity of other forms of birth control. In the last 30 years, female protest action has drastically ramped up. Poland now has some of the strictest abortion laws in Europe, which have been tightening dramatically since 1993. The Catholic church is particularly powerful in Poland and plays a key role in reinforcing traditional, pro-life values surrounding the family and motherhood, exercising considerable influence over Poland's conservative government. As a result, many Poles feel intimidated to openly oppose the Church.

A court ruling in October 2020 imposed a near-total ban on abortion, sparking some of the biggest protests in Poland's recent history - 400,000 protesters were mobilised across the country. While these were predominantly young women, a wide section of Polish society took to the streets in response to the change in the law. Slogans such as 'my body, my choice,' and 'the revolution has a uterus', could be seen on placards at another wave of protests in January of this year. Ultimately, Polish women still have a long way to go in their fight for reproductive rights, but the important work of women's organisations such as Women's Strike provides hope for women across the region.

Protest and Escape at the Berlin Wall

CW: VIOLENCE



After World War Two, Germany was divided into four zones amongst Britain, the USA, France and the Soviet Union. The British, American and French zones united to form West Germany and the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic (GDR) - East Germany. Berlin was divided in the same way. Berlin was in the Soviet zone and many East Germans left the GDR through West Berlin, due to the greater political freedom and quality of life that West Germany offered. The Berlin Wall was erected in 1961 to prevent this and remained until 1989. There was no mass protest to the building of the Berlin Wall, however, the wall itself became a site of individual resistance as people frequently attempted to escape. This article looks at escape as a form of protest and examines the escape attempt of an East German engineer, Horst Einsiedel.

Escape from the East

Protest in the GDR was rarely on a mass scale due to the repression of the Stasi – the East German secret police. Some historians refer to the GDR as ‘Stasiland’ and argue that ‘sheer force’ retained the population. This was also the image presented by West German propaganda. Public expression of opposition to the communist regime was not permitted in the GDR and the Stasi is known for its extreme use of surveillance to monitor the East German population. Therefore, political freedom outside of the GDR was desirable to many. Others wanted to leave the GDR to enjoy Western consumer goods, job opportunities and to be with friends and family. Before the wall was built, approximately 3 million people left. After, around 1,000 fled each year.

Horst Einsiedel’s Escape Attempt

Between 1949 and 1989, 202 people died at the borders of Berlin, including Horst Einsiedel. In March 1973, Horst Einsiedel was shot and killed on the Berlin Wall in his attempt to leave East Germany. He was an engineer who refused to join the socialist party in the GDR and faced a lack of opportunities and progression in his career and life as a result. The policy in the GDR to shoot people for trying to leave, as well as the existence of the wall, shows the threat this act of protest posed to the regime. Following Einsiedel’s death, the Stasi interrogated his wife to determine whether or not she had known of his plan to escape – she had not. The fact that Einsiedel’s family were not aware of his

plans to escape indicates that protest was often on an individual level. Furthermore, the Stasi’s investigation into the rest of the family shows their fear of collusion in protest. The Stasi decided to cover up Horst Einsiedel’s death and fabricated a cover-up story to tell his family. This was to prevent the West from using Einsiedel’s death as propaganda material both against brutality at the border and to portray East German discontent. The need to cover up the truth shows that although Einsiedel was not successful in leaving the GDR, his act of resistance was still significant as it provided material for external protest against the regime.

The Stasi archive has two publicly available documents related to Horst Einsiedel. The first describes the conception of the cover-up story of his death. The Stasi claimed to have found Einsiedel’s car in a forest with evidence of a violent crime, suggesting that Einsiedel was killed in unknown circumstances. However, this failed to convince the family and his West German relatives threatened to launch an inquiry into his death. Therefore, the Stasi changed their story and suggested he drowned trying to escape. The second document is a report of a bugged conversation between Einsiedel’s wife and mother as they discuss the circumstances of his death. Again, it is clear they are not convinced as one of them points out ‘he was such a good swimmer’ and therefore was probably actually shot in the water. Therefore, suspicion of the regime is another outcome of Einsiedel’s act of protest.

In sum, protest in the GDR often took the form of escape attempts. This method of protest forced the GDR to build the Berlin Wall, however, this did not put a stop to escape. Several East German individuals defied the socialist regime and attempted to flee the GDR despite the high chance of death. Even when escape attempts failed, as in the case of Einsiedel, this was still a successful protest to some extent as it provided the West with propaganda material and expressed discontent in the regime. This is made clear in the harsh consequences for those who tried to escape, the excessive surveillance of those associated with escapees and the Stasi’s desperation to cover up Einsiedel’s death.

Selina Rees

Chile's Street Protests in the 1980s:

Resistance in the Face of the Oppression



Augusto Pinochet Ugarte: *Durante la ceremonia del tradicional tedeum de fiestas patrias*

CW: VIOLENCE

regime. Almost reminiscent of a 1984 style dystopia, showing open opposition to the system resulted in the darkest of consequences under Pinochet's Chile.

By 1980 Pinochet had used his position to rewrite Chile's constitution, allowing him more legislative powers and securing his stay in the immediate future. His firm grasp on power became strengthened, and a protest movement began in the 1980s, voicing complaints about political violence, inequality and state corruption. An economic crisis that began in 1982 was the catalyst for the beginning of Chile's protest movement. Despite attempts by the Pinochet movement to curb the trade unions in a typically tyrannical manner, the Confederation of Copper Workers (CTC) organised a widescale protest in May 1983 which was supported by left-wing parties, students and workers. Unsurprisingly the Chilean military government clamped down on the protest with excessive institutional force, attempting to quell any attempts to undermine their legitimacy. In the face of intimidation and oppression, the CTC organised a series of monthly protests throughout 1983, each one being met with state violence. Even in the face of intimidation, the people of Chile stood up to Pinochet and his oppressive tactics.

Whilst the Chilean state attempted to prevent Chileans from mobilising against them, it is undoubtable that the protests forced the hand of Pinochet to move towards more liberal politics in fear of a nationwide revolution. Protests and strikes continued throughout the 1980s until 1987 when Pinochet announced that there would be a national plebiscite on his future as the leader of the country. The protests continued throughout the plebiscite campaign, attempting to mobilise the people of Chile to vote Pinochet out, despite the uncertainty and fear that came with such an unpredictable outcome. The eventual result of the 1988 plebiscite forced Pinochet out of power with a 55% majority. Protest and its subsequent disruption had inspired a more liberal approach within the Pinochet regime to allow a referendum on his future, and for the first time in 15 years, Chileans could focus their future on a transition to democracy.

The eruption of protests in Santiago in 2019 showed that despite their transition to democracy, the effects of the Pinochet regime are still largely being felt across Chile. The inspirational story of the protesters in the 1980s resonates with many Chileans today who look to bring about a more equal society through the means of protest. Finally, Chileans have forced the government into rewriting Pinochet's constitution. Protest has enabled Chileans to not only rewrite their constitution, but their history.

In October 2019, the streets of Santiago erupted in protest, capturing global attention. Protesters mobilised to object to high levels of inequality and government intransigence towards the country's working class. The protests continued for months on end, eventually culminating in a parliamentary vote to rewrite Chile's constitution, one of the most blatant hangovers from the notorious Pinochet dictatorship. For many older Chileans, the 2019 protests were reminiscent of the anti-Pinochet movement of the 1980s, characterised by regular demonstrations and united resistance in the face of political repression. Throughout the 1980s, students, union members and everyday workers joined forces to show their distaste at Pinochet's tyrannical rule over Chile. The protests, despite being consistently shut down by institutional aggression, eventually applied enough public pressure to force Pinochet's hand into relaxing his strangulating grip on Chile and paved the way for democracy.

Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship in Chile started with a military coup in 1973, aided by the US. Chile had democratically elected the left-wing socialist government of Salvador Allende 3 years prior, becoming the first Latin-American country to nominate a government with Marxist leanings. The United States, plagued with the fever of Cold-War paranoia, inspired a military coup d'état that allowed Pinochet to seize power.

Pinochet's political violence and silencing of opponents have earned his regime an unwanted reputation for brutality. The Pinochet regime asserted itself almost instantly as a government to be feared rather than respected. As one commentator put it, Chilean society under Pinochet was 'dying from fear.' After power was forcefully taken, it is estimated that during the first few weeks there were 1,500 deaths. Throughout his 13-year rule, Pinochet was responsible for tens, if not hundreds of thousands of cases of political suppression. Figures are still under discretion. Capture, torture and disappearance were all state allocated punishments for disagreeing with the military

Finn Logue

ACT UP: A Protest Movement to Shape All Protest Movements

Ana Hill Lopez-Menchero

CW: HOMOPHOBIA

The HIV epidemic has been an ongoing issue for more than 40 years now, but when it initially came to the public's attention it was widely neglected. In the 1980s everything about the virus was unknown, resulting in fear and stigma.

The virus came to the attention of doctors in the form of rare conditions. In September 1982 the term 'AIDS' was used for the first time – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

Only in September 1983 was transmission by causal contact, food, water or air surfaces ruled out. By the end of 1985, every region in the world had reported at least one case of AIDS. In 1989 the number of reported AIDS cases in the USA surpassed 100,000. This epidemic was growing faster than officials were willing to control it. That's when ACT UP stepped in.

ACT UP

ACT UP stood for the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power. The name 'ACT UP' went on to be used by other anti-AIDS groups in Sydney, Paris, London and Moscow, according to Benita Roth.

The activists who set up the movement were angry at the US government for ignoring the increasing number of US citizens dying from the disease and not putting enough funding towards finding a cure. Larry Kramer is often regarded as the person who kick-started the movement. ACT UP decided that instead of accepting their fate they had to act.

Ronald Reagan's conservative administration believed in personal responsibility when it came to health. Some believed people with AIDS had become infected as a result of their own actions. It was only when the infection spread to other communities that it was felt action should be taken. Even then the 'haemophiliacs, surgical patients, and babies of infected mothers' were still depicted in the media as "innocent" compared with the infected gay men who were seen as "guilty".

Maria Maggenti and Peter Stanley, two members of the ACT UP movement, spoke on the BBC podcast 'A Big Disease with a Little Name' about the anger and emotion that pushed the group forward. Similarly, Roth, in her book *The Life and Death of ACT UP/ LA*, states that the movement was personal for everyone involved. A lot of the members, if they weren't HIV-positive themselves, knew someone who was or had friends who had died from the illness. It was a personal fight for them.

Tactics

In March 1987, ACT UP/NY was founded, followed by the Los Angeles branch in December of the same year. The tactics of the movement were provocative. A notable mention was the Wall Street demonstration which was said to have brought New York City to a halt. It became increasingly difficult to ignore them.

The goal of these demonstrations, including "zaps" (trying to clog fax machines), staged die-ins, activists locking themselves to



politicians' desks and other equally provoking tactics, was to push efforts to find a cure. The slogan which they spread was 'SILENCE = DEATH'.

Other demonstrations included one held outside of the Food and Drug Administration headquarters, with some of the demonstrators dressed in lab coats stained with bloody hands; others held tombstones reading "Dead from FDA red tape" and staged a die-in. After this demonstration, the FDA agreed to meet with the activists to discuss giving experimental drugs to AIDS patients, which was implemented as a policy a few months later.

Present Day

Today the HIV and AIDS epidemic continues, but on nowhere near the same scale, largely due to the action taken by ACT UP. There is still no cure, but HIV medicine allows someone with the virus to live close to a normal life. A 2019 estimate, taken from the National Aids Trust website, was that 105,200 people were living with HIV in the UK at the time of the study. 94% of this number were diagnosed, but 1 in 16 were unaware they had it. It is known the causes of the virus are body fluids transmitted from an infected person, including semen, vaginal and anal fluids, blood and breast milk. This means the transmission of HIV is not limited to sex between men.

Leeds Youth Stop AIDS group leader Matteo Bellani spoke to me about the University of Leeds society's role in the fight against AIDS and the continued stigma surrounding the illness. "It's not necessarily a deadly disease anymore," Bellani said. "A lot of people don't really think about it, the focus has shifted away from it...There is a risk that we become complacent and end up reversing a lot of the progress we've made."

Much more is known about HIV and AIDS, but the stigma continues. Young people are still not being educated about the risks of HIV and although it is no longer the 'death sentence' it was in the 1980s, it is still an ongoing epidemic. Is it time for a revival of ACT UP in the 21st century?

What do Coors beer and the Welsh town of Neath have in common? An exploration of queer and labour activism

Intersectionality, the term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, has always been present to some extent in activism, even if only as a vague idea. One intersectional relationship that may not immediately spring to mind is that between queer and labour activism. Trade unions have a rich history seeking progression in workers' rights through strikes and boycotts focusing on political and economic goals. Queer activism, whilst only coming into the limelight comparatively recently, has taken many different forms, seeking political reform and social acceptance. When these two worlds have collided, incredible alliances and protests have soon followed.

As early as the 1930s, there is a traceable relationship between union activity and LGBTQ+ activism. Allan Bérubé explored how the US Marine Cooks and Stewards Union was extremely gay friendly in the decade, even becoming the first organisation to provide protection against being fired on the basis of sexuality.

Pro-queer union activity is quite difficult to identify in history, as members often operated on a 'don't ask, don't tell' policy; they saw queer members as workers in their own right, but often did not go out of their way to provide anti-discrimination measures relating to sexuality. However, in the 1970s and 80s, when LGBTQ+ activism became more visible in society, there are interesting cases where queer and labour activism openly co-operated to achieve a common goal. This brings us back to the title of this article - what do Coors beer and the Welsh town of Neath have in common? They both became centres of collaboration between these two groups.

The Coors beer boycott began in 1966, created by Hispanic veterans who had become aware of the company's discrimination against Mexican Americans. In 1977 Local 366, a trade union division that represented workers at Coors, built on this campaign to boycott the company because of discriminatory hiring practices, such as the forcing of workers to complete polygraph tests. This forced test became key in acquiring the support of gay activists in San Francisco for the boycott as it contained homophobic questions. With permission from the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations, the union partnered with LGBTQ+ leaders like Harvey Milk and Alain Braid. Milk wrote to the San Francisco newspaper *The Bay Report* stressing the importance of a communal alliance between unions and the queer community. Gay bars stopped serving Coors and the boycott captured popular attention. It even gained an international element, with queer Canadian publications like *The Body Politic* advertising the boycott in their magazine throughout the 1980s. Soon enough, Coors profits dropped along the West Coast. Coors beer became a rallying point for an intersectional economic pro-



test that forced the company to try and win back consumers well into the 1990s because of its damaged reputation.

Moving across the pond, the town of Neath in Wales holds a similar status as a rallying point where LGBTQ+ and union activists created an alliance with a lasting impact. During the 1984-5 National Union of Mineworkers' strike caused by the Thatcher administration, a group was formed in London called Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners. After fundraising at the 1984 London pride rally, the group formed and twinned with Neath, Dulais and the Swansea Valleys Miners Support Group offering financial aid during the strike. Dramatized in the 2014 film *Pride*, they raised about the equivalent of £69,000, including funds created from a gig in Camden famously titled 'Pits and Perverts'. This alliance had far-reaching consequences.

The support from LGSM generated so much appreciation that miners' groups endorsed and participated in various pride events in 1985. This was also the year the Labour Party committed itself to the support of LGBTQ+ rights, in a large part due to voting support from the National Union of Mineworkers. Although there were other factors, the significance of the previous year's activism should not be underestimated when looking at this historic decision.

So again, what do Coors beer and the Welsh town of Neath have in common? They are tangible evidence of an intersectional relationship between queer and labour activism. Although neither would necessarily be considered flashpoints in their respective activisms, they demonstrate that cooperation and alliances between the two ran deeper than is probably assumed. Due to the nature of queer history in particular it can be difficult to fully investigate how intersectionality expressed itself before the latter decades of the twentieth century. However, rallying points like these suggest queer and labour activism may have a more complex and intersectional past that we can continue to uncover.

Becca Iliffe

The Miner's Strike 1984-85: A Personal Perspective

In front of a row of boarded up terrace houses, people gather around a burning coffin containing a grotesque effigy of Margaret Thatcher, nearby there is a floral display in the words 'SCAB'. A banner declares 'ASHES TO ASHES DUST TO DUST THATCHERS BRITAIN HAS GONE BUST'. This is not 1980's Britain but 2013 in Goldthorpe, Barnsley.

Labelled 'the enemy within' former miners, and pit villages across the Yorkshire coalfields, are haunted by the legacy of the year long strike of 1984-85, when the National Union of Miners clashed with the Conservative government. The strike still impacts local politics and culture to this day - it is often said that a donkey could be elected here, if it had a red Labour rosette pinned to it. Even amongst the generations that have grown up since the strike, Thatcher is controversial and resented. I spoke to two men who lived through it, Michael, and Graham, to hear what they saw first-hand, and to better understand why the pit communities of Wakefield and Barnsley are so scarred by what occurred.

Michael was an insurance agent during the strike. Friendly and astute, he travelled into the pit communities to collect payments from miners for their life insurance. The strike led to most cancelling these, using the money to support themselves. Such a role could be risky as money was short, and people were increasingly driven to desperation as the year progressed, but as an ex-miner himself he was respected. I ask him what he remembers the most from his visits to the pit villages: 'The people. They were very resolute, that stands out'. He saw first-hand the effects the strike had on his own family with three of his brothers participating. Two were on strike, whereas one in management remained being paid. It was not uncommon for those who were paid or who had savings to help those on strike from the lower paid pit jobs, but often it was not enough. Soup kitchens opened, and school canteens were packed with children forced on to the free school meals provided by Wakefield council. Many of the miners' wives became empowered by the strike, standing shoulder to shoulder with the men at pickets, and for those who worked they found themselves becoming the main breadwinner, at a time when this was still unusual in British society.

The stigma the strike caused in local communities remains even 36 years later. At the time Graham was a pit deputy. His role required him to remain working throughout, having to enter the pits periodically to check for fires or debris that could have ruined the mine, and prevented the men from having anything to come back to. In the years after the strike some would not speak to him and his colleagues, and he recalls how they often faced 'snide remarks'. However, it was those who broke the strike that faced much worse. Men who crossed the picket line were derided as 'scabs', though they were often forced back due to desperation. Buses driving them in were pelted with barrages of bricks as the miners and their wives lined the roadsides jeering. Families were



Badge worn during the 1984-85 British miners' strike.

also divided, and individuals who returned still face social isolation and stigma. The decision to return and the tension at pickets often culminated in violence, with two miners from Wakefield being killed, whilst one man who returned to work was attacked with baseball bats. Even when researching this article, some would not be interviewed due to fear of the consequences, if the contentious role they played was made public.

For local communities, the impact is not just visible in the stigma it has caused, but in the long-lasting economic consequences it has had. The miners, hailed by some as 'lions led by donkeys', returned to towns that would be fundamentally changed by the pit closures. Local businesses, working men's clubs and high streets were devastated by the loss of income that came with the end of a strong base of industrial jobs. Both Graham and Michael recount how pit villages and towns like South Elmsall, Castleford and Featherstone have still not fully recovered from the closure of their pits, and loss of income from the strike. Little was done to provide an alternative to the wealth of jobs the pits provided and by 2015 there was not a single coal mine left in the area. Whilst older miners were able to retire with good pensions, those who were younger had to take jobs that paid far less than what they previously earned.

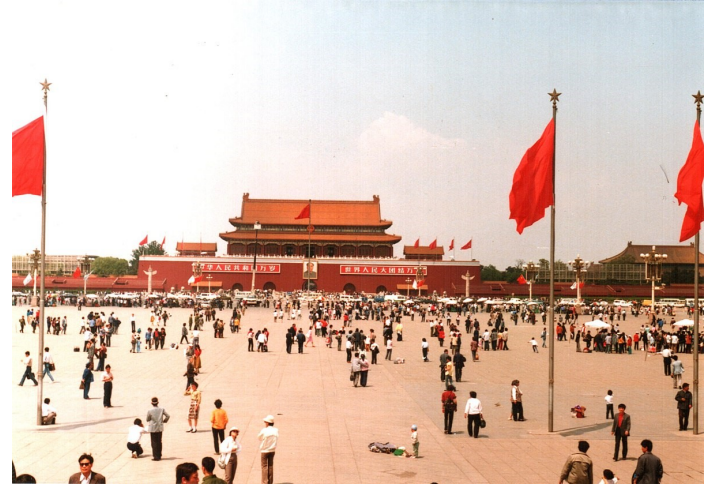
Graham and Michael are my grandfathers. For myself, and many of my generation who live in the former coal fields, the impact of the strike and the ensuing pit closures still reverberates into our own lives. Though the coal mines are now long gone, the legacy they leave remains, and will continue to do so for years to come.

Alfie Norris

Does Unrest in Hong Kong Reflect Lessons Learned from the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests?

William Nixon

CW: VIOLENCE



Tiananmen protesters that simply wanted more accountability with regards to public officials .

Finally, it is important to consider how the Tiananmen Square massacre changed the way that the Chinese state reacted to protests against its rule. Ultimately, Tiananmen taught the CCP that political suppression would keep their regime stable. This is evidenced by their repeated attempts to crack down on freedoms enshrined in Hong Kong under the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which transferred the territory from British to Chinese rule in 1997. Significant encroachments have included its encouragement of a sedition act in 2003 that would have allowed city officials to ban certain types of speech and particular organisations. Another example is a 2014 electoral reform proposal which would have empowered the Chinese central government to screen candidates for the office of Chief Executive of Hong Kong. Both intrusions provoked similar mass protests, the latter sparking the Umbrella Movement. It is therefore easy to see why the CCP concluded that greater suppression of Hong Kong through the threat of extradition would water down political dissidence.

It is also worth considering that since Tiananmen, some types of protest have been permitted in China, provided that they do not contradict the CCP's international narratives and did not show popular discontent within society. Certain small-scale demonstrations with modest demands such as those regarding working conditions have been authorised, and even a few mass marches have been allowed to go ahead, like the 2012 anti-Japan protests that surrounded a maritime dispute .

Overall, despite having broadly similar goals, modern Hong Kong is not a repeat of the Tiananmen Square massacre. Technological advancement, experience of freedoms not commonplace in mainland China and prior experience of the Chinese Government's willingness for brutality mean that recent protests take place in a vastly different context to those in 1989.

At the start of 2019, a bill was introduced to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong that would have given the Chinese Government the power to extradite alleged criminals from the semi-autonomous Hong Kong and place them on trial in mainland China. The proposed law was perceived by the population of Hong Kong as a power grab by the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to exert greater control over the region, sparking mass protests throughout 2019 and into 2020. One such protest, organisers claimed attracted as many as 2 million of the city's residents. The high levels of unrest and the harsh police response in Hong Kong led to fears of a reiteration of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, in which the People's Liberation Army under the command of the Chinese Government opened fire on pro-democracy protesters, killing as many as 10,000. As such, it seems appropriate to consider to what extent tactics recently employed by both the Hong Kong protesters and the CCP contrast with those used in 1989.

It's worth considering that modern unrest in Hong Kong occurred in a completely different context to Tiananmen Square, meaning there are significant inherent contrasts in the style of protest. One significant difference identified by Yang Jianli, a participant in the student movement of 1989, is that in 1989 protesters did not expect to be targeted by the Chinese military and made no plans to guarantee their safety. Conversely, modern Hong Kong protesters are acutely aware of their Government's capacity for violent oppression and accounted for this whilst planning demonstrations. Protest organisers encourage participants to "be water," changing plans or averting march routes at short notice and never clumping together so much to allow targeting by police.

Furthermore, technological developments also presented both challenges and opportunities for Hong Kong that were not present at Tiananmen. In terms of organisation, dissemination of important information was harder in 1989 meaning that protesters were largely confined to Tiananmen Square. Also, its leaders were well known, belonging to a core group of students each representing the University they came from – meaning protesters were more easily recognised and targeted. On the other hand, the advent of encrypted instant messaging services has facilitated swifter communication between participants and the development of a sign language, used to pass information during demonstrations, has allowed the Hong Kong protests to be largely leaderless and harder for Chinese authorities to combat. In addition, Hong Kong protesters have learnt how to evade the growing Chinese surveillance state and retain anonymity by wearing masks during protests, painting over CCTV cameras and leaving trackable smartphones and subway cards at home.

Despite differences in the organisation of protests, there are key similarities between Hong Kong and Tiananmen that should not go ignored. Each was driven by high youth participation and were largely non-violent, although recent protests in Hong Kong have occasionally escalated into rioting. Furthermore, both were defined by calls for greater democracy. Yet, demands made by Hong Kong protesters in 2019 were far clearer: the resignation of Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam and the withdrawal of the extradition bill, compared to the more generalised aims of

The Largest Global Protest Ever Seen, and No Change?

The February 2003 Iraq War global protests were the largest ever seen until 2020 when the Black Lives Matter protests, of 25 million in the USA alone, and the Indian farmer strikes, of up to 250 million, eclipsed them in numbers. Protests against the Iraq War began in 2002 and reached their peak over the weekend of 15th and 16th of February, with estimates ranging from 10 to 30 million people protesting in over 600 cities across the globe. Rome saw 3 million protesters take to the streets, which was the largest single protest to take place on the weekend. There was global disapproval of the war in Iraq, as well as global disapproval for the President who was putting forward the case for war to the UN. Looking at the approval and disapproval of Bush allows us to analyse the impact of these protests and their representation of public opinion.

The legacy and approval ratings of the 43rd President, George W Bush, offer an insight into interesting aspects of international politics and international history. His presidency witnessed political phenomena, such as the 'Rally Round the Flag' effect, seen in his surge of popularity after the September 2001 attacks on the world trade centres. The effect allows political scientists to explain decisions made by leaders and impacts on public opinion – in times of crisis or aversion, populaces 'rally round' their leaders and thus there is a witnessable short spike in approval ratings. Typical cases of this syndrome include Thatcher's Falklands War, in which a seemingly unimportant war was started, won decisively and quickly, and offered Thatcher a boost in the satisfaction that she maintained until the General election of 1983, which she won. In Bush's case, 9/11 created a similar boost and Bush reached the highest ever recorded approval rating of 90% on 21st September 2001. Another spike was witnessed with the invasion of Iraq, although it did not reach the same heights and declined thereon in. Since the end of his presidency, Bush's approval rates have only climbed, with a January 2018 Gallup poll recording that 61% of Americans held a favourable view of the ex-President, compared to the 33% approval that he left with in 2009. His approval post-presidency even led satirical comedy show Saturday Night Live to bring back their Bush impersonator, Will Ferrell, reminding the public that he was "really bad – like historically, not good". But how could such global hatred for George W Bush be forgotten, even in the chaos of his Republican successor, Donald Trump?

It seems that Trump fared even worse than Bush did on an international scale. While the anti-war and other opposing voices were loud and active during Bush's tenure, for the most part, other world leaders toed the line and supported the USA. While France and Germany opposed the Iraq invasion, other nations,

specifically Italy and the United Kingdom, supported and joined. The "letter of the eight" announced public support from five EU leaders and 3 soon to be EU members, showing institutional support for the war despite protestors in their countries. With Trump, however, more nations have shown ambivalence including allies such as Portugal, Belgium and Canada. There was simply not the rallying cry of war that would lead them to express unity towards the controversial President. During Bush, the lowest global approval rating, measured from 134 countries, hit 34% in his final year of office. Trump managed to plunge to 30% after only one year, despite the former starting two global wars that some argue have not fully come to a close – as Ferrell's Bush jokes "What has two thumbs and created ISIS? This guy!" gesturing at himself.

All of this points towards the ultimate failure of the Iraq War protests. They did not manage to stop the war and many dismissed them as not representative of public opinion. Reading The Guardian's piece on those who took part in the protests, there is a distinct feeling of deflation. Protesters still feel today that they were ignored, dismissed, and their voices were not heard by those in power. If the impact of the largest ever global protests were not felt by those it was directed to, Bush in particular, then who was impacted? It could be argued that it has longer-term impacts on politics, rather than politicians. Ceri, a protestor from London interviewed in The Guardian piece, comments on her views of the protests – 'It set the tone for that era of politics: that democracy and views of ordinary people didn't matter to most of our MPs at the time.' Bush's complicated legacy abroad and at home opens the doors for unending discussion, especially regarding the impacts and limitations of global protests.



Esmee Fitton

The 2009 Ürümqi Riots: Discontent, Rebellion and Repression in China's Far West

CW: VIOLENCE

On the 25th June 2009, in the city of Shaoguan, two Uyghur toy factory employees were brutally murdered by their Han co-workers over a rumour that a Han Chinese worker was sexually assaulted by a group of Uyghurs. This claim ended up being unsubstantiated and false, yet the consequences of this incident would travel across the country to Ürümqi, the capital of Xinjiang. Here, Uyghurs took to the streets on the 5th July to demand the launching of a full investigation into the 'Shaoguan Incident'. It is unclear exactly why the protest turned violent, but by the end of the day, Xinjiang had witnessed some of the worst ethnic violence seen in China for decades. 197 people were dead and thousands more injured, mostly Han Chinese. This was a truly shocking moment for a China emerging from the 2008 Olympics, ready to project its modern image to the world. What can the Ürümqi Riots tell us about the relationship between the Uyghurs and the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the recent incarceration of over one million Uyghurs in so-called 're-education centres', which are merely modern-day concentration camps?

Xinjiang is a vast, sparsely populated region in the far west of China. The plurality of its population is the Uyghurs, a group whose Turkic origin and Islamic faith align them more closely with the neighbouring 'Stans' of Central Asia than the Han Chinese. Following Xinjiang's incorporation into the PRC in 1949, the Uyghurs have never fully committed to the Chinese national project, and thus have long dealt with institutionalised discrimination, limited workplace and educational opportunities, and a concerted effort by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to bring them to heel. The Shaoguan Incident may have been the spark, but the tension had been building for many years.

The violence of the Ürümqi Riots enabled hitherto latent Han prejudice against the Uyghurs to boil to the surface, with many Han in Xinjiang holding openly racist views towards their fellow countrymen. In the immediate aftermath of the riots, a Han business owner in Ürümqi remarked that "This whole ethnicity is animal! They're animals." Han migration to Xinjiang is heavily promoted by the CCP, with the percentage of Xinjiang's residents identifying as Han rising from 7% in 1950 to over 40% today. These Han residents hold an exalted position within modern Chinese political discourse, as the people bringing prosperity and stability to a fractious region. The grievances of Uyghur residents are seldom, if at all, acknowledged.

Following the Ürümqi Riots, the Chinese Government formulated their 'strike hard' policy in Xinjiang, aimed at rooting out the 'three evils' of 'terrorism, separatism, and extremism'. This coincided with the appointment of Chen Quanguo to the top party job

Luke Anderson



in Xinjiang in 2012. Chen's harsh authoritarian style, first showcased in Tibet, has resulted in a dramatic increase of surveillance and militarisation in what has become 'one of the most heavily policed regions in the world'. Traditionally Islamic and Uyghur cultural practices are heavily discouraged in contemporary Xinjiang, and the demolition of the historic centre of Kashgar, one of the most celebrated visuals of Uyghur identity, indicates that the CCP are intent on severing Uyghur ties to their history and culture.

Uyghur separatists responded to these new policies with a dramatic increase in violent attacks throughout China. The Kunming attack on 1 March 2014 resulted in 31 civilian deaths, and the 28 October 2013 Tiananmen Square suicide attack was a symbolic act targeted at the very nucleus of Chinese power.

This dangerous dance of increased repression and violence culminated in 2017 when the Chinese government began rounding up Uyghurs for 're-education'. The official party line is that these 're-education' centres are to rid students of their backwards ideologies and provide them with useful vocational skills. However, from multiple whistle-blower accounts of the facilities, it is clear that they are concentration camps; beatings, struggle sessions and brutal treatment are commonplace. There are also horrific allegations of systematic rape, forced abortions and compulsory sterilisations taking place. This program constitutes the largest forced round-up of an ethnic group since WWII, and the possibility of cultural genocide is a very real reality to those Uyghurs who find themselves at the mercy of the Chinese state, their children taken from them, and their identity being systematically erased.

The 2009 Ürümqi Riots can be considered a watershed moment in Chinese and Uyghur history. China, finally emerging as a great power on the international stage while promising to continue its seismic economic growth for its citizens, has instituted a system of near-total control in Xinjiang. The CCP is intent on not letting another Ürümqi happen again. The system of 're-education' camps is merely the most visible facet of a decades-long program to erase Uyghur culture, in the name of ensuring stability in the region.

India's Peaceful Protests Past and Present: A Comparison of Gandhi's Salt March to the Farmer's Protests

CW: VIOLENCE



Salt March Statue, Delhi

In March 1930, Gandhi set on a 241-mile march against the British government in India over harsh salt taxes. Gandhi's legacy of mass peaceful protests is apparent in worldwide modern history, from Martin Luther King to Extinction Rebellion. Recently, there have been protests from India's farmers over three controversial farming bills that could negatively affect their lives. The farmers have been protesting since November 2020 and by looking back in history we find these events are strikingly similar to Gandhi's protests in 1930.

Why did the protests happen?

On both occasions, the protests were initiated after controversial amendments of bills were passed which negatively impacted the lives of India's poorest communities.

From the 18th century until independence in 1947, India was ruled by the British. In 1835, while they still controlled India under the East India Company, they enforced a legal tax on Indian salt to encourage a monopoly on British salt imports. Further amendments forbade the production or the possession of salt without government approval. By 1923, the salt tax and punishments for breaking the law were extremely high and unfair to much of the Indian population who couldn't afford it.

Many others before Gandhi had argued against the harsh laws, but Gandhi's 'satyagraha' Salt March led to further acknowledgment of the issue. He set off at Sabarmati (near Ahmadabad,

modern-day Gujrat) on the 8th March 1930 to put an end to the Salt Tax.

In a similar vein, the Farmer's protests have arisen due to three separate bills that are allegedly supposed to help the nation's population of farmers, however, they could seriously affect their future. Farmers in India make up around 65% of the population and 58% rely upon farming as a job. Many of these farmers only own small amounts of land and due to various circumstances such as weather and the domination of larger farms, they are already in debt.

The *Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce Bill* and the *Farmers Agreement of Price Assurance and Farm Service Bill* supposedly allows farmers to deal directly with corporations and private buyers. These bills will result in trade negotiations taking place out of government-controlled markets, potentially making trading rates unfairly high, giving the farmers no safety net nor the ability to dispute contracts in court.

The final bill is the *Essential Commodities Bill* which is going to remove cereals, pulses, oilseeds, onions, and potatoes from the current list of essentials and encourage stockpiling. Many of the farms cannot support stockpiling, again benefitting the larger corporate farms. Since the announcement of the bills, farmers have called for them to be repealed to no avail and so began to protest.



Farmers March to Delhi (Photo: Ted Eytan)

What did the protests look like?

On the 8th March 1930, Gandhi set off on his march with only 80 followers. Along the way, thousands of people joined him on his 241-mile protest to Dandi, near Surat. On the 6th April, Gandhi and his followers took salt from the sea into their hands and effectively 'broke the law' by producing salt. Thousands were arrested and attacked by the police including Gandhi. His Salt March inspired many others after 1930, encouraging them to break the law and fight for justice.

On the 25th November 2020 in Delhi, over 300,000 farmers protested. A day after the Delhi Chalo 250 million farmers went on strike for 24-hours. Farmers were faced with retaliation by the government, including imprisonment, beatings and the internet being cut off so that messages couldn't be spread. The most recent protest was the tractor rally on Republic Day in India (26th January 2021), where hundreds of thousands of farmers stormed the Red Fort.

Due to the rise in social media, the protests and calls for supporting India's farmers have spread worldwide, with celebrities such as Rihanna and Greta Thunberg spreading awareness on their social media profiles. Unfortunately, dangerous propaganda has been spread by Indian loyalists, attacking celebrities who support the protests.

What was the result of the protests?

Unfortunately, justice didn't come as soon as it was expected for Gandhi. The British Government turned a deaf ear on the salt protests, and it wasn't until India declared independence that the Salt Tax was ended.

Similarly, the current protests haven't seen the desired result as of yet. In a more extreme response, Prime Minister Modi is restricting the freedom of speech for the farmers by restricting the internet, threatening them by cutting off electricity and water supplies and most importantly, refusing to repeal the bills.

While both protests started peacefully, the violent interaction of the government led to unnecessary deaths over unfair bills. As a modern world, we value the right to free speech and free movement, both of which were restricted 90 years ago and right now. India is a country wrought with conflict and their use of peaceful protest has garnered support worldwide past and present, proving that it isn't always necessary to take arms to fight for what is right.

Henna Ravjibhai

C.H.O.P.: The People's Response to Systematic Racism

CW: VIOLENCE

The Capitol Hill Open Protest (CHOP), formerly the Autonomous Zone, came to fruition in the midst of 2020's summer of Civil Rights protests, a direct response to the death of George Floyd. CHOP was born from the ousting of police from Seattle's East Precinct station, creating a communal living "no cop co-op" of grassroots anti-racism sentiment. It arguably formed one of the most fascinating social experiments of the 21st Century.

The Face of CHOP

CHOP came to pursue the three concrete goals of defunding the police by 50%, reinvesting into local communities, and the release of all protestors involved in the BLM movement. The area became a space of expression and activism, with Chris Rufo, a documentary filmmaker based in Seattle, describing the day cycle of the Open Protest as resembling a street fair. Markets stands were often in operation providing food and supplies to the protestors, along with makeshift housing and a volunteer core to provide the basic necessities of sanitation, medical services, and security. Community gardens opened to enable the active participation of protestors in the zone. However, utilities and supplies continued to be provided externally by the government in a policy of damage reduction, enabling the protest to continue as safely as possible. The space allowed activists to mobilise and plan without the intervention of the police or other agitating elements. This allowed an excellent platform for independent artists, writers, political figures, and public speakers to communicate and promote themselves in an expressive public area. Despite the benefits of this free platform, the decentralised nature of CHOP fundamentally weakened its capability and ultimately led to its downfall.

CHOP and its Critics

Conservative media outlets, along with President Trump, utilised the emergence of CHOP to demonise the BLM movement as an anarchist invasion aimed at tearing apart the United States. Controversies arising within the Zone provided further ammunition for these elements to tarnish the public view of the Open Protest, such as criticism for its lack of communication with the black community. Johnny LeFlare and Max Curtis, filmmakers for *Popular Front*, highlighted the issue of appropriating the BLM movement and particularly the issues of segregation present within CHOP. Many saw the implementation of "safe spaces" as counter-productive to the message of the Zone, such as "black and indigenous only" gardening spaces and protest areas. Both internally and externally, members of the wider movement saw this as an

overreach on behalf of the decentralised power bodies of the CHOP, providing a focal point for right-wing commentators to criticise the Open Protest for perpetuating racial segregation. Whilst this was not the intention, the media attention on these occurrences undermined the work of the Open Protest.

Power, Security and the Downfall of the Open Protest

Whilst the face of CHOP had the appearance of a new summer of love, under the surface tensions arose as contrasting groups vied for power within the protest and the direction of its aims. Rufo described the struggle as centring around mainstream, left-wing civil rights activists, and more militant "Antifa" elements. This conflict was antagonised from an onset paranoia of infiltration into the Zone, be that by undercover police or right-wing instigators aiming to destabilise the delicate ecosystem. Decentralised paramilitary organisations manned border walls to the 6-block area to defend against car attacks and drive-by shootings orchestrated by right-wing agitator groups. Whilst this was necessary to maintain rudimentary order, violent shootings at border checkpoints at the end of June spelt the end for the Open Protest. This led to the deaths and injuries of several teenagers, one as young as 14-years old. Reports of a mental health crisis and sexual assaults also began to leave the Zone. The atmosphere radically changed as the fear of external threats manifested in the members of the security force and the organisers of CHOP. External observers of the Zone, such as Mayor Durkan, began to back-track on their previous praises as it became clear law and order within the area had begun to deteriorate. This ultimately led to the dismantling of CHOP on the 1st July by state authorities, following a raid by riot police in the early hours of the morning.

The violent end of the Open Protest stood in direct contrast to the enthusiastic beginnings of the movement. However, this should not write-off the lessons the Open Protest provided. Whilst it failed to implement its initial aims in Seattle city policy, CHOP stands as an achievement of communal activism in pursuit of a shared goal, and especially the ability of the public to stand against systemic injustice. 2020 will be cemented as a summer of activism internationally, and CHOP deserves a place on the centre stage for its ambition, motivation, and attempt to provide an alternate lifestyle to the status quo.

Oliver Pearce

Figures of Change

Dorothea Dix: American Advocate for Progression in 19th Century Mental Healthcare

Samantha Welsford



Several 19th-century female instigators of progression are widely known: Florence Nightingale, the 'Lady with the Lamp'; and Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer who formerly dwelled on the £5 note. Yet, one woman operated in a similar era but remains relatively unknown: Dorothea Dix. Dix campaigned throughout her life for better treatment of those who suffered from mental illnesses and for an increase in the provision of care. A determined and empathetic woman, Dix remains underappreciated for her significant contribution to the progression of mental healthcare.

Born in Maine in 1802, Dix suffered a difficult childhood, unable to form close personal connections with her alcoholic father and distant grandmother, but found her passion for campaigning in her adult life. In 1836, Dix visited England where she encountered the York Retreat, an organisation designated to the care of the mentally ill which practised 'moral treatment'. This care method treated patients with kindness and encouraged self-control rather than forcible restraint. The approach resonated with Dix and she became determined to ensure those in America with mental illnesses were also treated with humanity. Whilst moral treatment may seem like the bare minimum, it was significant progress from the institutions of the mid-18th century when individuals were unjustly considered less than human.

On her return to the USA, Dix began to investigate jails, workhouses and asylums in the USA. For two years, she travelled around Massachusetts and in the process, discovered numerous atrocities. Individuals were often chained up in dark, unhygienic conditions, demonstrating that American institutions had not yet morally advanced. Compelled to fight for those who could not raise their own voice, Dix formed her findings into a persuasive and emotive piece that was presented to the State Legislature in 1843. She impressed upon them the necessity to 'prevent the possibility of a repetition or continuation of such outrages on humanity', alongside detailed descriptions of the horrors she had found. Following public outcry, progress was achieved when the Legislature agreed to fund and construct a specialist state mental hospital, providing a caring alternative for those who had previously been hidden away.

Nevertheless, not satisfied with developments solely at the state level, Dix widened her campaign and brought it to a national audience. Ultimately, her efforts led to the creation of 32 state-funded hospitals, dedicated to the care of those with mental illnesses. This included the first government-managed psychiatric hospital in 1855 (later known as St Elizabeth's), signifying a huge leap forward for the provision of care in the USA.

Hence, Dix can be credited with raising awareness of the terrible conditions faced by those with mental illnesses in asylums and

jails, and with inciting improvements across the USA. But, not only did Dix contribute to progress in America, she also travelled to Europe. Her own words, 'my conscience told me quite distinctly what was my duty', reveal her intent to spread ideas of moral treatment. Additionally, she went on to campaign in countries such as Scotland and Italy, where she even spoke to the Pope.

These achievements are impressive on their own, yet it must also be considered that Dix faced many obstacles during campaigning due to her status as a woman in mid-19th century society. Women's education was certainly not considered a priority in this era and women were not allowed to speak publicly. Dix cleverly overcame these setbacks by completing her own unchaperoned investigations, which was essentially unheard of at the time. She also encouraged men to read for her when necessary, to confirm that her words would be heard. Dix continued with her campaigns despite a government veto of one of her proposals and exerted critical pressure on politicians to ensure funding would be granted for the construction of hospitals that practised humane treatment.

Notably, Dix did not participate in other hugely important movements of the 19th century, such as the first wave of feminism and the campaigns for the abolition of slavery. Could Dix have used her influential role for more? Her absence in important crusades might explain her lack of long-term recognition, however it is likely she was aware of the limitations upon her and so was driven to devote her attention to the one cause that she passionately believed in.

To a modern-day audience, furthering the asylum system may seem to be a negative development in the history of mental healthcare, but the institutions that Dix encouraged were an important step in the right direction for attitudes towards mental illnesses. Dix was pivotal in increasing awareness, breaking stigmas and persuading the US government to provide funding. She was a compassionate and driven woman who deserves more recognition for her progressive role in humanising the approach to mental health in 19th century America.

Shaking the Foundations of British Colonial Rule: Gandhi's Symbolic Salt March



On raising a salt deposit above his head on the salt-rich beach of Dandi in front of thousands of followers, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi triumphantly declared himself to be 'shaking the foundations of the British Empire', having just broken British law by creating his own salt. For such a seemingly minor and peaceful act, Gandhi's Salt March and his acquisition of salt marked a hugely significant phase in India's nationalist quest for independence from British domination.

Britain's monopoly over the sale of salt and its introduction of the Salt Tax had been considered immensely evil and unjust by the Indian people. Britain's Salt Act of 1882 forbade the Indian people from manufacturing or selling salt, a nutritional necessity in the Indian diet which replaced vital minerals lost whilst working in the scorching climate. This key staple was now being sold at an extortionate price by British merchants of the East India Company, with a tax of 2400% of the price of salt being levied – the harsh penalty of imprisonment was threatened for those who broke the law. Whilst India's poor certainly suffered to the greatest extent from this repressive imposition, every single Indian felt its unwelcome impact. Thus, Gandhi calculated that a non-violent protest against such an unpopular policy would undoubtedly attract the support of the masses therefore uniting India to rebel against its oppressor in a collective fight for freedom. This cause was highly effective in empowering ordinary Indians to challenge British rule; they were simply taking back what rightfully belonged to them.

It was on the 12th March 1930 that Gandhi set off on his 24-day march towards his destination of Dandi, a coastal town over 240 miles away that required the 61-year-old to walk around 10 miles a day over 24 days. Gandhi accumulated a huge amount of support throughout his journey, purposely employing the media's involvement and stopping at villages en-route to address

the people and vehemently denounce the British salt tax. The small group of 78 protesters that had set out on the 12th March from Navsari rapidly transformed into a procession that spanned several miles by the time it reached Dandi on the 5th April.

The climax of this campaign occurred on the beach of Dandi on 6th April, when Gandhi momentarily raised a clump of sea salt above his head and claimed it as his own in defiance of British colonial rule. Crucially, the salt campaign sparked the nationwide Civil Disobedience Movement – British cloth and goods were boycotted, millions followed Gandhi's example by breaking the salt laws, and there were numerous outbreaks of brutal violence across India. More than 60,000 Indians were arrested by the British. Gandhi himself was eventually arrested on 5th May as the British feared that arresting him during the march would instigate public retaliation. The civil rebellion continued regardless.

Overall, the Salt March of 1930 is considered one of the most significant events in modern Indian history with Gandhi's peaceful and highly symbolic act sending shockwaves across British India and instigating nationwide civil resistance. It marked a turning point in India's battle for independence from its overlord Britain whose grasp thus began to slip away from the country it had long-regarded as the 'jewel in the crown' of its empire. Given the current Indian farming protests, it seems even more important to recognise the significance of India's tumultuous history and the nation's clear determination to fight for what it believes in.

Grace Beeson

Black Female Activists in the American Civil Rights Movement

Josie Small

Popular history on the Civil Rights Movement is often centred on the activism of a few male individuals, such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and John Lewis. While these men were key figures and leaders of the struggle for African American rights, many Black women also made significant contributions. Here are three key Black women organisers of the Civil Rights Movement.

Ella Baker (1903-1986)

Ella Baker was born in Norfolk, Virginia in 1903. She studied at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, graduating as class valedictorian in 1927. After moving to New York City, Baker joined the Young Negroes Cooperative League, and eventually became its national director, before becoming involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in the late 1930s. Within the NAACP she played a significant role, travelling to aid the organisation of local chapters, recruiting members and raising funds. In 1943 she was named director of branches, making her the highest-ranking woman in the entire NAACP. In the late 1950s, Baker was involved in the organisation of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights organisation formed to coordinate local protest groups in the South through Black churches. Baker left the SCLC to assist the emerging student movement in the South, as she felt students could invigorate and add a new dimension to the Black Freedom Movement. She founded the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and through this organisation she helped organise the Freedom Rides of 1961, where activists rode buses into the segregated South to challenge continuing segregation on public transport, and the Freedom Summer of 1964, a movement to register black voters in Mississippi. Under Baker's leadership, SNCC became one of the most predominant national groups for civil rights. Baker continued her activism for civil rights and human rights until her death in 1986.

Rosa Parks (1913-2005)

Born in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1913, Rosa Parks is most renowned for refusing to give up her seat for a white bus passenger in December 1955, inspiring the year-long Montgomery Bus Boycott. However, she had already been an activist in the Civil Rights Movement for many years. In 1943 she joined the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and was elected secretary. After her arrest and the bus boycott, Parks moved to Detroit, where she continued her civil rights activism, supporting the Selma to Montgomery Marches and

eventually becoming involved in the Black Power Movement. In 1987 she co-founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development with her husband to help youths in Detroit. Throughout the following decades, Parks was involved in activism in many different areas, including labour rights, youth development and education, and defence for political prisoners. Refusing to give up her seat was just one of many actions Rosa Parks took as an activist.

Fannie Lou Hamer (1917-1977)

Fannie Lou Hamer was born in Montgomery County, Mississippi. Having grown up in poverty working on a cotton plantation with her family, Hamer became involved in the Civil Rights Movement after attending a meeting led by SNCC and SCLC activists in 1961. The next year she became an organiser for SNCC, leading volunteers to register to vote. She was subsequently fired by the plantation manager for her attempt to vote and received racist abuse and harassment from other locals. This didn't stop her fight for justice, with Hamer finally successfully registering to vote in 1963, and soon after she was arrested with other Black women for sitting in a "whites only" bus station restaurant in South Carolina. In 1964 she co-founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which aimed to challenge the Democratic Party's attempts to stifle Black democratic participation. Hamer went on to attend the Democratic National Convention that same year as part of the official delegation for Mississippi. Along with Ella Baker, she helped organise the Freedom Summer. The following year, along with three others, Hamer became one of the first Black women to stand in the US Congress. In 1969, she founded the Freedom Farm Cooperative, which bought land that African Americans could own and farm collectively. The Cooperative went on to become one of the largest employers in Sunflower County during the 1970s. Outside of her organisational efforts, Hamer travelled nationally giving speeches at colleges, universities, and other institutions, working to empower the next generations and highlighting her incredible commitment to the Civil Rights Movement.



'Mississippi Goddam': Nina Simone and the Civil Rights Protests of the 1960s

The 2015 Netflix documentary 'What Happened, Miss Simone?' shines a light on the incredible life and legacy of singer and activist Nina Simone. During the turbulent era of the 1960s, where anti-segregationists confronted a system of entrenched white supremacy throughout America, an era of change was present in the air. Nina Simone made use of her platform to amplify the inequalities experienced by black people and her music, especially her protest songs, highlights the power of music to incite and encourage social change.

Like many African Americans, Nina Simone's experience of the deep-rooted racism present in her community helped shape her life and music from an early age. At a piano recital as a young girl under her name Eunice Waymon, she watched her parents being forced to sit at the back of the hall due to the colour of their skin. As a young woman, she began her career with dreams of becoming a concert pianist. A rejection from the prestigious Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia, one she felt to be on the grounds of her race rather than talent, proved to be pivotal, with Simone turning her intentions to Jazz singing soon thereafter.

The extreme violence often seen in 1960's protests acted as a call to action for Simone to become involved in the movement. The Birmingham campaign of 1963, whereby the Southern Christian Leadership Conference organized a non-violent operation to highlight the struggles of African Americans only to be met with the extreme violence by Eugene 'Bull' Connor, proved to be crucial. The attacks on children with high-pressure water cannons, the murder of Medgar Evers, and the Birmingham Church Bombing inspired Simone's song 'Mississippi Goddam.' Simone expresses her unfiltered thoughts, with the raw anger, energy, and frankness in the song. It highlighted her realities as a Black woman tired of the political, economic, and social chains of oppression she experienced, evident in lyrics such as:

*"Oh but this whole country is full of lies
You're all gonna die and die like flies
I don't trust you any more"
"You don't have to live next to me
Just give me my equality"*

The 1964 song was met with great backlash, with many Southern radio stations refusing to play it on air. Despite this, its impact was significant and far-reaching with performances, such as the notable Selma March in Montgomery 1965, successful in inspiring and attempting to compel all not to be complacent with the racist systems woven into America's fabric.

Simone's affiliation with the Civil Rights Movement was deepened due to her relationship with key writers, playwrights, and intellectual figures of the time, such as James Baldwin, Stokely Carmichael, and Malcolm X. Specifically her relationship with the

playwright Lorraine Hansberry, deepened her position in her career as an activist rather than a musician. Simone took Hansberry's play 'To Be Young, Gifted and Black' writing a song by the same name – a song that was used to empower, speaking directly to a younger generation highlighting Black excellence and beauty. According to Black History Month writer Abdul Rob, Simone's 'personal protest' was able to 'reverberate to a louder audience' over the airwaves, her platform proving to be a vehicle of resistance. The Civil Rights Movement let Simone voice her long-term feelings and her role within it became extremely important to her.

Music had been an outlet in which Black people have found strength long before the 1960s, with historical records of music and singing used to raise spirits throughout the period of slavery. During the Civil Rights era, protest songs became an incredibly crucial act of resistance. In the face of those attempting to silence Black voices, music acted as a vehicle to articulate the emotions of the Black struggle for freedom. Nina Simone used her voice, lyrics, and presence to question the current systems of oppression, inspire those all over the world and force people to confront the brutal reality of systematic racism in America.

Nina Simone, for me, is an incredibly fascinating, talented, and inspiring woman. Although her life is often represented by her struggle with mental health, her impact on the movement must not be forgotten and her legacy lives on through modern music. In 2017, Jay Z sampled her song 'Four Women' in his song 'The Story of O.J.' 'Four Women' was released in 1966, describing 4 stereotypes of black women in society, commenting on themes of injustice, inequality, and oppression. In the 'Story of O.J,' Jay Z revisited similar themes in the context of modern America – highlighting the long-lasting impact of not only Simone's lyrics, music, and ideas, but the role of music in the ongoing fight for equality.



Aisling Lantorp

“A product of the hate and violence”: A Re-Examination of Malcolm X’s Legacy in the Present Day

CW: RACIST LANGUAGE

As I have come to learn more about the Civil Rights movement of the last century, it has surprised me to find that Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little, is scarcely mentioned amongst the key figures. Malcolm has long been viewed as the “villain” of the Civil Rights movement, often criticised as “extremist” or “militant”, in contrast to the likes of Martin Luther King Jr who is characterised as a saint. Only recently have their supposed differences been re-examined. But still, King is the one who appears in history books. Malcolm usually receives a brief mention, if he isn’t omitted altogether. Why does this dichotomy exist? Why is Malcolm’s legacy tainted by claims of radicalism? Upon his assassination, King described Malcolm as “a product of the hate and violence in the negro’s blighted existence in this nation”, acknowledging that Malcolm was not necessarily a violent man, simply a product of the experiences he was forced to endure. While he didn’t support the non-violent approach, Malcolm X didn’t advocate for racial violence either. He simply called for action rather than silent suffering against Black oppression.

Malcolm Little first encountered racial violence in his youth, with the death of his father widely blamed on white supremacists. His mother was institutionalised years later, so Malcolm and his siblings entered the foster system. He moved often while growing up, leaving school after a white teacher told him a career in law was not realistic for a Black man. He eventually came to Harlem where he turned to crime to make money. Malcolm was finally arrested in Boston in 1945 and sentenced to eight to ten years imprisonment. It was here that he learnt about the Nation of Islam, a religious organisation that advocated for Black independence and separatism, led by Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm began a correspondence with Muhammad in prison. He soon adopted the surname ‘X’, thus symbolically reclaiming his independence from his forebears’ history as slaves. After his release in 1952, Malcolm finally met Muhammad in person, soon rising through the ranks of the Nation.

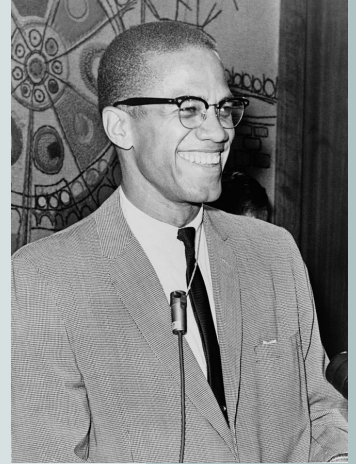
Malcolm’s early life wasn’t easy. Surrounded by injustice and violence, he joined the Nation partially out of his hatred of the white man. But is hate what he preached as a minister? Not exactly. What Malcolm preached was action. The reason Malcolm and Dr. King never worked together was not necessarily because their messages clashed, but because their approaches were opposed. King preached non-violence based on the approach of Gandhi. Malcolm (who notably had a very different background to King) believed that non-violence wasn’t enough. Instead, he believed that Black people had no obligation to their white counterparts, arguing that they had every right to defend themselves against oppression. This is evident in the words of Malcolm himself. Discussing the idea of peaceful suffering he said: “Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone lays a hand on you, send him to the

cemetery.” He understood that senseless violence was not the answer, but he was unwilling to suffer peacefully for the cause. He never preached blind hate, so how did he become the so-called villain he is today?

We must first consider the values of the Nation itself, and how they shaped Malcolm’s legacy. While the core message of the Nation was for Black liberation and independence, their beliefs also suggested black superiority. They believed that Black people were earth’s original inhabitants, and white people were “devils” created afterwards who were inherently lesser. These beliefs were worrying, most significantly to the FBI, who continuously monitored the Nation (specifically Muhammad and Malcolm). According to the FBI, the Nation was “dedicated to the propagation of hatred against the white race”. The Nation and its rhetoric were viewed as a threat to America and as the most prominent minister, Malcolm was also perceived to be dangerous. However we must remember that Malcolm was not the Nation, but a single member. There were numerous occasions where their views didn’t align, which led to Malcolm’s disillusionment with the Nation and his eventual departure in 1964.

This dissonance between Malcolm and the Nation suggests that the two weren’t as compatible as they may have seemed. So is it fair to conflate the views of the Nation with Malcolm’s? This antagonistic view of Malcolm did not disappear after his assassination in 1965. It’s no coincidence then that Malcolm’s name is absent from history books; his remarkable ability to mobilise the Black masses for the cause was viewed as a threat. He spoke to many Black citizens who were so deeply hurt and angered that they couldn’t stand by and suffer anymore.

Malcolm is still viewed as an angry preacher of senseless hate, but the 2020 BLM protests have shown that this legacy is slowly changing. Ultimately, he was simply a man unwilling to withstand the oppression he’d faced for so long. Like Malcolm, those masses who protested systemic racism in 2020 were unwilling to sit back and watch, aiming to tackle the oppression “by any means necessary”.



Areej Shah

Debating Historical Memory: Sinn Fein and the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike

Oliver Winstanley-Ramos



25th commemoration of 1981 Irish hunger strike in Donegal: Bobby Sands, (aged 27), Francis Hughes (aged 25), Raymond McCreesh, (aged 24), Patsy O'Hara (aged 23), Joe McDonnell (aged 30), Martin Hurson (aged 29), Kevin Lynch (aged 25), Kieran Doherty (aged 25), Thomas McElvee (aged 23), Michael Devine (aged 27)

The memory of Bobby Sands and the other hunger strikers who died in prison protesting for political status, removed in 1976 by the British Government, remains ever-present in post-conflict Northern Ireland. The protest has been immortalised in history and is widely interpreted by historians as a major turning point in the Troubles. Commemoration, politicisation and the intense emotion associated with the strike has had a colossal impact in the region. The following piece will investigate the ramifications on politics, society and the people of Northern Ireland. Ultimately, the memory of the hunger strike has been developed by Sinn Fein, the largest nationalist party in Northern Ireland and previously the political wing of the IRA. This, within the volatile ethno-nationalist environment of Northern Ireland, has not always been well received.

After the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, the violence of the Troubles was largely brought to an end. However, a 'conflict-about-the-conflict' emerged in the

agreement's wake. Sinn Fein has been the most successful party in dominating the historical narrative of the Troubles. This has been aimed at justifying the armed campaign of the IRA and Sinn Fein's involvement in electoral politics, their decision to sign the Good Friday Agreement and, in 2006, to share power with the loyalist Democratic Unionist Party. Essential to their dominance over memory has been the political value of the dead, and in turn, the commemoration of the hunger strike. Fundamentally, the Sinn Fein narrative of the hunger strike, one of celebration as they inflicted a defeat upon the British policy of criminalization and succeeded in achieving most of the strikers' demands, originally developed as a counter-memory to the official line of the Thatcher government. Nonetheless, Sinn Fein has succeeded in dominating the narrative over the hunger strike, which has had political, societal and personal repercussions.

Politically, the impact has been the reinforcement of Sinn Fein's dominance over the 'conflict-about-the-conflict' in



Bobby Sands mural on gable wall of Sinn Fein offices on Falls Road, Belfast

contemporary Northern Ireland. Contributing significantly to the politicisation of Sinn Fein at the time, the hunger strike progressed the political developments in the Troubles significantly. This led many within Sinn Fein to claim its impact contributed to the eventual peace process of the 1990s. The focus on the progression that the hunger strike enabled has been essential to Sinn Fein's strategy of convincing its supporters that the sacrifice of those who died for the 'struggle' has not been in vain. In the wake of the peace process, Sinn Fein adopted a gradually-evolving narrative of the strikes as progressive and a catalyst to the peace process. However, this perceived legitimization on the grounds of progression has not been welcomed by all. Within the Republican movement, there has been internal debate over the credibility of the Sinn Fein narrative, especially regarding the issue of whether the strike was prisoner led. According to Sinn Fein, this was the case. Yet Richard O'Rawe challenged the authority of the Sinn Fein narrative in *Blanketmen* (2005) and created a 'rupture' in the memory of the hunger strike. Nonetheless, while significant, this challenge has not derailed Sinn Fein's dominance, and, at least within the Republican/Nationalist community, the hunger strike remains a memory of progression.

Moreover, societal impacts are central as the community is directly involved in the commemoration of the strike. Importantly, this acts as a way of reinforcing community and in-group cohesion. Commemoration is used by all sides of the conflict to develop the symbolic capital of the hunger strike for their respective causes. Consequently, commemoration has become a weapon in the battle over the past and control of the present. Funerals have been central to this, displayed best by Sands' funeral in May 1981 which attracted over a hundred thousand people. Equally, annual commemorations for the hunger strike draws the Catholic

community together, with the 30th anniversary in 2011 seeing Gerry Adams address over 20,000 people. Unsurprisingly, Adams' speech in 2011 was centered on the importance of the hunger strike to the eventual progression to a united Ireland. Meanwhile, he simultaneously reinforced Sinn Fein's modern political stance and, inciting the spirit of the hunger strikers, reaffirmed the need to build the Republican struggle. Quite clearly, society has been placed at the forefront of Sinn Fein's desire to reinforce the perceived progression of the hunger strike.

Finally, the personal impact of Sinn Fein's dominant narrative on the hunger strike has had some suffocating consequences. This raises the point that, while progressive for some, others may not feel represented by this perspective. Originally employed as a counter-narrative, Sinn Fein's dominance over this history has silenced other groups. For example, the role of women in the prisons and the protest has been largely overshadowed by the hyper-masculine depiction of the prisons, leading to the portrayal of women as holding a secondary role. More abrasively, Arlene Foster, current First Minister in Northern Ireland, rejected Sinn Fein's narrative in 2011 and claimed that Bobby Sands victory in the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election during the strike marked the 'lowest point in community relations in the area'. Evidently, while Sinn Fein's narrative of progression dominates the discourse, this is not reflective of all opinions in a politically volatile Northern Ireland.

This piece has displayed how the hunger strike caused monumental change and progression in Northern Ireland but also reflects that progression is subjective and should not be considered all-encompassing, especially in divided societies such as Northern Ireland.

The Political Career of Neville Bonner and His Impact on Aboriginal Rights in Australia



In 1971, Neville Bonner became the first Aboriginal person to sit in the Commonwealth Parliament. This very fact made it clear that the fight for Aboriginal rights was far from over. Although previously aligning with the working-class mandate of the Labor party, he was reluctantly persuaded to attend a Liberal party meeting stating “you’d have to be joking”. He was seemingly impressed, later aiding the Liberal campaign in the 1967 referendum. Bonner’s early political career was marked with heavy involvement in One People Australia League (OPAL), a moderate Aboriginal rights organisation, serving as one of the League’s directors for several years and as the Queensland president in 1970.

In order to create the change that he and many others desired and had a right to, Bonner believed that the Aboriginal cause must be fought within the existing political institutions of Australian white society. This belief prompted his acceptance to fill a vacancy in the Senate. His allegiance to the politically conservative Liberal party was a point of contention, often being the only opposing voice to policies from his party, which some suggest brought about the downfall of his political career.

Bonner was continuously a respected voice on Indigenous issues, fulfilling ‘the role which my State of Queensland, my race, my background, my political beliefs, my knowledge of men and circumstances dictate.’ Bonner was a staunch campaigner for the policy of Self-determination, the process by which a group of

people form their own state and choose their own government. Despite this being declared a human right in the 1945 UN Charter, it had still not been extended to the Indigenous population of Australia. Bonner’s campaign continued as a parliamentary representative on the council of the then Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) and later aiding in the drafting of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, establishing in law that “indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples”.

Not only did he aid the passing of legislation, but fought tirelessly to block discriminatory bills such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders proposal, which later would be amended and passed following the consultation of Aboriginal people in Queensland, on the request of Bonner. This act allowed for involvement of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in legislative decisions concerning their communities by setting up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC).

Following his death in 1999, Aboriginal discrimination continues to transpire, but Bonner’s significant impact in expanding Aboriginal rights in Australia, as well as Indigenous people’s worldwide, is universally acknowledged and celebrated.

Anna Christians

Remembering the Notorious R.B.G.: How a Scholar Upended American Social and Political Thought



academia, becoming one of less than twenty female law professors in the US. She founded the Women's Rights Project at the American Civil Liberties Union – enabling her to participate in more than 300 gender discrimination cases throughout the 1970s, including six before the Supreme Court. Her work at the ACLU coincided with the peak of second-wave feminism and against the backdrop of widespread marches and protests for greater sexual liberties and freedom in the workplace for women. RBG, alongside other legendary feminist activists such as Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan, was part of a generation of feminist crusaders who worked tirelessly towards their vision of a world where women and girls could have complete control of their bodies, education, sex life, career and finances.

Arguably one of the most notable moments in Ginsburg's momentous career was *Frontiero v. Richardson*, which she argued and won in front of the Supreme Court in 1973. Sharron Frontiero was a lieutenant in the US Air Force who discovered she could not receive the same financial benefits as her male peers. The Supreme Court ruled that this policy was unconstitutional, and compensated Frontiero and her family accordingly – while ensuring that other women like her were no longer allowed to be legally discriminated against in this way. Additionally, Ginsburg also argued and won the *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld* (1975) case, in which a young male widower found he could not collect social security benefits to aid in caring for his young son following the death of his wife, whereas a young woman following the death of her husband could. By choosing to argue a case where a man was being discriminated against, Ginsburg very cleverly showed the depth and importance of sex discrimination in how it affects *all members* of modern society.

Once RBG had been chosen to join the Supreme Court by President Clinton in 1993, she became increasingly known for her liberal position on the court and her fierce dissenting voice. She would continue to speak out even when the other justices on the court had made a decision in which she was part of the minority vote. For example, in *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company* (2007), Lilly Ledbetter sued her employer for gender discrimination, on the basis that she had discovered – after 19 years' work for the company – that she was being paid less than her male counterparts. The Supreme Court voted 5-4 in favour of Goodyear. However, Ginsburg did not let her dissatisfaction with this decision go unheard; she spoke from the bench clearly and accessibly about the gender wage gap and the damage of rulings such as Goodyear. When Obama took office, the first bill he signed was the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act.

While there is still a long way to go in terms of feminist intersectionality before we reach a truly fair and free world, Ginsburg is a testament to what can be achieved through hard work, ambition and unwavering dedication to the issues that are important to you.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, born in 1933, was an American lawyer, scholar and judge as well as the second-ever female associate Supreme Court Justice. She died in September 2020 following complications from pancreatic cancer, after having beaten cancer twice before. Born in the year that the first female cabinet member was appointed in Federal Government, Ginsburg spent a large portion of her illustrious career arguing for, and more importantly, constitutionalising the emancipation of women in the United States. The effects of Ginsburg's work have touched the lives of millions of women globally, and she leaves a legacy that will continue to shape lives following her death.

As the longest-serving associate Justice of the Supreme Court, RBG represented a vision of the modern female that perhaps some of us take for granted today. Ginsburg upheld a moderate and liberal stance on the court, repeatedly defending women's rights in the workplace and on abortion. Ginsburg was a ferocious defender of women's rights and one of only nine women in her class of 500 at Harvard Law School in the 1950s. She was also a victim of the deeply ingrained institutional sexism which pervaded the American education system, and indeed, wider society at the time.

Despite proving herself to be hardworking, dedicated and extremely intelligent, as a graduate she struggled to find work at law firms in New York, as her gender acted as a huge obstacle in her career. In a period where it was not only legal but perfectly acceptable to fire a woman because she was pregnant, Ginsburg and many qualified women just like her struggled to balance their ambition and professional aspirations with the domestic role of wife and mother which was projected upon them.

Ginsburg eventually found her profession within the world of

Poppy Brown

Stacey Abrams: The Woman Who Flipped the Senate

Rebecca Nimmo

It is common knowledge now that on November 3rd 2020, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris claimed the White House in a stunning political victory for the Democratic Party. The House remained blue, with the Democrats claiming a ten-seat majority in the lower chamber. However, the upper chamber, the Senate, faced one of the closest election results it has ever seen.

Come the end of 'Election Day', the results were still undetermined. It quickly became clear that the fate of the Senate, and by extension the Biden-Harris Administration, fell on the shoulders of Georgia, who were bound by their election rules to go to a Democrat v Republican runoff for both Senate seats. The result would determine the Senate majority for the next two years. By the end of January 5th 2021, however, Raphael Warnock and Jon Ossoff emerged victorious in the Georgia Senate runoff elections, taking the Senate to an exact 50-50 Republican-Democrat split. When the casting vote of President of the Senate, Kamala Harris, is added to the Democrat bloc, the Democrats held a 51-50 majority in the Senate, the party's first since 2015.

How this came about is a remarkable story. It was spearheaded by Stacey Abrams, the founder of the grassroots organisation 'Fair Fight 2020', a group that actively encouraged wider voter participation, and the end to both vote fraud and issues surrounding voter registration. This organisation came about as a result of Abrams' own defeat in the 2018 Georgia gubernatorial election, which was mired with controversies of voter registrations being removed from registers. Abrams refused to allow such a thing to happen to any other political candidate in Georgia.

Furthermore, the magnitude of the Senate election outcome was not lost on Abrams. She knew that the outcome of the Georgia election would have enormous political ramifications, particularly on the Biden-Harris Administration's ability to pass favourable legislation. This was legislation that was desperately desired by Democrats, and by many minority groups within America, including African-Americans. 2020 was a year in which terrible systematic atrocities were committed against African-Americans across America and as a community, they were rightfully angry. Abrams refused to allow voter apathy to spread among the African-American communities of Georgia.

It was Abrams' widespread voting campaigns, run through 'Fair Fight 2020', which targeted African-Americans in Georgia and translated expressions of anger and protest into non-violent, positive change by democratic means. These campaigns rallied an additional 800,000 voter registrations, many of whom were African-Americans, for the 2020 election and 2021 runoffs. Fundamentally, it was the African-American votes for the Democratic candidates, mobilised by Abrams, that swung the voting majorities for both Warnock and Ossoff.

In simpler terms, it was Abrams' campaigns that encouraged angry African-Americans to exercise their democratic rights and to begin to enact the systematic change that they wanted to see, which started with turning the Senate blue. Abrams has since been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts in both the 2020 elections and 2021 runoffs, and rightfully so. Stacey Abrams, after all, is 'The Woman Who Flipped the Senate'.



Symbols of Progression: Kamala Harris and the BLM Movement



CW: VIOLENCE

At the beginning of this year, on January 21st, history was made when Kamala Harris not only became the first female Vice President, but the first black and first Asian – American Vice President. In her inauguration speech she declared, “we are undaunted in our belief that we shall overcome – that we will rise up. This is American aspiration.” She also talks about the determination to keep pushing forward and to keep changing, that is being realised in America today, and in this historical moment, she undoubtedly symbolises progression. But it is important to question just how far America has really come, in fact, just how far any of us has come in the name of Black Lives Matter.

As the first Black woman was sworn into office as Vice President, it evoked a sense of pride, change and transformation. However, the inauguration of Kamala Harris does not mark the end of racism in the US. Arguably, Harris signifies the positive start, of a nevertheless long road ahead. The *Black Lives Matter Movement* in 2020 shook the world. In particular, the protests during summer in reaction to the racist brutality of the American police reached a peak and the of murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers, sparked worldwide outrage and protest demanding justice and police reform. Whilst these protests resulted in worthy outcomes, including companies, organisations and individuals giving their full support to the BLM movement and four police officers being arrested, as well as Chauvin being charged with murder and manslaughter, sadly it did not mark a genuine change in police treatment of Black Americans.

Poignantly, the protests against police brutality were met head-on with police brutality. The figures show that there near enough 1,000 instances of police brutality recorded during the anti – racism protests, with The Guardian stating that there were hundreds of instances where teargas and pepper spray were used, and at least 20 incidents of police being hypocritically tolerant to the extreme right and white supremacists. Despite the global outrage, it did not transform the response of the Ameri-

can police, leaving us to question whether we have attained any real progress at all.

The American police force incited violent chaos as the protests swept through the US, creating a racist backlash, which can be seen as a direct parallel to events during the Civil Rights Movement, such as Bloody Sunday in Alabama 1965, where peaceful protesters were met with brutality by state police. This can create the perception that the protests are not non – violent, steering attention away from the true meaning behind the cause and portraying it in a way to create this kind of backlash we have seen throughout history. There are further parallels between the events of Bloody Sunday and the George Floyd protests, as despite the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which symbolised progress at the time, events such as these in Alabama, called in to question progress once more. Sadly, the parallels from the 1960’s to the modern – day are uncanny, as advancement often seems to be halted by the continuation of the abuse by the US police force.

However, Kamala Harris pays honours to all those who have lost their lives at the hands of racism in the US. She does not signify the end of racial abuse, but she embodies a hope for the future, in which one day the protestors in 1965, and the protestors in 2020, will finally get the outcome they long, and have longed for. Whilst the progress is slow, with both the George Floyd protests, global horror and the inauguration of Kamala Harris, 2021 offers a glimpse of optimism that it could be a significant turning point for race relations in America in the years to come. Harris has overcome significant barriers to accomplish what she has achieved, and that conveys an important message, for the inauguration of a Black – Asian woman, is something that civil rights advocates of the 1960’s could have never imagined. The real hope is that, in the decades to come, there is a significant landmark in the racial status quo in America, that we too could hardly have imagined.

Holly Hurt



Leeds
University
History
Society

ALLEN & OVERY



Hey there Historians!

Hope everyone's been doing okay this semester and that we're all doing alright with looming dissertations and other deadlines.

Thank you to everyone who has joined in with the socials we've had this semester, including the successful Give It A Go Bingo which had some great prizes.

We've got more fun events planned for the rest of the year, so be sure to keep checking our Facebook group for all things Histsoc!

Lastly, congratulations to our new committee for next year! We're sure you'll all do an amazing job and we have our fingers crossed that things will be back to some kind of normality for you all and that you'll be able to put some amazing events on for everyone.

Hope you all have a good day and remember to take care of yourselves and have a break if you ever need one.

Megan Glanville (Academic Sec)

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TIMES**

EXTENDED EDITION

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