Protest and Campaigns

Background

This guide aims to provide an overview of the history of protest and campaigns amongst Black communities since the First World War, rather than a definitive guide to the history of all Black British protest movements.

Protest has and continues to take many forms, whether this has been through direct activism, writing or the arts. After the First World War, members of the forces decided to settle in Britain, particularly from the Navy. However, many found that jobs were hard to retain, and were often subject to racial abuses from white men particularly after demobilisation. As tensions continued to rise amongst groups the result was a number of Uprisings. These took place across various cities in Liverpool, Cardiff, and London throughout June 1919. In response the Government proposed a variety of repatriation schemes. For those that remained in Britain, unemployment persisted during the inter-war period, combined with continued discrimination by employers. The increased distress and poverty felt amongst the Black communities resulted in another uprising riot in Cardiff in 1935.

During the 1920s and ‘30s a number of forwarding-thinking men formed groups that provided support and a meeting place for Black communities. These included Ladipo Solanke, who founded the West African Student’s Union and Dr Harold Moody who founded the League of Coloured People. Both of these men strongly protested against the injustices of the ‘colour bar’. This was a social and legal system in which people of different races were separated. This particularly occurred when many African, Caribbean and individuals from other ethnic groups, were seeking employment and accommodation in Britain.

Post Second World War, many people from Britain’s colonies came to Britain in search of work, a higher standard of living and better prospects for their children. The expansion of the British economy in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of rebuilding after the war had created substantial shortages of labour.

In Nottingham during the summer of 1958 there were a number of racial attacks on the Black communities. These were mainly due to racial abuse, but the disturbances were in part whipped up by media sensationalism. This was followed by similar attacks in the Notting Hill area of London, but these were more protracted. By the end of August, racist attacks and disturbances were almost a daily occurrence.
There was still significant opposition to Black settlement from the 1960s stemming from the racist attitudes fostered during Britain's colonial history. Foremost among such opposition was Enoch Powell. In addition, the racist views held by parties such as The National Front (NF) reached the peak of its popularity in the 1970s. Racist views were also held amongst the ranks of police and other institutions. All of these issues, together with legislation, contributed to a continued tension of social conflict.

**Legislation**

Restrictive legislation, such as the Aliens’ Order, 1920 and the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925 had already been created to check any further immigration. In 1948 the Nationality Act allowed each of the Commonwealth states to legislate their own citizenship. With the relaxing of migration laws post Second World War, the number of immigrants began to steadily increase during the 1950s. With increased disturbances and racial abuse, the Government grew fearful about the increasing number of Black people in Britain. A series of legislations began to be passed from 1962, which intended to restrict entry again. The first of these was the Commonwealth Immigrants Act passed in 1962. This required that all immigrants seeking to gain entrance to Britain required a job voucher. This effectively barred entry to a number of citizens from Commonwealth countries unless they had a specific job already in place.

**Activist Organisations**

As the legislation grew increasingly more restrictive, unemployment grew and tensions between communities and the police grew, Black British power movements generated a consciousness necessary for the growth of later political Black movements in the 1970s and 80s. Black activists established a variety of organisations to represent their communities. Two groups that initially formed in the UK around this time were the Universal Colored People’s Association (UCPA) and the Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS). The UCPA later adopted the militant views of the American Black Panther Party, after Stokely Carmichael visited London in 1967.

A group of West African and West Indian immigrants in London identified themselves as the British Black Panther Movement from September 1967. As the first movement to form independently outside of the United States, the British Panthers took aspects of their symbols, chants, and demands. Under the guidance of Obi Egunia the party tried to move towards a more militant ideology. Many young men were inspired to join - such as Neil Kenlock – who became the official photographer for the party. Although the movement dissolved in 1972, it generated a greater Black consciousness amongst the general British public.

The Brixton Black Women’s Group (BWG) was started by Olive Morris and other women who had been active in the Black Panther Movement. They formed to address the specific issues faced by Black women, and to offer advice and support to those in difficulties. Olive was also a founder member of the Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) in 1978. Although OWAAD’s existence only lasted until 1983, it encouraged the formation of satellite organisations and gave other Black women’s organisations the impetus to grow, such as the Southall Black Women's Group.
Race related Campaigns

Several race related campaigns have grown out of tensions between the police and African and Caribbean communities in Britain from the 1970s. Some of the more prominent campaigns are featured here.

Mangrove Nine campaign

The Mangrove was a Caribbean restaurant located at 8 All Saints Road, Notting Hill. It was opened in 1968 by Trinidadian community activist and civil rights campaigner Frank Crichlow. The restaurant was repeatedly raided by the police between January 1969 and July 1970. A protest march was held in August of that year, which led to nine arrests including that of Frank Crichlow and Darcus Howe. Darcus Howe and Althea Jones-Lecointe acted as their own defence and argued for an all Black jury under the Magna Carta’s ‘jury of my peers’ clause. Their celebrated campaign ended in the trial in 1971. This featured an unsuccessful demand by Darcus Howe for an all-Black jury, and ended with the acquittal of all nine on the charge of ‘riot and affray’.

Broadwater Farm defence campaign

Broadwater Farm Campaign began when Cheryl Groce and then Cynthia Jarrett were killed during an illegal police raid. The uprising that followed brought about the murder of PC Keith Blakelock on the Broadwater Farm Estate and the arrest of the Tottenham 3. The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign was set up to address the wider issues of injustice and police-community relations, following the mass arrest of 369 people during the Broadwater Farm Estate disturbances on Oct 6th 1985.

National Black People’s day of action

Thirteen people were killed in a fire at a house in New Cross on Sunday, 18 January 1981. One week after the fire, on 25 January, a meeting was held at the Moonsshot Club in New Cross, attended by over one thousand people. The meeting concluded with a march to the scene of the fire and a demonstration there, which blocked New Cross Road for several hours. The New Cross Massacre Action Committee was set up and organised weekly meetings. There was increasing participation as the police investigation announced that there was no evidence of arson and that the fire was believed to be accidental. This lead to the committee organizing a ‘National Black People’s day of action’ which saw 20,000 people march from Fordham part to Hyde Park. An event was held on 14 January 2011 after 30 years of the fire. The victims were also commemorated in January 2011 with a blue plaque from Nubian Jak Community Trust

Stephen Lawrence

Stephen Lawrence was a Black British man murdered in a racially motivated attack on 22 April 1993. The case became one of the highest profile racial killings in UK history; its fallout included profound cultural changes to attitudes on racism and the police, and to the law and police practice, and the partial revocation of double jeopardy laws, before two of the perpetrators were convicted almost 20 years later in 2012. A charitable trust was established in 1998 by Doreen Lawrence, Stephen’s mother. A centre was also opened in his name in 2008 to inspire young people.
Subject Guide

Brixton Defence campaign

The most well documented uprising occurred in Brixton in 1981. For further details about this, and the Brixton Defence Campaign please look at the subject guide on Uprisings. There has also been a more recent uprising in 2011, which began out of protest in Tottenham after the shooting of Mark Duggan.

Education campaigns

Haringey Black Pressure group, Stop the Sin bin campaign

The publication of Bernard Coard’s ‘How the West Indian Child is Made Educational Sub-Normal in the British School System’ in 1971 galvanised many Black parents and educationalists into action. In this book, Coard argued that the British education system was not prepared for the educational needs of Black children, particularly of newly immigrated Caribbean children. Prejudice against Black children was present in an alarming development within the school system during the 1970s. Parents arriving from overseas and therefore unfamiliar with the state education system were frequently told that their children would be placed in ‘Special Schools’. The belief that this would enhance the education of their children was soon shattered when it became clear that ‘Special’ translated into ‘ESN’ or ‘Educationally Sub-Normal’ Schools.

Health campaigns

Organisation of Women of Asian and African Descent, Ban the Jab campaign

The Organisation of Women of African and Asian descent (OWAAD) launched ‘Ban the Jab’ a campaign around 1979 against the discriminate use of Depo-provera to Black and Asian women. This was a contraceptive that was injected every three months, but was often given to women from these communities, without their knowledge. Used long term this drug had horrible side effects including, in some women, permanent sterility. Though provided to many women, the drug was only approved in 1992 after a long term study by the World Health Organisation.

Employment campaigns

Bristol Bus Boycott

The Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963 arose from the refusal of the Bristol Omnibus Company to employ black or Asian bus crews in the city of Bristol, England. In common with other British cities, there was widespread discrimination in housing and employment still occurring through ‘the colour bar’. Led by youth worker Paul Stephenson and the West Indian Development Council, the boycott of the company’s buses by Bristolians lasted for four months until the company backed down and overturned the ban. The boycott drew national attention to racial discrimination in Britain, and the campaign was supported by national politicians, with interventions being made by church groups and the High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago. Negotiations between the bus company and the union continued for several months until a mass meeting of 500 bus workers agreed on 27 August to end the colour bar.
## Brief overview of some key dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1919</td>
<td>A growing number of attacks took place on Black sailor communities by white groups, which resulted in a number of uprisings within Liverpool, spreading to Cardiff, Newport, and London.</td>
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<td>7th August 1925</td>
<td>The West African Students Union (WASU) is formed by Ladipo Solanke which becomes an important hub for likeminded individuals to meet. WASU acted as the starting point for many likeminded individuals who became part of the West African Nationalist movement.</td>
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<td>13th March 1931</td>
<td>Dr Harold Moody forms the League of Coloured People (LCP).</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>Uprisings break out in Cardiff due to increased hostilities concerning discrimination in employment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st January 1948</td>
<td>The Nationality Act is passed; this allowed each of the Commonwealth states to legislate their own citizenship.</td>
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<td>August 1948</td>
<td>After the war about 8,000 Black people are living in Liverpool. Because of an employment boycott a growing number of attacks take place between Black and white groups.</td>
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<td>August 1958</td>
<td>Uprisings occur in Nottingham and the North Kensington area of London over the summer.</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>The Commonwealth Immigration Act is passed; this required that all immigrants seeking to gain entrance to Britain required a job voucher. The Act was amended by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968, before being superseded by the Immigration Act 1971.</td>
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<td>28 August 1963</td>
<td>Paul Stephenson achieves the end of an employment colour bar ban against a Bristol bus company.</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>The Race Relations Act is passed; this act prohibited racial discrimination in various public places such as restaurants, theatres and public transport.</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>The Race Relations Act 1968 extends the legislation's racial discrimination remit to cover employment and housing.</td>
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<td>1969-1971</td>
<td>The Mangrove restaurant, owned by Frank Crichlow, is raided 12 times by police throughout 1969. A protest march is organised in August 1970 that results in violence and the arrest of nine people. The trial in 1971 resulted in the acquittal of all nine under incitement charges.</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>The Organisation of Women of Asian and African Descent (OWAAD) is formed.</td>
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<td>23rd April 1979-27th April 2010</td>
<td>Blair Peach was a New Zealand-born teacher who died during an anti-racism demonstration in London, England. An inquest jury returned a verdict of death by misadventure in May 1980. The Metropolitan Police reports into the death of Blair Peach were made available to the public on 27 April 2010.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18th January 1981</td>
<td>13 people are killed in a fire at New Cross road in Deptford. The first National Black People's Action day is organised by The New Cross Massacre Action Committee the in memory of the people who were killed in the New Cross fire.</td>
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<td>1991-2014</td>
<td>With the death of PC Blakelock three adults, Winston Silcott, Engin Raghip and Mark Braithwaite, were arrested and convicted in 1987 for his murder. A widely supported campaign ‘The Tottenham three are innocent’ arose to overturn the verdicts. The convictions were quashed in 1991, after forensic tests cast doubt on the authenticity of detectives' notes. Police reopened the enquiry in 2003. Nicholas Jacobs, 16 at the time of the killing, stood trial in March 2014 but was also acquitted.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10th-11th April 1981</td>
<td>The main uprising in Brixton was a confrontation between Police and protestors. The uprising on 11 April, was dubbed &quot;Bloody Saturday&quot; and resulted in almost 280 injuries to police and 45 injuries to members of the public. There were other similar disturbances which took place in Toxteth, Liverpool, Moss Side, Manchester and Handsworth, Birmingham</td>
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<td>1993-2012</td>
<td>Stephen Lawrence was a Black British man who was murdered in a racist attack on the evening of 22 April 1993. Two of his killers, Gary Dobson and David Norris were eventually brought to justice and sentenced on the 4th of January 2012. Following the 2012 convictions, further inquiries by both Scotland Yard and the Independent Police Complaints Commission ruled that there was no new evidence to warrant further investigation. A charitable trust was set up by his parents in 1998. On 7 February 2008, the Stephen Lawrence Centre, opened in Deptford, south-east London</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-8 August 2011</td>
<td>Following a mass protest after the shooting of Mark Duggan, thousands of people rose up within several London boroughs and in cities and towns across England. The resulting chaos generated looting, arson, and mass deployment of police.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3.1 Race related Campaigns

Mangrove Nine campaign

(WONG/6/73) Justice for the Mangrove 9: Pamphlet issued by the Black People’s Information Centre, 301 Portobello Road, London, W10, covering the case of the Mangrove Nine.
(WONG/7/7) Liberation no 1, magazine that contains a report on the Mangrove Nine trial.
(WONG/7/74) Black people’s news service, magazine that contains a report on the police persecution of the Mangrove restaurant.
(RECORD/300) One 40 minute recording on DVD of the trial of the Mangrove Nine directed by Franco Rossi and produced by him and John La Rose.

Broadwater Farm defence Campaign

(EPHEMERA/211/7) Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign ‘Culture for Freedom’ benefit night poster
(RC/RF/16/17/C) Articles, reports and other material analysing urban violence and riots in which participants are mainly from ethnic minorities. Leaflets and campaign materials in defence of ‘Tottenham 3’ - those arrested for the murder of Police Constable Blakelock during the Broadwater Farm riots of 1985.
(OSAMOR/1) Folder relating to the Broadwater farm disturbances.

New Cross Fire and Black People’s day of action

(PAGNELL) The records of the Pagnell Street Youth and Community Centre. Sybil Phoenix was the founder and first director which originally began life as the Moonshot club. In 1981 Sybil Phoenix, with others, helped organise the Black Peoples’ Day of Action after the New Cross Fire.
(ORAL/1/24) Interview with Jan McKenley. Jan describes the impact of the New Cross campaign and the Black People’s Day of Action.
(LIBFRONT/2) Grass roots: Black community News; one of these magazines has a front page feature on the New cross fire and the organisation of the Black People’s day of Action

Stephen Lawrence

(BASA/1/6/1) Correspondence with the Stephen Lawrence enquiry.
(PHOTOS/59) Photographs of the Anti-Racist Alliance demonstration in 1993.
(PRESS/15) Press cuttings relating to the Stephen Lawrence enquiry.
(RC/RF/16/09/L) Stephen Lawrence murder; Letters and other documents relating to the campaign for justice for Stephen Lawrence’s murderers.
Subject Guide

Brixton Defence campaign

(MCKENLEY/3/1) Brixton Defence Campaign: folder contacting documents relating to the campaign.
(GUTZMORE/1) Papers relating to the Brixton Defence Campaign.

Black Panther movement

(BCA/5/1/86) File relating to information on the UK Black Panther movement.
(EPHEMERA/372) A poster for an event titled "The Role of Black Women in the liberation struggle" by Akua Njeri, member of the Black Panther Party, organised by the Black Community against Women's Opression
(WONG/5) there are a number of items on Ansel Wong’s membership of the Black Power Movement.

3.2 Haringey Black Pressure group, Stop the Sin bin campaign

(DADZIE/1/2/3) Correspondence of OWAAD, including the Haringey Black Pressure group on Education.
(MCKENLEY/2/1) OWAAD Black women in Struggle 3rd conference, Education; file containing material relating to the Sin bin campaign.
(RC/RF/15/02/C) Articles, reports, press releases on the performance of ethnic minorities in schools, racism in education. Includes material from the Haringey Black Pressure Group on Education.

3.3 Organisation of Women of Asian and African Descent, Ban the Jab campaign

(DADZIE/1/6) Ephemera on the Ban the Jab, Depo-provera campaign.
(DADZIE/1/10) DP Campaign the file contains ephemera, articles, research papers and art work by Stella Dadzie for the campaign.
(DADZIE/1/1/38) File on Asian Women, Afro-Asian unity and Depo-provera.
(ORAL/1/12) Interview with Stella Dadzie.
(ORAL/1/28) Interview with Martha Osamor.

3.4 Bristol Bus Boycott

(EPHEMERA/HERITAGE/5) Leaflet for ‘Look how far we’ve come’: Racism, The Bristol Bus Boycott.
Subject Guide

**Library material**

The Broadwater Farm Inquiry, Lord Gifford ref 340.114 GIF

Broadwater Farm revisited: second report of the independent inquiry into the disturbances of October 1985 at the Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, Lord Gifford ref 10.2A GIF

Depo-Provera: a report by the Campaign against Depo-Provera, Madge Dresser Ref 9.1 CAM

Black and White on the buses: the 1963 colour bar dispute in Bristol, Madge Dresser. Ref 331.639 DRE

I'll never forget what's his name: a popular guide to the Scarman report, Alan Simpson. Ref 305.8 SIM

**Other sources**

George Padmore Institute holds material on the New Cross Fire and education campaigns [http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/](http://www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/)


British Library Sisterhood and After [http://www.bl.uk/sisterhood](http://www.bl.uk/sisterhood)