



Language

, [Faslane Peace Camp Needs You!](#) [1], Peace News, no. 2535-2536, 2011

Notes that the Faslane Peace Camp has existed for 29 years 'on the frontline against Britain's nuclear weapons', has been home to hundreds over the years, and has been a centre for direct action against nuclear weapons.

, [Against Her Will. Forced and Coerced Sterilization of Women Worldwide](#) [2], Open Society Foundations, 2011

This Open Society Foundations fact sheet provides information on instances of forced sterilization of racial and ethnic minorities, poor women, women living with HIV, and women with disabilities in Chile, Czech Republic, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Hungary, India, Mexico, Namibia, Kenya, Peru, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uzbekistan. It also provides recommendations for governments, medical professionals, UN agencies, and donors on how to end the practice of forced and coerced sterilization.

, [Nae Place for Nuclear Weapons](#) [3], Scottish delegation to Nuclear Ban Treaty negotiations, Peace News, no. 2608-2609, 2017, pp. 7-10

This is a detailed day by day account of the activities of the Scottish civil society team at the negotiations in New York from 15 June to 24 June and 29 June to 7 July based on the blog kept by the Scottish delegation. The group received regular briefings and lobbied delegates involved in the negotiations, but also attended external meetings and protests organized by peace activists.

, [Top 8 Climate Change Campaigns of 2018](#) [4], Greenhouse PR, 2018

Greenhouse was established in 2006 to 'use the power of communications to drive positive social and environmental change.' This report covers eight diverse 2018 campaigns which Greenhouse participated in. These include international media campaigns to pressure world major insurance companies to stop insurers covering coal mines and power plants, and promoting ethical banking. It also includes campaigns on environmentally aware farming methods.

, [The New Faces of the Unions](#) [5], Red Pepper, 2018, pp. 14-34

Analysis of the new small unions that are mobilizing workers not previously organized, such as domestic workers (often migrants), and older unions extending their reach to cover young workers in fast food chains, delivering food or driving for Uber. The contributors discuss what is distinctive about the style of the unionism - for example its decentralised leadership and willingness to engage in occupations, and its support from other campaigning groups. The focus is on the UK but within a context of global solidarity with similar campaigns. There is also a timeline from 2008 to 2018 highlighting key struggles including by the long established major unions.

, [Submission to Women and Equality Committee: Abortion Law in Northern Ireland Inquiry](#) [6], Abortion Rights Campaign, 2018

A submission advocating the need for the people of Northern Ireland to access free, safe and legal local abortions facilities regardless of their ability, ethnicity, income level, migration status, or geographic location.

, [UK violates women's rights in Northern Ireland by unduly restricting access to abortion – UN experts](#) [7], UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2018

Press release on the report published on 23 February by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination



against Women (CEDAW). The report argues that the UK violates the rights of women in Northern Ireland by unduly restricting their access to abortion. It shows how thousands of women and girls in Northern Ireland are subjected to grave and systematic violations of rights through being compelled to either travel outside Northern Ireland to procure a legal abortion or to carry their pregnancy to term.

See also <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/feb/23/northern-ireland-abortion-law-violates-womens-rights-says-un-committee> [8]; <https://humanism.org.uk/2018/02/23/northern-ireland-abortion-law-breaches-womens-rights-says-un/> [9] and <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/abortion-northern-ireland-un-women-human-rights-a8819306.html> [10]

, [Youth Climate Action Takeover](#) [11], 22-28 April 2019, The Big Issue, 2019, pp. 19-39

This special supplement in the paper focusing especially on the homeless (and sold by them) takes up the climate crisis and the role of youth activism. Features young people arguing for climate change to be on the school curriculum, and interviewing the UK Environment Secretary, Michael Gove, Caroline Lucas (the sole Green MP in the UK Parliament), and representatives of Marks and Spencer about their clothing and recycling policies. Includes interviews with young naturalists and activists in different parts of the country.

, [Abortion in Ireland and Northern Ireland](#) [12], Amnesty International, 2019

This link includes some of the campaigns and articles on abortion advocacy by Amnesty International. The most interesting articles have been selected to give a sense of how the campaigns developed since 2017. But users should keep accessing it to look for further material Amnesty International will upload in the future.

See a poll conducted by Amnesty International on whether Northern Ireland should change its abortion law published on 30 November 2018

<https://www.amnesty.org.uk/northern-ireland-abortion-law-poll> [13].

See also <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/abortion-poll-research-majority-people-northern-ireland-want-decriminalise> [14] for a poll conducted in May 2017 on the same issue.

See the open letter to Prime minister Theresa May to change 'cruel' Northern Ireland abortion law published on 21 November 2018

<https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/kate-beckinsale-claire-foy-jodie-whittaker-and-olivia-colman-call-theresa-may-change> [15]

Link to pro-abortion campaigns led by Amnesty International, including links to the 2019 campaign #NowForNI, a campaign organised on the occasion of the celebration of the first anniversary of the repeal of the Eighth Amendment in Ireland which led to the legalisation of abortion in the Irish Republic.

<https://www.amnesty.org.uk/safe-abortions-northern-ireland> [16]

See the petition for obtaining the legalisation of abortion in Ireland published on 16 February 2017.

<https://www.amnesty.org.uk/ireland-abortion-laws-repeal-eighth-amendment> [17]

, [All Those/times the Anti-Fracking Campaign Rocked](#) [18], Greenpeace, 2019

Celebrates UK government decision to halt fracking because of size of seismic shocks caused by drilling, but stresses role of nearly a decade of campaigning, especially at the Cuadrilla fracking site in Sussex, where local residents from the village of Balcombe were joined by activists in resistance, and at the Cuadrilla site in Lancashire.

See also: McWhirter, Kathryn, Frack Free Balcombe Residents' Association, 'The biggest thing since the arrival of the railway', pp. 85-90 in Rodriguez, *Global Resistance to Fracking* (listed below)



See also: 'How summer fracking protest unfolded in Sussex village', BBC, 17 April 2014. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-26765926> [19]

Detailed account of the the protests in Balcombe that centred on oil company Cuadrilla's attempt to drill a 3,000ft (900m) vertical well to test for oil.

See also: Vaughan, Adam, 'Fracking firm gets green light to test for oil at Balcombe ... again', *The Guardian*, 9 January 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/jan/09/fracking-firm-gets-green-light-to-drill-for-oil-at-balcombe-again> [20]

See also Perraudin, Frances and Helen Pidd, 'Anger and blockades as fracking starts in UK for first time since 2011', *The Guardian*, 15 October 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/oct/15/fracking-protesters-blockade-cuadrilla-site-where-uk-work-due-to-restart> [21]

Reports on Reclaim the Power campaign's against fracking in Lancashire.

, [Opinion Special. The George Floyd Protests](#) [22], *Guardian Weekly*, 2020, pp. 7-16

Six brief commentaries on key issues relating to the resurgence of Black Lives Matter in both the US and Britain. Philip V. McHarris, 'Property damage is not real violence'; Malaika Jaball, 'Police brutality is ingrained in America'; Jericho Brown, 'We need the rage that abolished slavery'; Kojo Koram, 'Systemic racism is a British problem too'; David Olusoga, 'Toppling a slave trader's statue is history being made'; Patricia J. Williams, 'The corrupt language used to describe black pain'.

See also: 'The Big Story: Black Lives Matter: Do Look Now', *Guardian Weekly*, 19 June, pp. 7-14.

Covers protests in the UK against statues honouring slave traders and imperialists; anti-racist demonstrations in Belgium and a petition to remove all statues of King Leopold, who presided over a particularly brutal colonial rule in the Congo; protests against police violence and racism against indigenous and black citizens in Canada; and demonstrations in the Dominican Republic about racist discrimination against those of Haitian descent. There is also an article reflecting on lessons to be learned from how Germany has confronted its Nazi past.

, [The case for unilateral disarmament](#) [23], *Peace News*, 2020

On 23 January, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* moved its Doomsday Clock (created in 1947) from two minutes to midnight to 100 seconds to midnight, which is the closest that it has ever been to the prospect of human destruction. This article makes the case for Britain unilaterally dismantling its nuclear weapons programme; firstly, from a legal perspective, and secondly, from a practical perspective.

, [Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty](#) [24], RUSI, 2020

Compilation of historic documents recording the negotiations during the 1960s published by the Royal United Services Institute on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The documents can be found in pdf at the link provided.

Alexander, Sally, [The Nightcleaners](#) [25], ed. Allen, Sandra [26], Sanders, Lee [27], Wallis, Jan [28], In Allen, Sandra ; Sanders, Lee ; Wallis, Jan , [Conditions of Illusion: Papers from the Women's Movement](#) [29] Leeds, Feminist Books, , 1974, pp. 416, pp. 309-325

See also: 'Striking Progress' a list of strikes involving women 1973-74, pp. 332-48.



Allen, Sandra ; Sanders, Lee ; Wallis, Jan, [Conditions of Illusion: Papers from the Women's Movement](#) [29], Leeds, Feminist Books, 1974, pp. 416

Alternative Defence Commission, [Defence Without the Bomb](#) [30], London, Taylor and Francis, 1983

Chapter 7 'Strategies against occupation: 2. Defence by civil resistance', pp. 208-48, analyses the implications and applicability of nonviolent defence and its applicability to Britain.

Amery, Fram, [Beyond Pro-life and Pro-choice: The Changing Politics of Abortion in Britain](#) [31], Bristol, Bristol University Press , 2020, pp. 224

The author analyses the evolution of the political discourse on abortion from the 1960s to today, and argues that, in order to understand the changing elements in the contemporary abortion debate in Britain, it is necessary to move beyond viewing abortion politics as pro-choice or pro-life.

Anitha, Sundari ; Pearson, Ruth, [Striking Women: Struggles and Strategies of South Asian Women Workers from Grunwick to Gate Gourmet](#) [32], London, Lawrence and Wishart, 2018, pp. 226

The authors focus on two important strikes in the UK in two different socio-economic contexts: whereas the two year Grunwick strike for union recognition had national support and was backed by secondary picketing, the Gate Gourmet confrontation in 2008 lacked union support (secondary picketing was now illegal). But the authors see both strikes as challenging stereotypes about Asian women, and draw on in-depth interviews with strikers to show the influence of migration (from East Africa or the Punjab), initial high expectations and anger at their low pay and poor working conditions. The book also makes comparisons with trade union struggles in today's gig economy.

Arrowsmith, Pat, [To Asia in Peace: The Story of a Non-Violent Action Mission to Indo-China](#) [33], London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972, pp. 188

Account by participants in British team demonstrating opposition to US war in Vietnam and its extension to Cambodia. The team planned to share the hazards of US bombing in the hope of deterring it. They were received in Cambodia (but not North Vietnam); some later demonstrated at a US base in Thailand.

Arthur, Paul, [The People's Democracy 1968-1973](#) [34], Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1974, pp. 159

Author was active in PD, but this nonetheless is a dispassionate and sometimes critical account of the movement, which had its origins among student activists at Queens University Belfast in 1968. Recounts internal debates and divisions and shows how PD moved from being a purely civil rights campaign to taking a radical socialist position, and campaigning for a workers' republic in a re-united Ireland.

Aune, Kristin ; Redfern, Catherine, [Reclaiming the F Word: Feminism Today](#) [35], [2010], A reprint with a new Preface of their 2010 book: Reclaiming the F Word: The New Feminist Movement, London, Zed Books, 2013, pp. 244

Based on a survey of over 1000 feminists discusses revitalized movement, the areas in which change is necessary, and how to struggle for change. International perspective but especial focus on UK.

Bagguley, Paul, [Protest, Poverty and Power: A Case Study of the Anti-Poll Tax Movement](#) [36], Sociological Review, Vol. 43, no. 4, 1995, pp. 693-719



Examines social base, organization and tactics of the anti-poll tax movement and relates it to theoretical debates about new social movements and poor people's movements. See also: Bagguley, Paul , [Anti-Poll Tax Protest \[37\]](#) In Kennedy, Paul ; Barker, Colin , [To Make Another World: Studies in Protest and Collective Action \[38\]](#) Aldershot, Avebury Press, , 1996, pp. 7-24

Bagguley, Paul, [Anti-Poll Tax Protest \[37\]](#), ed. [Kennedy, Paul \[39\]](#), [Barker, Colin \[40\]](#), In Kennedy, Paul ; Barker, Colin , [To Make Another World: Studies in Protest and Collective Action \[38\]](#) Aldershot, Avebury Press, , 1996, pp. 7-24

Bailey, Ron, [The Squatters \[41\]](#), ed. [Press, Freedom \[42\]](#), Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973, pp. 206

Covers the London Squatters Campaign 1968-71, but notes background of the mass movement by homeless people in Britain at the end of the Second World War to occupy military bases, and later luxury flats, in 1945-46.

Barnard, Kat, [The Equality Illusion: The Truth about Women and Men Today \[43\]](#), London, Faber and Faber, 2011, pp. 320

In 2012 Barnard founded [UK Feminista \[44\]](#), which gives support and training to local activists, and together with Object began the campaign in 2013 Lose the Lads' Mags. Her book argues that feminism is still very necessary in the light of continuing inequality at work, prevalence of sexual harassment, rape and domestic violence, and treatment of women's bodies in magazines, lap dancing clubs and on the internet. UK Feminista offers workshops for schools: <http://ukfeminista.org.uk> [44]

Barron, Dan, [A Challenge to Trident \[45\]](#), Red Pepper, 2015, pp. 30-31

This brief, but informative, article focuses on the campaign by the Marshall Islands to arraign the UK before the International Court of Justice for failure to fulfill its legal and moral obligations under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty: to negotiate for nuclear disarmament. Barron notes that the 70,000 inhabitants of the Marshall Islands suffered the effects of 67 US nuclear weapons tests from 1946-58, and as a UN Trust Territory only achieved independence from the US in 1990.

Bates, Laura, [Misogynation. The True Scale of Sexism \[46\]](#), London and Glasgow, Simon and Schuster UK, 2018, pp. 320

This is a collection of articles authored in *The Guardian* by journalist Laura Bates, in which she uncovers the sexism underpinning personal relationships, the workplace, the media and society in general.

Baxendale, Martin, [Cruisewatch: Civil Resistance against American Nuclear Cruise Missile Convoys in the English Countryside: 1984-1990 \[47\]](#), Stroud, Silent but Deadly, 1991, pp. 41

Beaumont, Peter ; Holpuch, Amanda, [How the Handmaid's Tale has dressed global protests \[48\]](#), Guardian Weekly, 2018, pp. 12-13

The televising of Margaret Atwood's dystopian feminist novel *The Handmaid's Tale* has inspired activists in Argentina, Northern Ireland, the USA and London to wear the distinctive scarlet cloaks and white bonnets to protest for abortion rights and contraceptive rights and against President Trump. The article discusses with Atwood and others how the costume signifies subjection of women and works for protests.

Bennis, Phyllis, [Challenging Empire: People, Governments, and the UN Defy US Power \[49\]](#), Northampton, MA, Olive Branch Press, 2005, pp. 288 pb



Bennis, a Fellow at the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies and expert on Middle East and US foreign policy, examines critically the US doctrine of pre-emptive war and willingness to bypass the UN in the context of the global mobilization against the US-led 2003 attack on Iraq.

See also: Bennis, Phyllis, 'February 15, 2003, The Day the World Said No to War', Institute for Policy Studies, 15 Feb 2013.

https://ips-dc.org/february_15_2003_the_day_the_world_said_no_to_war/ [50]

Celebrates the mass global protests, but focuses in particular how opposition of Germany and France to the war enabled the 'Uncommitted Six' in the UN Security Council - Angola, Cameroon, Chile, Guinea, Mexico and Pakistan - to resist pressure from the US and UK and to refuse to endorse the war.

Bew, Paul ; Gibbon, Peter ; Patterson, Henry, [Northern Ireland 1921-2001](#) [51], [1995], Updated edition of "1921-1994: Political Forces and Social Classes", London, Serif, 2002, pp. 274

An extended historical interpretation from a Marxist perspective, which makes use of the large volume of archive material released in the 1970s. Focuses on the interaction of class and other economic and political factors in the conflict in Northern Ireland. Maintains that the divisions in the country made some form of partition inevitable, the issue at stake being what form it would take.

Beynon, Huw, [Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike](#) [52], London, Verso, 1985, pp. 280

Beynon, Huw ; Cox, Andrew ; Hudson, Ray, [Digging Up Trouble: The Environment, Protest and Opencast Mining](#) [53], London, Rivers Oram, 1999, pp. 288

General analysis of impact of opencast (strip) mining which spread in Britain in the 1980s. Chapter 7 'Changing Patterns of Protest' (pp. 167-206) looks at the collaboration between the National Union of Miners' Support Groups and environmental groups to oppose mines creating pollution, and examines the turn from conventional protest to direct action.

Bierley, John, [Gathering Visions, Gathering Strength](#) [54], Bradford and London, GVGS Publishing Group and Peace News, 1998, pp. 39

Report of conference of that title bringing together nonviolent activists from different campaigns and different generations.

Blanchard, Simon ; Morley, David, [What's This Channel Four? An Alternative Report](#) [55], London, Comedia Publishing Group, 1982, pp. 192

Bloomer, Fiona ; O'Dowd, Kellie ; Macleod, Catriona, [Breaking the silence on abortion: the role of adult community abortion education in fostering resistance to norms](#) [56], Culture, Health & Sexuality, Vol. 19, no. 7, 2017, pp. 709-722

In societies with anti-abortion norms, such as Northern Ireland, little is known about how these norms may be resisted by the adult population. The authors argue that resistance to religious and patriarchal norms can be fostered through adult community abortion education. They see this resistance as multi-faceted and bolstered by reference to lived experience. It does not necessarily involve abandoning religious beliefs.

Bloomer, Fiona ; Pierson, Claire ; Estrada, Sylvia, [Reimagining Global Abortion Politics: A Social Justice Perspective](#) [57], Bristol and Chicago, Policy Press, 2020, pp. 176



This book uses case studies from a range of countries to provide a transnational and interdisciplinary analysis of trends in abortion politics, and considers how religion, nationalism, and culture impact on abortion law and access. It also explores the impact of international human rights norms and the role of activists on law reform and access to abortion. Finally the authors examine the future of abortion politics through the more holistic lens of 'reproductive justice'. The countries included are: Argentina, Egypt, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, South Africa, Uruguay and the US.

Bohanna, John, [Finally Making the Grade](#) [58], Red Pepper, no. Dec/Jan, 2011, pp. 54-55

Recalls that the 1968 Ford Dagenham strike for equal pay, although it achieved a substantial pay rise and eventual parity with men on the same grade, did not recognise the skilled nature of the sewing-machinists work by upgrading them. Provides brief account of later 1984 strike by women machinists demanding upgrading, which led to an independent inquiry, which recognised their claim. A film *Making the Grade* by the Open Eye Film, Video and Animation Workshop documents this second struggle.

Bolton, Matthew, [How to Resist: Turn Protest to Power](#) [59], Verso, Bloomsbury, 2017, pp. 178

Bolton, focuses on his experience with the Living Wage campaign in the UK since 2001 and how the campaign has through varied tactics significantly increased the wages of over 150,000 cleaners and other low paid workers.

Bouchier, David, [The Feminist Challenge: The Movement for Women's Liberation in Britain and the USA](#) [60], London, Macmillan, 1983, pp. 252

Traces the course of the feminist movement from its beginnings at a meeting in Seneca Falls, USA, in 1848, through the campaign for voting rights in the early 20th century to the emergence of radical feminism in the 1960s and 1970s.

Bradshaw, Ross ; Gould, Dennis ; Jones, Chris, [From Protest to Resistance](#) [61], (Peace News pamphlet), Nottingham, Mushroom, 1981, pp. 64

Story of the rise of direct action against nuclear weapons in the British context. Includes diary of main protest in the 1957-1966 period, and interviews with those involved.

Braun, Reiner ; Krieger, David ; Kroto, Harold ; Milne, Sally, [Joseph Rotblat: Visionary For Peace](#) [62], Weinheim, Wiley-VCH, 2007, pp. 355

A series of essays on the life of Joseph Rotblat, British physics and Nobel Peace Prize recipient, including his activism for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Brock, Peter, [These Strange Criminals': An Anthology of Prison Memoirs by Conscientious Objectors from the Great War to the Cold War](#) [63], Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 505

Anthology of prison memoirs by conscientious objectors from World War One to the Cold War. Contributions from Britain, Canada, New Zealand and the USA.

Brown, Antje, [The Dynamics of Frame-bridging: Exploring the Nuclear Discourse in Scotland](#) [64], ed. Boyle, Francis [65], Rubin, Alfred P. [66], Weston, Burns H. [67], MacBride, Sean [68], Falk, Richard A. [69], Hodgkin, Dorothy [70], Wilkins, Maurice [71], Weiss, Peter [72], Scottish Affairs, Vol. 26, no. 2, 2017, pp. 194-211

Brown discusses why the devolved Scottish government has opposed both nuclear energy as a power source, and also strongly opposed the UK government's decision to renew the Trident missile (which carries nuclear warheads) for the submarine fleet based at Faslane. Although there are several factors, such as abundant resources



available for energy, Brown argues that the Scottish government's stance can be best understood by 'considering the underlying (and deliberate) bridging of policy frames that is noticeable between environmental, pacifist and Scottish independence actors'.

Butler, Beverley, [The Tree, the Tower and the Shaman: The Material Culture of Resistance of the No. M11 Link Roads Protest of Wanstead and Leytonstone, London](#) [73], *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 1, no. Nov, 1996, pp. 337-363

Cafolla, Anna, [The end to Northern Ireland's abortion ban is a triumph for grassroots activism](#) [74], 2019

Gives background to the lifting of the abortion ban in Northern Ireland, and the social campaigning behind it.

See also McGuinness, Sheelagh (2019) 'Abortion Law Reform in Northern Ireland', University of Bristol Portal, 25 October 2019.

<https://legalresearch.blogs.bris.ac.uk/2019/10/abortion-law-reform-in-northern-ireland/> [75]

Provides a very detailed explanation of the legal framework on abortion before and after 22 October 2019. Comments also on the interpretation of the law, that could be useful for future campaigning an abortion rights.

Callinicos, Alex ; Simons, Mike, [The Great Strike: The Miners' Strike of 1984-5 and its Lessons](#) [76], ed. [Beynon, Huw](#) [77], London, Socialist Worker, 1985, pp. 256

Campbell, Juleann, [Setting the Truth Free: The Inside Story of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign](#) [78], Dublin, Liberties Press, 2014, pp. 256

Detailed account of the campaign set up by the families of the 13 people killed, and 14 injured, on 'Bloody Sunday' in Derry in 1972. The campaign set up in 1992 succeeded, in the face of intransigence by the British authorities and indifference or open hostility of many others, in forcing the government to institute a new inquiry under Lord Justice Saville. This concluded in 2010 that the demonstrators had been unarmed, that no stones or petrol bombs had been thrown and that the civilians were not posing any threat. British Prime Minister David Cameron made a public apology in Parliament, describing the killings as 'unjustified and unjustifiable.' The book is written by the niece of one of those who was killed, and includes the testimonies of eyewitnesses, and a foreword by the leading civil rights lawyer, Garreth Pierce.

Carr, Joetta L., [The Slutwalk Movement: A Study in Transnational Activism](#) [79], *Journal of Feminist Scholarship*, no. 4 (Spring), 2013, pp. 24-37

North American initiative, but taken up in Britain and transnationally.

Castle, Ben, [The Global Movement against Fracking : Lessons from Bulgaria, the UK and New York State](#) [80], The Democracy Center, Climate Campaign Profiles, 2012, pp. -12

Chakrabarti, Shami, [On Women in the Twenty-First Century](#) [81], London, Penguin, 2018, pp. 240

Chakrabarti gives an account of gender injustice as a major breach of human rights, comparable to the systematic oppression of apartheid.

Cliff, Tony, [Class Struggle and Women's Liberation: 1640 to the Present Day](#) [82], London, Bookmarks, 1984, pp. 271



Sweeping historical and transnational survey from a socialist standpoint, noting industrial action by working women and criticizing class base and focus of second wave American and British feminism.

Coates, Ken, [Work-ins, Sit-ins and Industrial Democracy](#) [83], Nottingham, Spokesman Books, 1981, pp. 175

An account of sit-ins or work-ins to prevent workplace closures in Britain in early 1970s, and an examination of subsequent experiments in workers' control.

Cochrane, Kira, [All the Rebel Women: The Rise of the Fourth Wave of Feminism](#) [84], London, Guardian Books, 2013, pp. 71

See also her article Cochrane, Kira, [The fourth wave of feminism: meet the rebel women](#) [85] The Guardian, 10/12/2013

Describes wide range of feminist activities and groups (both established like the Fawcett Society, and new) and wider attitudes to feminism in mainstream organizations such as Girl Guides and Mumsnet.

Cochrane, Kira, [The fourth wave of feminism: meet the rebel women](#) [85], The Guardian, 2013

Cockburn, Andrew, [Kill Chain: Drones and the Rise of High-Tech Assassins](#) [86], London, Verso, 2015, pp. 336 (pb)

Critical assessment of today's 'military industrial complex' and also the role of drones in the US wars in Afghanistan and in targeting 'terrorists'. Cockburn documents the technological failings of drones, often unable to distinguish targeted individuals from others nearby, and the 'trigger-happy' attitudes of some soldiers using them. Both led to numerous mistaken deaths.

See also: Frew, Joanna, 'Drone Wars: the next generation', *Peace News*, 2618-2619, June-July 2018, p. 4.

Frew summarizes a new report, issued by Drone Wars UK, on development and use of armed drones by a 'second generation' of nine states (including China, Iran and Turkey) and several non-state actors developing and using armed drones. (The first group was the US, UK and Israel.) The report also estimates that a further 11 states would soon be deploying drones, and that China was increasing export of them. Frew stresses the urgent need for international controls, and queries whether existing controls on exports (already being undermined in the US) were adequate.

Cockburn, Cynthia, [The Women's Movement: Boundary Crossing on Terrains of Conflict](#) [87], In Cohen; Rai, [Global Social Movements](#) [88] ([A. 6. Nonviolent Action and Social Movements](#) [89]), London, Athlone Press, pp. 46-61

Focuses on action-research project Women Building Bridges in Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine and Bosnia Hercegovina, and comments on role of transnational women's networks, including Women in Black.

Cockburn, Cynthia, [Anti-Militarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements](#) [90], London, Pluto Press, 2012, pp. 320

Feminist peace activist provides her theoretical perspective on cross-national case studies including UK peace movement, War Resisters' International, anti-militarist campaigns in Spain, Korea and Japan, and the anti-NATO demonstrations in Strasbourg 2009.

Collier, Cheryl ; Raney, Tracey, [Understanding Sexism and Sexual Harassment in Politics: A Comparison of Westminster Parliaments in Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada](#) [91], Social Politics: International Studies



in Gender, State & Society, Vol. 25, no. 3, 2018, pp. 432-455

The widespread problem of sexual harassment has made headlines around the world, including in political legislatures. Using public reports of sexism and sexual harassment, the authors highlight these problems in three countries: Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Although sexual harassment is a global issue, the aim of this article is to show how the shared rules, practices, and norms of these Westminster-style bodies perpetuate sexist cultures that produce unequal and unsafe work conditions for female politicians. The findings highlight some of the unique challenges women face in their representational and policy-making roles.

Coote, Anna ; Campbell, Beatrix, [Sweet Freedom: The Struggle for Women's Liberation in Britain \[92\]](#), London, Pan Books, 1982, pp. 258

Study of British movement since 1960s, legislative changes and political developments affecting women in work, the family, sex and culture. Chapter 1, pp. 9-47, charts the evolution of the movement in terms of key protests, campaigns and organization, including some examples of nonviolent action.

Cory, Geoffrey, [Political dialogue workshops: Deepening the peace process in Northern Ireland \[93\]](#), Conflict Resolution Quarterly, Vol. 30, no. 1, 2012, pp. 53-90

The author discusses the more than fifty residential three-day political dialogue workshops he facilitated between 1994 and 2007 at the Glenree Centre for Reconciliation near Dublin that brought together politicians from all parties in Britain and Ireland during the period of peace negotiations in Northern Ireland.

Coulter, Jim ; Miller, Susan ; Walker, Martin, [State of Siege: Miners' Strike 1984: Politics of Policing in the Coal Fields \[94\]](#), London, Canary Press, 1984, pp. 240

Critique of policing methods.

Curtis, Liz, [The Cause of Ireland: From the United Irishmen to Partition \[95\]](#), Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 1994, pp. 436

A history of the period from a nationalist perspective with the stated aim of putting in context the divisions and conflict in Northern Ireland. A postscript notes briefly some of the political developments in the 1920s and 1930s including the introduction of the Special Powers Act in 1933 and the emergence of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Dafis, Cynog, [Cymdeithas yr Iaith – the Manifesto \[96\]](#), Translated by Harry Web, Planet Magazine: The Welsh Internationalist, no. 26/27 (Winter), 1974

Dalquist, Stephanie, [Timeline: A chronology of public opinion on nuclear power in the United States and United Kingdom \[97\]](#), 2004, pp. 35

Describes the history of the atom in the US and the UK; the combination of civilian/military use and how people and movement developed an understanding of the risks associated with nuclear power since the 1960s.

David, Hugh, [On Queer Street: Social History of British Homosexuality, 1895-1995 \[98\]](#), ed. Bullough, Vern L. [99], London, Harper Collins, 1997, pp. 305

Davy, Steven, [The red cloak of 'The Handmaid's Tale' is becoming a symbol for reproductive rights \[100\]](#), PRI, 2018



Brief exploration of the increasing use of the red cloak as a symbol of advocacy for reproductive rights in Northern Ireland, the US, the Caribbean and Latin America.

de Freytas-Tamura, Kimiko ; Cowell, Alan, [After Ireland abortion vote, Northern Irish ask 'Why not us?'](#) [101], The New York Times, 2018

Elucidates the differences between the conditions that led Ireland to a pro-abortion vote in May 2018 and the obstacles that Northern Ireland still then faced.

See also <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/06/05/616915043/ireland-voted-to-allow-abortion-but-its-still-strictly-banned-in-northern-ireland> [102]

Deutsch, Richard, [Mairead Corrigan, Betty Williams](#) [103], Foreword by Joan Baez, Woodbury NY, Barrons, 1977, pp. 204

Account of the genesis, development and programme of the Peace People by French journalist resident in Belfast at the time the movement began

Devlin, Bernadette, [The Price of My Soul](#) [104], London, Pan, 1969, pp. 206

Autobiography of one of the most dynamic student leaders of the civil rights movement. Recounts the emergence of People's Democracy (PD) at Queen's University Belfast, and includes vivid first-hand accounts of the August 1968 March in Derry, and the Belfast to Derry march by PD in January 1969 which was ambushed by a loyalist mob at Burntollet. Also recounts Devlin's election to the Westminster Parliament in April 1969, her frustration at the limits to her power as an MP, and her participation in the Battle of the Bogside in August of that year.

Doherty, Brian, [Paving the Way: The Rise of Direct Action against British Road Building](#) [105], Political Studies, Vol. 47, 1999, pp. 275-291

Drainville, Andre C., [A History of World Order and Resistance: The Making and Unmaking of Global Subjects](#) [106], ed. [Development](#), [107], London, Routledge, 2011, pp. 216

Looks at Global Justice Movement in a broad historical framework and relates it to case studies of earlier struggles in the USA, UK, France, South Africa, Algeria, the Philippines and Jamaica.

Driver, Christopher, [The Disarmers: A Study in Protest](#) [108], London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1964, pp. 256

Account of the emergence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Committee of 100 in Britain. Describes the main actions and internal debates within the movement.

Dromey, Jack, [Grunwick: The Workers' Story](#) [109], London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1978, pp. 207

The author was secretary of Brent Trades Council in London when the non-unionised women strikers at the mail-order plant contacted him for help in 1976, and became a member of the strike committee. He also wrote an obituary of the inspirational leader of the strike, Jayaben Desia, when she died 23 December 2010 ([Guardian, 29 Dec 2010](#) [110], p.30). (For a celebration of Desia's role and life see also Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, [Remembering an unsung heroine of our modern history](#) [111], *Independent*, 3 Jan 2011, p.5.)

Dryzek, John S. ; Downes, David ; Hunold, Christian ; Schlosberg, David ; Abstract, Hans-Kristian Hernes, [Green States and Social Movements: Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and Norway](#) [112], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 238



Comparative study of successes and failures of four environmental movements since 1970, exploring implications of inclusion and exclusion from political process.

Dumbrell, John, [Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement: An International Perspective](#) [113], Aldershot, Avebury, 1989, pp. 182

Chapters include: 'Kent State: How the War in Vietnam became a War at Home'; 'Congress and the Anti-War Movement'; 'US Presidential Campaigns in the Vietnamese Era'; 'Opposing the War in Vietnam – the Australian Experience'; 'Vietnam War Resisters in Quebec'; 'Anger and After – Britain's CND and the Vietnam War'.

Earnshaw, Helena ; Jones, Angharad Penrhyn, [Here we Stand](#) [114], Aberystwyth, Honno, 2014, pp. 450

Anthology of accounts by 17 British women campaigners, engaged in a range of militant direct action, including one by Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith) activist, Angharad Thomas.

Elliott, Marianne, [The Catholics of Ulster: A History](#) [115], London, Allen Lane and The Penguin Press, 2000, pp. 642

A major study looking at the history of Catholics in Ulster from the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169 to the signing of the Belfast agreement in 1998. The author, who defines herself an 'Ulster Catholic', takes a fresh look at the attitudes, assumption and convictions of the Catholic community, and at some of the causes of sectarian division. She notes that there has been a return of self-confidence among Ulster Catholics since the signing of the GFA and that the overwhelming majority of them support the constitutional arrangement based on majority consent.

Ellner, Andrea ; Robinson, Paul ; Whetham, David, [When Soldiers Say No: Selective Conscientious Objection in the Modern Military](#) [116], ed. [Cinar, Ozgur Heval](#) [117], [Usterci, Coskun](#) [118], Farnham, Ashgate, 2014, pp. 290

Explores theoretical arguments for and against selective objection, together with case studies from US, Britain, Australia, Germany and Israel.

English, Richard, [Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA](#) [119], [2003], Oxford, Pan Books, 2012, pp. 544

The chapters in this history of the IRA which deal with the gradual shift in the position of Provisional Sinn Fein and IRA, their engagement in the political process through discussions with both the rival nationalist SDLP and the British government, and their eventual decision to end the military campaign, provide valuable insights into the dynamics of the peace process in Northern Ireland. The final chapter subjects the republican case to critical – though not unsympathetic – scrutiny but rejects the contention that the struggle was in any straightforward sense an anti-colonial one or that its religious dimension can be ignored.

Evans, Gwynfor, [Fighting for Wales](#) [120], Talybont, Y Lolfa, 1992, pp. 221

Evans, Gwynfor, [The Fight for Welsh Freedom](#) [121], Caernarfon, Y Lolfa, 2000, pp. 176

Covers Plaid Cymru, history and Welsh politics and government. An earlier book by Evans from the same publisher is: Evans, Gwynfor , [Fighting for Wales](#) [120] Talybont, Y Lolfa, , 1992, pp. 221

Evans, Gwynfor, [For the Sake of Wales: The Memoirs of Gwynfor Evans](#) [122], ed. [Earnshaw, Helena](#) [123], [Jones, Angharad Penrhyn](#) [124], [1986], Updated edition, with Foreword by Dafydd Elis Thomas, and epilogue by Steve Dubè, Caernarfon, Welsh Academic Press, 2001, pp. 281



Memoirs of this key figure in the nationalist movement and committed advocate of nonviolence.

Evans, Harriet, [Chinese feminism beyond borders: past, present and future](#) [125], WAGIC – Women and Gender in China, 2017

Professor of Chinese Studies Harriet Evans analyses the development of feminist activism in comparison with feminism in the UK. Drawing on the idea of sexual and gender rights, she also makes a comparison with the LGBTQ community and its global organisational activism since the 1990s.

Fairhall, David, [Common Ground: The Story Of Greenham](#) [126], London, I.B. Tauris , 2006, pp. 224

Story of the march to Greenham Common in August 1981 by a small group of women, 'Women for Life on Earth', to demand a public debate on nuclear weapons, in order to keep the nuclear issue under scrutiny, and how it led to the prolonged and renowned women-only camp and blockades at the Greenham Cruise Missile Base in the UK.

See also <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/may/03/greenham.yourgreenham3> [127]

Farrell, Michael, [Northern Ireland: The Orange State](#) [128], [1976], London, Pluto Press, 1980, pp. 406

A history of Northern Ireland, and socialist political analysis of the causes of the conflict there, by a leading civil rights campaigner and founding member of People's Democracy. He concludes that the choice in Ireland is 'between, on the one hand, a semi-fascist Orange statelet in the North, matched by a pro-imperialist police state in the South, and, on the other hand, an anti-imperialist and socialist revolution'.

Farrell, Michael, [Twenty Years On](#) [129], Dingle, Brandon, 1988, pp. 192

Contributions by nine activists who had been involved in the Civil Rights movement in 1968. Contributors include Gerry Adams on his experiences as a republican in the civil rights campaign and the Provisionals' case for splitting with what became Official Sinn Fein and IRA; Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey on her time in the British Parliament which she entitles 'a peasant in the halls of the great', and Michael Farrell on the 'Long March' from Belfast to Derry in January 1969 and subsequent developments. Carol Coulter describes the reverberations of the campaign in the South and Margaret Ward its influence in the development of feminism in Ireland.

Fawcett Society Briefing, [#MeToo One Year On - What's Changed?](#) [130], 2018

Respected and long established British feminist organisation publishes research on impact of MeToo in UK, covering the 'powerful, disruptive impact' of the movement. It analyses harassment by gender and age, provides data on the public's willingness to challenge harassment, and makes recommendations on how to change the law.

Fay, Marie Therese ; Morrissey, Mike ; Smith, Marie, [Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs](#) [131], London and Stirling, Virginia and Pluto Press, 1999, pp. 229

Part I of this book sets out the context of the conflict in Northern Ireland, including a chronology of key events from the opening of the first Parliament there in 1921 to the Provisional IRA ceasefire in September 1998, considers political, social and economic facets of the conflict, and reviews the principal interpretations of its causes. Part II examines the effects of the violence on individuals and groups and argues the need to address them if there is to be peace in the longer term.

Fazackerley, Anna, [#MeToo on campus: UK universities investigate sexual assaults themselves](#) [132], The Guardian, 2018

Reports that universities (both student unions and the authorities) are becoming more active in trying to prevent,



and taking action against, forms of harassment. But a survey published in March 2018 found 70% of female students had suffered harassment or assault and only 6% had reported it to the university. Harassment is a problem both between students and between some staff members and students.

See also: Suen, Evianne, '#MeToo movement reaches an all-time high across UK universities', 23 August 2018 <https://theboar.org/2018/08/metoo-movement-sexual-uk-universities/> [133]

Fazzi, Dario, [The Nuclear Freeze Generation: The Early 1980s Anti-nuclear Movement between 'Carter's Vietnam' and 'Euroshima'](#) [134], In in Andresen, Knud and Bart van der Steen (eds) *A European Youth Revolt. European Perspectives on Youth Protest and Social Movements in the 1980s*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 145-158

In the early 1980s, there were mass protests across the Western world with varied goals, for example to support different models of economic development, promote anti-militarism and non-violence, or redefine urban and social spaces. Many, however, saw safeguarding the environment as their primary goal and identified nuclear energy as their main target. The authors investigate the movement for as afer environment and how it mobilized large sections of society and provided people with new tools of civic expression.

Fearon, Kate, [Northern Ireland Women's Coalition: institutionalizing a political voice and ensuring representation](#) [135], *Accord*, no. 13, 2002, pp. 78-81

(*Accord* is published by the London-based Conciliation Resources. Issue 13 was entitled 'Owning the process: Public Participation in Peacemaking', edited by Catherine Barnes.)

The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) was initiated by women of various political affiliations, religious beliefs and occupations. It was institutionalized as a political party in 1996 so that its members would be eligible to take part in the all-party talks that culminated in the Good Friday Agreement. It also campaigned for the acceptance of the GFA in the referendums which followed its signing.

Feminist Review, [Special issue on 'Black British Feminism'](#) [136], *Feminist Review*, Vol. 108, no. 1, 2014, pp. 1-114

Looks back at pioneering issue 30 years earlier on black feminism (no. 17, 1984) and examines role of black feminists today and the mobilizing impact of cyber feminism.

Firemong, Jesse, [Everything You Need to Know about Tar Sands and How they Impact You](#) [137], Vol. Greenpeace, 2018

Explains the scope and nature of the Alberta tar sands in western Canada - oil fields and mines covering an area larger than England with lakes created by the runoff of chemicals. This oil extraction process is difficult because the oil (bitumen) is heavy and has to be brought to the surface using huge amounts of water. It is a major contributor to global warming as well as polluting indigenous lands and the local environment. Greenpeace notes that resistance was mounting to the pipeline projects linked to tar sands, including Keystone XL, and the Transmountain Expansion pipeline.

Fisk, Robert, [The Point of No Return: The Strike which Broke the British in Ulster](#) [138], London, Times Books: Deutsch, 1975, pp. 264

Detailed account by journalist of the strike and its political repercussions.

Flam, Helena, [States and Anti-Nuclear Movements](#) [139], Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1994, pp. 427

Deals with the anti-nuclear power movements and government responses to them and their demands in eight West



European states – Austria, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and West Germany.

Flessati, Valerie, [Pax: The History of a Catholic Peace Society in Britain 1936-1971](#) [140], Bradford, University of Bradford, PhD Thesis, 1991, 2 volumes, pp. 535

Detailed historical study of both Pax and the Catholic element in the British peace movement. Pax from the outset opposed war under modern conditions as contrary to traditional just war teaching, a stance underlined by the development of nuclear weapons. Influenced Catholic thinking about modern war and the decision of the Second Vatican Council to recognize the right to conscientious objection and to call upon states to make provision for it.

Forsyth, Robert, [The case against UK Trident](#) [141], Spokesman, no. 140, 2018

Retired Commander Robert Forsyth, Executive Officer of the Polaris Missile Submarine HMS Repulse in 1970s, makes a compelling case why the UK should dismantle its Trident.

Francis, Hywel, [History on Our Side – Wales and the 1984-85 Miners' Strike](#) [142], Swansea, Parthian Books, 2009, pp. 96

(new edition in preparation)

Account of how the strike developed differently in Wales from other parts of Britain, and grew into a national movement involving community groups, churches and Welsh nationalists and fostered a greater national consciousness with a lasting impact on Welsh politics.

Friedman, Henry ; Meredeem, Sander, [The Dynamics of Industrial Conflict: Lessons from Ford](#) [143], London, Croom Helm, 1980, pp. 386

This is an account and analysis of the 1968 Ford Dagenham women sewing machinists' strike by two men on opposing sides (trade union convener of plant and Ford negotiating team) involved in the dispute. A lively semi-fictionalized account of the dispute from the women's viewpoint is the 2010 film '[Made in Dagenham](#)' [144].

Gallagher, Tom ; O'Connell, James, [Contemporary Irish Studies](#) [145], Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1983, pp. 144

Garvaghy Residents, [Garvaghy: A Community Under Siege](#) [146], Belfast, Beyond the Pale, 1999, pp. 171

Garvaghy Road, a Catholic area in mainly Protestant Portadown, has been the scene of confrontations down the years during the annual Orange Order parade on the weekend before 12 July, following a service in Drumcree Church. The Orange Order claims the right to march along the road; the residents say that they face abuse and violence when this happens and that there are alternative routes the parade could take. Resistance to the event has included sit-downs, a women's Peace and Justice Camp and the setting up of Radio Equality. Part 1 of the book is based mainly on the diaries of residents in July 1998 when the parade was banned and police and soldiers erected barricades and dug trenches to prevent the march from entering the road. Part 2 is an edited version of the Residents' submission in 1996 to the Parades Commission.

Gelb, Joyce, [Feminism and Political Action](#) [147], In Dalton, Russel J.; Kuechler, Manfred , [Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies](#) [148] Oxford, Oxford University Press, , 1990, pp. 344, pp. 137-156

Comparing the US, British and Swedish movements.

German, Lindsey ; Murray, Andrew, [Stop the War: The Story of Britain's Biggest Mass Movement](#) [149], ed.



[Britain, Victoria](#) [150], London, Bookmarks, 2005, pp. 286

Book by organizers of the Stop the War Coalition, created in 2001 after the September 11 attacks in the USA, which demonstrated against the Afghan War. It played a central role in mobilizing up to a million people to march in London in February 2003 and continued to demonstrate against the presence of western troops in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Although the role of the Socialist Workers Party in the Coalition was sometimes criticized, it succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of British Muslims in peaceful protest and in drawing in people from a broad political spectrum.

Gillan, Audrey, [I was always told I was thick. The strike taught me I wasn't](#) [151], The Guardian, 2004, pp. 10-11

Goodman, Geoffrey, [The Miners' Strike](#) [152], London, Pluto, 1985, pp. 224

Examines why the strike failed and the role of key institutions and the pickets. Includes a chronology.

Greenwood, Ian ; McBride, Jo, [Community Unionism: A Comparative Analysis of Concepts and Contexts](#) [153], Basingstoke, Palgrave/Macmillan, 2009, pp. 264

Explores the diverse meanings of community unionism, provides case studies from the UK – the 'London's living wage' campaign, and activism by black and minority workers and migrant workers – and from Japan, Australia and the US.

Greenwood, J., [Worker Sit-ins and Job Protection: Case Studies of Union Intervention](#) [154], Farnborough, Gower Press, 1977, pp. 121

Discusses sit-down strikes in Britain, the well-known occupation of the Lip factory in France in 1973 and West European sit-ins and work-ins protesting against redundancy.

Gupta, Rahila, [From Homebreakers to Jailbreakers: Southall Black Sisters](#) [155], London, Zed Press, 2003, pp. 301

Southall Black Sisters was founded by Asian women in 1982 to campaign about issues specific to women in racial minorities in Britain. Over the years it has become the focus for racial and ethnic minorities in Britain and gained an international profile. Issues tackled include: 'honour' killings, domestic violence, forced marriages and resistance to deportations. See also: SBS Collective, [Against the Grain](#) [156] London, Southall Black Sisters, , 1990 .: a collection of essays covering the first ten years, and available from SBS. For current activities: <http://www.southallblacksisters.org.uk> [157]

Hall, David ; Lobina, Emanuele ; de la Motte, Robin, [Public Resistance to Privatisation in Water and Energy](#) [158], ed. [Food Empowerment Project.](#) [159], Development in Practice, Vol. 15, no. 3-4 (June), 2005

Examines role of different types of opposition in 'delaying, cancelling or reversing the privatization of water and energy', including success in Nkondobe (South Africa), Paraguay where parliament voted in 2002 to suspend indefinitely privatization of state-owned water and Poznan in Poland in 2002, and failure of campaigns in UK, Chile and Philippines.

Hallam, Roger, [Common Sense for the 21st Century: Only nonviolent rebellion can now stop climate breakdown and social collapse](#) [160], Roger Hallam, 2019, pp. 80

Hallam is a co-founder of Extinction Rebellion (XR) and claims its April 2019 protest launch in London was based largely on the strategic ideas he had already sketched out. The book examines the case for fearing imminent planetary disaster, outlines 'the civil resistance model' underlying X R strategy. and criticizes 'climate justice'



movements' for their approach.

His views do not represent all those taking part in the XR movement or who support in principle taking nonviolent direct action to combat climate change.

For a critical review of both the use of science and the basis of the strategy see: Gabriel Carlyle, *Peace News*, 2636-2637 (Dec. 2019-Jan. 2020), p. 21

'Has Extinction Rebellion Got the Right Tactics?' - debate in *New Internationalist*, Jan-Feb. 2020, pp. 46-47

Two supporters of climate activism disagree about the likely efficacy of XR's approach and its ability to maintain momentum over time.

Hancox, Dan, [Fight Back! A Reader on the Winter of Protest](#) [161], OpenDemocracy, 2011, pp. 340

Covers both student protests in late 2010 (e.g against high tuition fees) and wider demonstrations against cuts. Edited by young protesters, but includes essay by Anthony Barnett, founder of openDemocracy reflecting on potential significance of new activism.

Harford, Barbara ; Hopkins, Sarah, [Greenham Common: Women at the Wire](#) [162], ed. Giles, Wenona [163], de Alwis, Malathi [164], Klein, Edith [165], Silva, Neluka [166], London, The Women's Press, 1984, pp. 171

Harvey, David, [Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution](#) [167], London, Verso, 2012, pp. 208

See also *Red Pepper*, Apr/May 2018, pp. 13-17 for a wide-ranging analysis. Key issues about the safety of housing for the poor were raised in 2017 when 71 people are known to have died in a rapidly spreading fire in a tower block in north Kensington in London. The Grenfell fire raised major issues about the safety of tower blocks across the UK, the responsibility of builders, local authorities and safety inspectorates for inadequate checks on standards, and the dangers of opting for cheaper solutions. Grenfell also dramatised the gap between the relatively poor and racially diverse tenants of Grenfell living in social housing and the rich residents of the borough and the Conservative Council. A major long-running enquiry has been set up, viewed with some distrust by former Grenfell residents and the local community. Campaigning groups such as Justice4Grenfell and Grenfell Speaks have been set up complaining about lack of respect and representation, and people in other major cities have joined in solidarity protests.

Hayhurst, Ruth, [Anti-Fracking Groups Launch Campaign to put Shale Gas on Election Agenda](#) [168], Drill or Drop, 2017

Reports on the campaign during the 2017 UK election by Frack Free United (a network of residents near fracking sites and campaign groups) and Cross Party Frack Free (group of MPs, Peers and parliamentary candidates, as well as local councillors, who support a national ban on fracking).

Hennessey, Thomas, [The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles?](#) [169], Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2000, pp. 256

Detailed account by an academic historian who acted as special advisor to the Unionist Party of the negotiations that led to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. The author comments in the Introduction that 'what complicated the Northern Ireland conflict was the range of options which the central protagonists – Unionists and Nationalists – viewed as their preferred solution.' Historically, he states 'the Ulster Question has been a dispute concerning sovereignty and identity. Or to put it another way, it has been a dispute between states and nations. But neither Unionists nor Nationalists could agree which states were legitimate or the legitimacy of the opposing group's national identity'.



Hines, Sally, [TransForming Gender: Transgender Practices of Identity, Intimacy and Care](#) [170], Chicago IL, University of Chicago Press, Policy Press, 2007, pp. 232

Drawing on interviews with transgender people charts impact of changing legislation in UK. Primarily about individual experience and social context, but there is a chapter on: 'Transgender Care Networks, Social Movements and Citizenship'.

Hinton, James, [Self-help and Socialism: The Squatters Movement of 1946](#) [171], History Workshop Journal, Vol. 25, no. 1, 1988, pp. 100-126

Covers a significant movement in post-war Britain when many houses had been destroyed by bombing.

Hinton, James, [Protests and Visions: Peace Politics in 20th Century Britain](#) [172], London, Hutchinson Radius, 1989, pp. 248

Covers pacifist and anti-war campaigning in Britain from the 'imperialist pacifism' of the Victorian period, through both World Wars to the birth of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s. Written from a democratic socialist perspective. Final chapters cover CND's 'second wave' in the 1980s, the Gorbachev initiatives, and the role of the European Nuclear Disarmament campaign seeking to transcend the Cold War divide.

Hoffman, Julian, [Irreplaceable: The Fight to Save Our Wild Places](#) [173], London, Hamish Hamilton, 2019, pp. 416

Hoffman documents the struggles of local communities in the UK to save irreplaceable woods, marshes and other rare and beautiful habitats from roads, airports and industrial development. He stresses the historical, cultural and communal importance of these sites as well as their ecological value, and the grounds for hope provided by successful local campaigns.

Hoggett, Paul ; Burns, Danny, [The Revenge of the Poor: The Anti-Poll Tax Campaign in Britain](#) [174], Critical Social Policy, Vol. 11, no. (Dec), 1991, pp. 95-110

See also reply by Lavalette, Michael ; Mooney, Gerry , [The Poll Tax Struggle in Britain: A Reply to Hoggett and Burn](#) [175] Critical Social Policy, 1993, pp. 96-108

Holehouse, Matthew, [Britain's Role in the New Cold War](#) [176], New Statesman, Vol. 136, no. 4860, 1996

The article discusses the role of the US National Security spy base at Menwith Hill and notes some of the local protesters, including Lindis Percy (arrested hundreds of times for breaking into bases).

See also:

Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases (CAAB), 'Synopses of the work of Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases', *Peace News*, 13 May 2012

<https://www.peacenews.info/blog/6785/campaign-accountability-american-bases> [177]

Brief but informative summary of the work of the British group CAAB, founded in 1992. It grew out of decades of scrutiny and campaigning related to the Menwith Hill US National Security Agency base, which has been involved in intelligence gathering and had a key role in the development of the US missile defence system. The history and methods of CAAB, coordinated by Lindis Percy and Melanie Ndzinga, are outlined: tactics have ranged from use of the law to challenge the US military presence to nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience.



Howard, Emma, [The Rise and Rise of the Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement](#) [178], The Guardian, 2015

Reports that since US climate activist Bill McKibben and 350.org launched the divestment in fossil fuels campaign in 2012, over 220 institutions such as universities, local authorities and pension funds, have divested from some fossil fuels. So have foundations, notably the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund in 2014. The 'Fossil Free' campaign was launched in the UK in 2013, and grew more rapidly than earlier divestment campaigns against the tobacco industry and apartheid in South Africa. Howard also hails divestment by the World Council of Churches in 2014 and reports that the UN body coordinating agreement on climate change backed divestment in March 2015.

See also: Carlyle, Gabriel, 'Ducks, Direct Action and Investment', *Peace News*, June-July 2018, p.17.

Account of second Fossil Free UK national gathering, including examples of some campaigning and organizing experiences revealed there. The article also provides background on the rapidly growing global movement and the 880 institutions that had by then committed to some divestment from fossil fuels.

Howys, Sian, [Breaking the law to make change](#) [179], ed. Bierley, John [180], In Bierley, John, [Gathering Visions. Gathering Strength](#) [54] Bradford and London, GVGS Publishing Group and Peace News, , 1998, pp. 39, pp. 13-15

Hudson, Kate, [Now More than Ever](#) [181], London, Vision Paperbacks, Satin Publishers, Sheena Dewan, 2005, pp. 278

Up to date account of British nuclear disarmament movement since the 1950s by chair of CND, giving some weight to direct action.

Hudson, Kate, [CND at 60: Britain's Most Enduring Mass Movement](#) [182], UK, Public Reading Rooms, 2018, pp. 240 (pb)

This book by the General Secretary of CND was published on the 60th anniversary of the launch of CND in February 1958. It covers both the major campaigns within the nuclear disarmament movement of the first three decades, including the Aldermaston marches and Greenham Common. It also charts the evolving role of CND after 1990: becoming prominent in the resistance to Britain's involvement in wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan; and more recently supporting the movement to achieve the UN Treaty to ban all nuclear weapons. CND has also continued to focus on opposing British production and deployment of nuclear weapons, and in particular the government's decision to renew the Trident missile force.

Hudson, Kate, [Struggles in the current context. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in dangerous and disturbing times](#) [183], *Struggles in the current context. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in dangerous and disturbing times*, no. 120, 2019

This article explores from a Marxist perspective the contributions the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) has made over time within a context where the threats the world is facing are increasing. The article concludes by considering the challenges ahead.

Iqbal, Nosheen, [Extinction Rebellion, a year of climate red alert](#) [184], *Guardian Weekly*, 2019, pp. 15-17

Overview after half a year of XR's impact, noting its very rapid growth inside the UK and mobilization of a wide cross-section of people, its global spread (485 affiliates around the world). Iqbal also notes the impact on the engineering and construction industries, universities, local councils, architecture and the arts all focusing on the urgency of reducing emissions. But he cites criticism from the Wretched of the Earth collective for climate justice, who urged XR not to ignore the voices of indigenous, black, brown and diaspora groups.

See also: 'Climate Change Protesters Take Over Museum and Threaten Disruption', *The i*, 23 April 2019, p.11.



Report on 'die in' by 100 activists under the blue whale skeleton in London's Natural History Museum, a week after XR blockades in London began;

See also: 'Climate Protesters to Pitch Tent City in Four-day "Northern Rebellion"', *The Guardian*, 29 Aug. 2019, p.20.

Report that at least 750 people had pledged to occupy Deansgate in Manchester, an entertainment area with high air pollution levels;

See also 'Mothers in Google Climate Action as Protesters Defy Ban', *The Guardian*, 17 Oct. 2019, p.13. Reports blockade of Google's London HQ in defiance of police ban on protests in London to oppose Google's funding of deniers of climate crisis. Young people and nursing mothers took part. Lawyers for XR were applying for judicial review of the police banning order at the high court.

Irwin, Colin, [The People's Peace Process in Northern Ireland](#) [185], Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 326

Discusses the lessons learned from the negotiations leading to the Good Friday Agreement. Describes how opinion polls were used by politicians to explore what compromises their supporters might accept.

Jeffrey-Poulter, Stephen, [Peers, Queers and Commons: The Struggle for Gay Law Reform from 1950 to the Present](#) [186], London, Routledge, 1991, pp. 320

Detailed account of post-war gay movement using contemporary newspaper reports, articles and letters.

Jin, Zhixin, [How Do Anti-abortion and Abortion Rights Groups Deploy Ideas About Islam in Their Activism Regarding Abortion](#) [187], *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 12, no. 1, 2018, pp. 38-47

Abortion is a hotly debated topic among Muslim communities. In this paper, the author examines how both anti-abortion and abortion rights groups deploy ideas about Islam. She analysed the language used by these groups when describing Muslim communities and Muslim views and found that a majority of them did not include arguments from both sides. Almost all the Anti-Abortion Websites included generalizations about the Muslim community, and also used the conservative elements in Islamic Religion to persuade more Muslims to join their stance on abortion.

Jivani, Alkarim, [Its Not Unusual: History of Lesbian and Gay Britain in the 20th Century](#) [188], ed. [Hekma, Gert](#) [189], [Oosterhuis, Harry](#) [190], Bloomington IN, Indiana University Press, 1997, pp. 224

Looks briefly at early 20th century, focusing on celebrities. But based primarily on interviews with 36 lesbians and gay men and covers changing social and legal contexts of World War Two, 1950s, 1960s-70s and emergence of gay liberation, and setbacks of HIV/AIDS and Section 28 in the 1980s.

Jordan, Brandon, [Anti-Fracking Movement Emerges to Halt Argentina's Natural Gas Boom](#) [191], July 2017, Third World Network, 2017

Overview of opposition to fracking plans in Argentina, including a provincial law in the province of Entre Rios to ban fracking (it is not directly involved in the plans) and Vista Alegre became the first municipality to ban fracking. The Supreme Court suspended the ban, but residents marched to the capital and blocked a highway to demonstrate their commitment to it. Brandon notes also that the Mapuche, the largest indigenous group in Argentina were mobilizing to resist the threats to their land, especially near the Vaca Muerte basin. (The article was reproduced from the Waging Nonviolence website.)

See also Platform London, 'UK-Argentina Fracking Talks Targeted by Protest', 22 May 2019.



<https://platformlondon.org/p-pressreleases/uk-argentina-fracking-talks-targeted-by-protest/> [192]

Kaltefleiter, Werner ; Pfaltzgraff, Robert L., [Peace Movements in Europe and the United States](#) [193], London, Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 211

Essays arising out of May 1984 conference at the Christian-Albrechts University, Kiel, on peace movements in Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, West Germany, France, Italy, Britain and the US. Focus is on the anti-nuclear movements of the 1980s, though some contributors sketch the earlier history of movements in their countries.

Kehinde, Andres, [Back to Black: Retelling Black Radicalism for the 21st Century](#) [194], London, Zed Books, 2018, pp. 360 (pb)

Andrews sees blackness as a unifying factor for people of African descent across different continents. He examines different political approaches adopted in the past, such as pan-Africanism, black nationalism, Marxism and liberalism, and argues for black radicalism as the best strategy today - to resist racism by embracing African descent. The focus of the book is on the UK, but it covers the US, Caribbean and Africa and other parts of the world.

Kelliher, Diarmaid, [Solidarity and Sexuality: Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners 1984-5](#) [195], History Workshop Journal, Vol. 77, no. 1 (spring), 2014, pp. 240-262

Among the many groups that sprang up to offer financial support and solidarity to the miners was the London-based Lesbian and Gays Support the Miners. This article charts support offered by LGSM and discusses wider implications for the movement on the left.

Kimber, Richard ; Richardson, J.J., [Campaigning for the Environment](#) [196], London, Routledge, 1974, pp. 238

Case studies of a range of environmental conflicts in Britain over urban development, water supply, power lines, M4 motorway, juggernaut lorries, the Cublington airport campaign, and the genesis of the Clean Air Act. Focus on pressure groups.

King, Mary, [How South Africa Forced Gandhi to Reckon with Racism and Imperialism](#) [197], Waging Nonviolence, 2019

At a time when Gandhi is being widely criticized (for very different reasons) in India, South Africa and the UK, Mary King sets Gandhi in his historical context and also stresses Gandhi's own willingness to confront his assumptions and prejudices.

See

also <https://jameslawsoninstitute.org/2019/10/07/can-we-celebrate-gandhis-achievements-while-also-learning-from-his-errors/> [198]

Komhiya, A., [Britain: Section 28](#) [199], ed. [Sears, James Thomas](#) [200], In Sears, James Thomas, [Youth, Education, and Sexualities: An International Encyclopedia, Volume I, A-J](#) [201] Westport CT, Greenwood Press, , 2005, pp. 520,

Kronlid, Lotta ; Needham, Andrea ; Wilson, Joanna ; Zelter, Angie, [Seeds of Hope: East Timor Ploughshares: Women Disarming for Life and Justice](#) [202], London, Seeds of Hope, 1996, pp. 59

Account by four women who 'disarmed' a Hawk fighter-bomber bound for Indonesia at the time of the war against East Timorese resisters. In July 1997 Liverpool Crown Court acquitted the four, accepting that under international law their action aimed to prevent a crime.



Laffin, Arthur, [Swords into Plowshares, Volume Two: A Chronology of Plowshares Disarmament Action, 1980-2003](#) [203], Foreword by Daniel Berrigan., Eugene, OR, WIPF and Stock Publishers, 2010, pp. 110

This is the second volume of the history of the direct action movement launched by radical Catholics in the USA, whose tactics were taken up by Protestants and committed advocates of disarmament in both the US and Europe. Protests have over the years been directed at a range of ICBMs designed to carry nuclear warheads, Trident submarines, and nuclear weapons plants. This volume, which includes individual accounts and information on trials of protesters, covers actions not only in the US, but in Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK.

Lavalette, Michael ; Mooney, Gerry, [The Poll Tax Struggle in Britain: A Reply to Hoggett and Burn](#) [175], Critical Social Policy, Vol. 12, no. (Jan.), 1993, pp. 96-108

Lavalette, Michael ; Mooney, Gerry, "[No Poll Tax Here!": The Tories, Social Policy and the Great Poll Tax Rebellion, 1987-1991](#) [204], ed. [Lavalette, Michael](#) [205], [Mooney, Gerry](#) [206], In Lavalette, Michael ; Mooney, Gerry , [Class Struggle and Social Welfare](#) [207] Abingdon, Routledge, , 2000, pp. 296, pp. 199-227

Lazenby, Peter, [Britain: Peace campaigners blockade nuclear bomb factory](#) [208], Green Left Weekly online, no. 1201, 2018

Campaigners from all over Britain united on October 25, 2018 to blockade the government's nuclear bomb factory in Berkshire, preventing staff from entering the site.

Liddington, Jill, [The Long Road to Greenham: Feminism and Militarism in Britain since 1820](#) [209], London and Syracuse NY, Virago and Syracuse Press, 1991, pp. 341

Lights, Zion, [Hot Earth Rebels](#) [210], Nov-Dec 2019, New Left Review, no. 120, 2019

Interview with leading activist Zion Lights from Extinction Rebellion about their shutdown of central London, covering reasons for adopting civil disobedience and 'flat management' structures.

Loach, Loretta, [We'll be Here Right to the End...and After: Women in the Miners' Strike](#) [211], In Beynon, [Digging Deeper: Issues in the Miners' Strike](#) [52] ([A.1.a.ii. British Miners' Strike, 1984-85](#) [212]), London, Verso,

Lucas, Ian, [OutRage! An Oral History](#) [213], London, Continuum, 1998, pp. 256

Mack, Daniel ; Wood, Brian, [Civil Society and the Drive towards an Arms Trade Treaty](#) [214], background paper published by UNIDIR, 2012, pp. 1-29

An informative and detailed account of how the proposal for an Arms Trade Treaty to set international standards and controls upon the sale of arms, promoted in the 1990s by NGOs (such as Oxfam and Amnesty International) and by prominent individuals, for example Nobel Peace laureates, gained governmental support. The goal was not to stop all arms exports, but the more limited one of setting international standards for controlling sale of arms to strengthen national rules and to prevent weapons from intensifying conflicts or worsening human rights abuses. The Treaty was agreed at the UN General Assembly in April 2013 by 157 states, including the US under President Obama.

See also: Campaign Against the Arms Trade, 'Issues - Arms Trade Treaty' <https://www.caat.org.uk/issues/att> [215]



CAAT notes that the Arms Trade Treaty came into force in December 2014 when ratified by 50 states (including the UK), but explains their scepticism about the concept of a 'responsible' arms trade. CAAT claims the UK approves licenses which contravene the approved guidelines. and it should stop promoting arms sales A number of other sources sceptical about the Treaty are listed.

See also: 'Canada, 'Canada joins the Arms Trade Treaty while still selling arms to Saudi Arabia', *Oxfam*, 16 May 2019

<https://www.oxfam.ca/blog/canada-joins-the-arms-trade-treaty-while-still-selling-arms-to-saudi-arabia/> [216]

Oxfam comments that whilst Canadian eventual accession to the Treaty is a major victory for civil society, the government has not made moves to cancel its \$15 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia, despite the Saudi record on human rights (denounced by the Trudeau government) and the Saudi role in the war in Yemen.

See also: Pecquet, Julian, 'UN Approval of Arms Trade Treaty sets up Obama, Senate Showdown', *The Hill*, 2 April 2013

<https://thehill.com/policy/international/291401-un-adopts-obama-backed-arms-trade-treaty-opposed-by-the-nra> [217]

Commentary on the domestic political context of Obama's decision to back the Arms Trade Treaty, opposed by 53 Senators and the National Rifle Association. In the light of domestic opposition the Obama Administration had delayed support for the UN treaty in the run-up to the November 2012 election. Pecquet also notes that the treaty passed with 154 votes; three countries opposed – North Korea, Syria and Iran – and 23 abstained.

Madgwick, P.J., [Linguistic conflict in Wales: A problem in the design of government](#) [218], ed. Williams, Glyn [219], In Williams, Glyn, [Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales](#) [220] London, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, , 1978, pp. 227-241

Mason, Paul, [Why Its Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions](#) [221], London, Verso, 2012, pp. 237

Wide-ranging exploration, by BBC economics journalist, of campaigns round the world since 2008, including the Arab uprisings of 2011, but mainly focused on resistance to economic policies and including accounts of protest in UK, USA and Greece. Discusses economic and social causes of unrest and role of new communications.

May, Todd, [Nonviolent Resistance: A Philosophical Introduction](#) [222], Cambridge, Polity Press , 2014, pp. 200

May, a philosopher who has taken part in nonviolent resistance, explores both the dynamics of different types of nonviolent action O (such as moral ju-jitsu and nonviolent coercion) drawing on historical and contemporary campaigns. He then considers the values inherent in nonviolent action, such as respect for dignity, and discusses the role of nonviolent action today.

McAllister, Laura, [Plaid Cymru – The Emergence of a Political Party](#) [223], With a foreword by Gwynfor Evans, Bridgend, Seren, 2001, pp. 224

Covers the period 1945-99 when Plaid was developing from a pressure group to established party with MPS and MEPs.

McCabe, Sarah ; Wallington, P., [The Police, Public Order and Civil Liberties: Legacies of the Miners' Strike](#) [224], London, Routledge, 1988, pp. 209

McCann, Eamonn, [War and an Irish Town](#) [225], [1974], London, Pluto, 1980, pp. 176



Describes the genesis of the civil rights and housing action campaign in Derry in which he played a leading role, and the civil rights march through the city in October 1968, which was attacked by the RUC and is now widely regarded as marking the start of the Troubles. Analyzes subsequent political developments from a radical socialist perspective and argues that the solution to the conflict lies in the creation of an all-Ireland workers' republic. Critical of what he regards as the apolitical stance of NICRA, and of the later Women Together and Peace People campaigns. McCann took part in the Battle of the Bogside in 1969 and the civil rights march in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Argues that there is war in Ireland 'because capitalism, to establish and preserve itself, created conditions which made war inevitable.'

McCarthy, Joe, [What You Need to Know about Fossil Fuel Divestment](#) [226], Global Citizen, 2020

Notes that the movement for divestment from fossil fuels has grown 'from picket signs and petitions to a multi-trillion dollar crusade involving more than 350 institutions worldwide'. Cites Norway's Sovereign Wealth fund, the Episcopal Church and the British Medical Association as some of the important bodies that have divested, and that investment firms such as Blackrock have begun to withdraw support from climate polluting industries, as have universities and various companies. But also notes that divestment still often initiated by pressure from below.

McCartney, Clem, [Striking a Balance: The Northern Ireland Peace Process](#) [227], in Accord, issue 8, London, Conciliation Resources, 1999

Accounts of peace process from perspectives of various parties involved, including several members of the then recently formed Northern Ireland Executive. Clem McCartney writes on 'The Role of Civil Society' and Monica McWilliams and Kate Fearon of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition on 'Problems of Implementation'.

McCluskey, Conn, [Up Off Their Knees: A Commentary on the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland](#) [228], Republic of Ireland, Conn McCluskey & Associates, 1989, pp. 245

Account of origins and development of the movement by an activist who played a key role in its foundation.

McDonald, Henry, [Abortion law 'harsher in Northern Ireland than in Alabama](#) [229], The Guardian, 2019

Highlights the different legal consequences that women might face in Alabama, where a ban on abortion was enacted in May 2019 (likely to be challenged in the courts), and compares them to those then existing in Northern Ireland. Although Northern Ireland passed the Regulation of Termination of Pregnancy Bill 2018 that allows abortion up to 12 weeks of pregnancy, women could still face life sentences because the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 remained in place.

See also <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/feminism/2019/05/alabama-abortion-rights-are-under-threat-northern-ireland-they-never> [230] and <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/alabama-abortion-ban-georgia-northern-ireland-dup-theresa-may-a8915141.html> [231]

McEvoy, Joanne, [The Politics of Northern Ireland](#) [232], Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2008, pp. 194

Discusses competing theoretical perspectives on the causes of the conflict and the political parties and paramilitaries involved. Records the various reforms and constitutional initiatives from the 1970s to the 1990s to find a settlement which culminated in the Good Friday Agreement, the setting up of a power-sharing Executive and Assembly, and finally, following the suspension of the Assembly between 2002 and 2007, the agreement between the DUP and Sinn Fein to co-operate in a power-sharing government.

McEvoy, Joanne, [Power-Sharing Executives: Governing in Bosnia, Macedonia, and Northern Ireland](#) [233], ed. McCartney, Clem [234], Philadelphia PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, pp. 288

Comparative study of power sharing-initiatives, analyzing the different approaches in each case and the role of



external actors. Author argues that the experience in Northern Ireland, despite many setbacks and false starts, has been relatively positive, though threatened by the rioting and quarrels that followed the decision in December 2010 to fly the Union flag at Stormont only on special occasions rather than every day as had previously been the case.

McGarry, John ; O'Leary, Brendan, [Explaining Northern Ireland](#) [235], [1995], Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 533

Critical examination of both Nationalist and Unionist accounts of the causes of the conflict. Authors distinguish broadly between explanations that focus on external factors – the policies of British and Irish governments – and those that identify the internal factors of religion, culture and ethnicity in Northern Irish society. They reject the proposition that the conflict is fundamentally a religious one, and are sceptical not only of the various Marxist accounts – Orange, Green and 'Red' – but of the essentially materialist accounts by many liberal commentators. While acknowledging the multiplicity of causal factors, they view the conflict as essentially one between groups which identify themselves along different national, ethnic and religious lines, though they hold out the hope of an accommodation between them to produce an 'agreed', though not necessarily a united, Ireland.

McGill, Jack, [Crisis on the Clyde: The Story of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders](#) [236], London, Davis-Poynter, 1973, pp. 143

Account of the 1971 'work in' that took over shipyards threatened with redundancy and for a period maintained them under worker control and forced the government to delay closure.

McKeown, Ciaran, [The Passion of Peace](#) [237], Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1984, pp. 320

McKeown was one of the group of student activists campaigning on civil rights issues at Queens University Belfast in the mid-1960s from which People's Democracy emerged in 1968. However, he opposed the Belfast to Derry march in January 1969 as likely to inflame sectarian divisions, and the Marxist direction to which the organization turned. Best known for his leading role in the Peace People whose origins and development he recounts in detail. Sets out his idea for a parliamentary system based not on political parties but on autonomous community groups.

McKittrick, David ; McVea, David, [Making Sense of The Troubles](#) [238], [2000], (revised edition), London, Viking, 2012, pp. 404

Coverage of major events during the Troubles. Includes a useful chronology and an account of the Ulster Workers Council strike in 1974. . The revised 2012 edition also covers political developments in Northern Ireland since the original publication including the historic power-sharing agreement between the DUP and Sinn Féin in 2007.

Meaden, Bernadette, [Protesting for Peace](#) [239], Glasgow, Wild Goose Publications, 1999, pp. 151

Sympathetic coverage of a wide range of campaigns in Britain – Greenham Common, Trident Ploughshares, the arms trade, British troops in Northern Ireland, US bases, the 'peace tax', and opposition to the (first) Gulf War.

Merrick, [Battle for the Trees: Three Months of Responsible Ancestry](#) [240], Leeds, Godhaven Ink, 1996, pp. 132

Account of three months struggle against Newbury bypass.

Michie, Lydia ; Balaam, Madeline ; McCarthy, John ; Osadchiy, Timur ; Morrissey, Kellie, [From Her Story, to Our Story: Digital Storytelling as Public Engagement around Abortion Rights Advocacy in Ireland](#) [241], CHI '18: Proceedings of the 2018 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, no. Paper no 357, 2018, pp. 1-16

The divisive nature of abortion within the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland meant that access to safe, legal abortion has been severely restricted. This paper focuses on how achieving legal reform requires changing public



opinion, and contributes to a growing body of Health Care Informed (HCI) research that takes an activist approach to designing digital story-telling. The authors report findings from four design workshops with 31 pro-choice stakeholders across Ireland in which they used a digital storytelling platform – HerStoryTold - to promote critical conversations around sensitive abortion narratives. The findings show how digital storytelling can help reject false narratives and raise awareness of the realities of abortion laws. The authors also suggest the workshops provide design directions to curate narratives that ‘provoke empathy, foster a plurality of voices, and ultimately expand the engaged community.’

Miliband, Ralph ; Saville, John, [The Socialist Register, 1972](#) [242], London, Merlin Press, 1972

Miller, David, [Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism](#) [243], Abingdon, Routledge, 1998, pp. 344

Aims, in words of editor, ‘to give its readers a reasonably broad critical introduction to the Northern Ireland conflict’. Most of the 13 contributors to the book are academics working in the field of sociology, politics and media studies, plus writers and journalists. The thrust of the argument in the book is that the conflict needs to be understood as an anti-colonial struggle, not as a religious or ethnic one, and that tackling the inequalities brought about by colonialism is the key to securing a lasting peace.

Miller, Jill, [You Can't Kill the Spirit: Women in a Welsh Mining Village](#) [244], London, Women's Press, 1987, pp. 177

Milne, Seumas, [The Enemy Within: The Secret War Against the Miners](#) [245], London, Verso and Pan, 1995, pp. 511

Monk, Ray ; Salmon, Ruth Buckley, [How to Get to Net Zero](#) [246], 7-13 Feb 2020, New Statesman, 2020, pp. 33-37

After surveying the scope of the problems caused by climate change, the article provides a useful critique of the UK government's approach to fulfilling its target of net-zero carbon emissions by 2050, drawing on points made by the UK Committee on Climate Change (the independent statutory body set up in 2008 under the Climate Change Act). The authors conclude that so far the government has failed to make definite plans for housing and heating, industrial emissions, carbon capture and storage, agriculture, aviation and shipping. The article notes also the excessive reliance on electric vehicles to solve road transport emissions, as this could create a dangerous demand for relatively rare minerals like cobalt and lead to new ecological problems. The authors point to the potential of hydrogen fuel cells, but they also argue for simply reducing car use.

Moorhouse, Bert ; Wilson, Mary ; Chamberlain, Chris, [Rent Strikes – Direct Action and the Working Class](#) [247], ed. Miliband, Ralph [248], Saville, John [249], In Miliband, Ralph ; Saville, John , [The Socialist Register, 1972](#) [242] London, Merlin Press, , 1972, pp. 133-156

Starts with account of major rent strikes on the Clyde in 1915 and 1921-26, but includes materials on rent strikes in London 1959-61 and 1968-70 and their implications.

Morgan, Gerald, [The Dragon's Tongue: The Fortunes of the Welsh Language](#) [250], Cardiff, The Triskel Press, 1966, pp. 144

Murgatroyd, Richard, [The Popular Politics of the Poll Tax: An Active Citizenship of the Left](#) [251], London, Brunel University (published PhD thesis), 2000, pp. 338

Detailed case study of poll tax protest in the London Borough of Ealing.



Murphy, Dervla, [A Place Apart](#) [252], ed. [Miller, David](#) [253], [1978], Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980, pp. 300

Records the experiences of this distinguished Irish travel writer during her cycling tour of Northern Ireland in 1976-77. Briefly recapitulates the historical background to the Troubles, and re-examines the rival myths and prejudices of the Protestant and Catholic communities, both of whom warmly welcomed her while remaining suspicious of each other. Informed by genuine affection for the people of Northern Ireland and an optimism about its future in the longer term though discounting the possibility of a united Ireland.

Murphy, Dervla, [Changing the Problem: Post Forum Reflections](#) [254], Lilliput Pamphlets No. 3, Giggletown, Lilliput, 1984

Puts the case, following the publication of the report of the New Ireland Forum, for an independent Northern Ireland

Murray, Dominic, [Protestant Perceptions of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland](#) [255], Limerick, Centre for Peace and Development Studies, University of Limerick, 2000, pp. 173

Contributions from Northern Ireland Protestants with backgrounds in politics, the media, education, religion and community work. Murray, himself from a nationalist background, stresses the importance of contesting the widely held view in the Republic of Ireland and beyond that the Unionist population of Northern Ireland is a homogeneous group, which is both intransigent and obstructive. His intention as editor, he states, is to illuminate the diversity which exists in the unionist community.

Nairn, Tom, [The Break-up of Britain](#) [256], [1977], London, Verso, 1981, pp. 409

Marxist analysis of the political and economic factors leading to a resurgence of national consciousness in the constituent parts of the UK. In a chapter on Ireland, he rejects what he sees as the oversimplified imperialist analysis of Ireland's situation by Irish nationalists and some fellow Marxists from Connolly to Farrell. Argues the case for an independent Northern Ireland.

Needham, Andrea, [The Hammer Blow: How 10 Women Disarmed a Warplane](#) [257], London, Peace News Press, 2016, pp. 310

The book tells the story of how ten women disarmed a Hawk jet at the British Aerospace Warton site near Preston, in England in 1996, which was bound for genocide in East Timor and were acquitted.

Nehring, Holger, [National Internationalists: British and West German Protests Against Nuclear Weapons, the Politics of Transnational Communication and the Social History of the Cold War 1957-1964](#) [258], Contemporary European History, Vol. 14, no. 4, 2005, pp. 559-582

Nehring, Holger, [Demonstrating for "Peace" in the Cold War: The British and West German Easter Marches 1958-64](#) [259], ed. [Reiss, Matthias](#) [260], In Reiss, Matthias, [The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century](#) [261] Oxford, Oxford University Press, , 2007, pp. 352,

Nehring, Holger, [Politics of Security: British and West German Protest Movements in the Early Cold War 1945-1970](#) [262], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 368

Discusses cultural and social bases of protest against nuclear weapons, role of nationalism in the movements, and importance of British types of activism for German protest in light of experience in World War Two and the cold war. See also: Nehring, Holger, [Demonstrating for "Peace" in the Cold War: The British and West German Easter](#)



[Marches 1958-64](#) [259] In Reiss, Matthias , [The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century](#) [261] Oxford, Oxford University Press, , 2007 , chap. 15; Nehring, Holger , [National Internationalists: British and West German Protests Against Nuclear Weapons, the Politics of Transnational Communication and the Social History of the Cold War 1957-1964](#) [258] Contemporary European History, 2005, pp. 559-582 .

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, [Religion and War Resistance in the Plowshares Movement](#) [263], New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 204

This book examines the development and evolution of the Plowshares movement from a social science perspective, looking at issues such as 'tactical legitimation' and sustainability in relation to the US movement, and also analyzing 'intermittent resistance' in the German, Dutch and Australian movements, and 'internal implosion' in the Swedish movement. It also assesses the UK movement.

O'Brien, Conor Cruise, [States of Ireland](#) [264], [1972], Republished, London, Faber & Faber, 2015

Mixture of history, personal memoir and analysis by this Irish academic, writer and statesman. In chapter 8, 'Civil Rights: the Crossroads' (pp. 147-77) he argues that the campaign of civil disobedience begun by the civil rights movement in 1968 was bound in the context of Northern Ireland's deeply divided society to increase sectarianism and lead to violence. Defends Partition on the grounds that the alternative would have been a much bloodier civil war than the one that occurred in the South in 1922-23. Cites a loyalty survey conducted by Richard Rose in 1968 to dismiss as unrealistic the proposition that the Catholic and Protestant working class might unite in a struggle against a common class enemy and create a workers' republic in a united Ireland.

O'Dowd, Kiam ; Robston, Bill ; Tomlinson, Mike, [Northern Ireland: Between Civil Rights and Civil War](#) [265], London, CSE Books, 1980, pp. 232

Examination from a socialist perspective of key issues by three Northern Ireland academics. Includes a chapter on the reform of the RUC in the 1970s.

O'Leary, Naomi, [Foreigners groups invade Ireland's online abortion debate](#)' [266], ed. [Mulally, Una](#) [267], Politico, 2018

Reports on the ban that Facebook and Google put on foreign ads from activists in the US, UK and other countries' and from vloggers, which were directed at influencing an anti-abortion result in the 2018 Irish referendum.

See also <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/the-poisonous-online-campaign-to-defeat-the-abortion-referendum-1.3486236> [268] and <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/overseas-influence-in-abortion-referendum-will-be-hard-to-stop-1.3406610> [269]

O Connor, Fionnuala, [In Search of a State: Catholics in Northern Ireland](#) [270], Belfast, The Blackstaff Press, 1993, pp. 393

Investigation of the convictions and sense of identity of people in the Catholic Community in Northern Ireland based on recorded interviews with fifty-five individuals – not all of them necessarily practising Catholics – about their political allegiances, their relationship with Protestants, and their attitude to the IRA, Britain, Southern Ireland and the Church.

O Connor, Fionnuala, [Community politics in Northern Ireland](#) [271], In Randle, [Challenge to Nonviolence](#) [272] ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [273]), Bradford, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, pp. 207-222

Text of a talk given in June 1997 to the Nonviolent Research Project at Bradford University.. Discusses the



development of community level political engagement and the vision of Ciaran McKeown of the Peace People that it could someday provide an alternative to the existing political system. She argues that Community politics up to that time (1997) was more developed in the Catholic/Nationalist community than in that of the Protestant/Unionist one but there too it had emerged in the previous five years or so. Former members of paramilitary groups were frequently involved because they had come to see the futility of the violence or because they wanted their own children to have a different life to the one they had experienced.

Okolosie, Lola, [Go Feminist: Feminism for all](#) [274], Red Pepper, no. Apr/May, 2012, pp. 66-65

Account of first Go Feminist conference designed to link up and inspire activists.

Omontra-Otekanmi, Rebecca, [In Britain we have our George Floyds too](#) [275], ed. [Laffin, Arthur](#) [276], New Statesman, 2020

The author begins by recalling the death of 20 year-old Rashan Charles in a London shop in July 2017 whilst he was being violently restrained by two police officers, who were cleared of misconduct. She argues that though the scale of police violence may be smaller in the UK, it is not very different. The cause is structural racism.

Orgel, Micheal ; Pearson, Linda ; Johnson, Guy, [I'm gonna lay down that Atom Bomb: A Scottish peace initiative focused on the power of money](#) [277], Peace News, no. 2628-2629, 2019, pp. 7-6

This article describes the 'Don't Bank on the Bomb' campaign to promote disinvestment in companies that have a role in producing nuclear weapons. Some of these, for example BAE Systems, have factories in Scotland and others have benefited from Scottish funding, including investment by Scottish pensions schemes. Notes that this investment is inconsistent with opposition of many Scottish MPs and the Scottish government to renewal of Trident, and suggests campaigning tactics.

Osmond, John, [Creative Conflict: The Politics of Welsh Devolution](#) [278], Llandysul and London, Gome Press and Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, pp. 314

States the case for devolution, criticizes British regional policy, and traces the emergence and development of a distinctive Welsh politics.

Overy, Bob, [How Effective Are Peace Movements?](#) [279], Bradford and London, Bradford School of Peace Studies and Housmans, 1982, pp. 78

Includes a sympathetic analysis of the Peace People pp. 30-38. See also: <https://civilresistance.info/challenge/effective> [280].

O'Dochartaigh, Niall, [From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles](#) [281], [1997], London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 332

Describes the trajectory of resistance from largely nonviolent demonstrations, modeled on the US Civil Rights movement, to riots and finally to virtual civil war in Derry/Londonderry. O'Dochartaigh subscribes to the view that in conditions of civil disorder and conflict 'the local environment becomes ever more important as a focus of political activity.' A central thesis of the book is that 'occasions of violent confrontation play a crucial role in promoting the escalation and continuation of conflict'.

Parker, Tony, [Red Hill: A Mining Community](#) [282], [1986], London, Faber and Faber, 2013, pp. 236

Eyewitness accounts (from different perspectives) of impact of strike on community.



Porter, Norman, [Rethinking Unionism: An Alternative Vision for Northern Ireland](#) [283], [1996], Belfast, The Blackstaff Press, 1998, pp. 252

Advocates a 'civic unionism' which acknowledges both the Britishness and Irishness of Northern Ireland. To quote from the Preface it 'accommodates questions of cultural identity, liberal emphases on the entitlements of individuals and a substantive understanding of politics in which the practice of dialogue is central'.

Press, Freedom, [Anarchy no 102](#) [284], (vol. 9 no 8), August, London, Freedom Press, 1969

Issue on 'Squatters' covering London campaign starting in 1968, including extract from Kropotkin on 'The expropriation of dwellings'.

Price, Vicky, [Women vs Capitalism: Why We Can't Have it All in a Free Market Economy](#) [285], London, Hurst Publishers, 2019, pp. 360

Distinguished British economist Vicky Pryce examines how discrimination against women is built into the free market system, both in terms of the pay gap, glass ceiling and obstacles to entering work; and also in the implications of the growing role of robots. She argues that equality for women requires 'radical changes to contemporary capitalism'.

Prince, Simon ; Warner, Geoffrey, [Belfast and Derry in Revolt](#) [286], Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2012, pp. 271

Detailed account of the beginnings of the Troubles in these two cities. Argues that 5 October 1968, the date of the first civil rights march in Derry, which was attacked by the RUC and a loyalist mob, has a strong claim to be 'the second most significant date in Irish history' – after Easter week 1916.

Purdie, Bob, [Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland](#) [287], Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1990, pp. 286

Argues that the movement made a strategic error in taking to the streets because of the connection between street demonstrations and sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland. Although activists drew inspiration from the US Civil Rights Movement they did not, in his view, take sufficient account of the different circumstances in the two countries.

Radical History Network, [London Greenpeace: A History of Ideas, Protests and Campaigns \(1971-2005\)](#) [288], Radical History Network, 2009

Concise outline of campaigns by group distinct from the better known international organization. See also: Vidal, [McLibel: Burger Culture on Trial](#) [289] ([A.4.c. Food and Drink Multinationals](#) [290]) for their epic struggle against McDonald's.

Ramsey, Kanaan, [How One Small Anarchist Group Toppled the Thatcher Government](#) [291], (Interviewed by David Solnit), In Solnit, [Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World](#) [292] ([A.6.a. General Titles](#) [293]), San Francisco CA, City Lights, pp. 397-410

Discusses how the poll tax campaign spread beyond its origins in Edinburgh to the rest of Britain and describes its main tactics.

Randle, Michael, [Nonviolent direct action in the 1950s and 1960s](#) [294], ed. Taylor, Richard [295], Young, Nigel J. [296], In Taylor; Young, [Campaigns for Peace: British Peace Movements in the Twentieth Century](#) [297] ([D.1. General: National and Transnational Movements](#) [298]), Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 131-161



Randle, Michael, [Thousands of Arrests: What can Extinction Rebellion learn from the experience of the Committee of 100?](#) [299], Feb-Mar 2020, Peace News, no. 2638-2639, 2020

Randle was a full time organizer for the Committee of 100, which was created in 1960 to promote mass nonviolent direct action, such as sit-downs and occupations, as a strategy to promote unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. In this article he compares the Committee's experience with the tactics and aims of Extinction Rebellion, noting the greater acceptability of nonviolent direct action today and the differences between the two threats (nuclear war and major climate change). He also notes that the Committee of 100 ceased to exist after eight years, whilst the more conventional CND has lasted over 60 years.

See also articles by Gabriel Carlyle 'Building the Climate Movement We Need', and Mya-Rose Craig, 'The Point of Striking is to Take Control over Our Futures' in *Peace News*, 2034-2035, Oct.-Nov. 2019 for further debate about strategy and focus. Carlyle makes a comparison with the US Civil Rights Movement and its localised, focused campaigns combining to create a national movement. Craig stresses the need to prioritize the Global South and when setting out alternatives, to advocate only actions that do not harm communities in poorer countries.

Reading, Anna ; Katriel, Tamar, [Cultural Memories of nonviolent Struggles: Powerful Times](#) [300], Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 260

This is an academic contribution to memory studies, but shows how preserving knowledge and stories of past movements affects present politics, and how nonviolent activists can learn from past campaigns. Examples examined include the suffragettes, Greenham Common, Polish Solidarity, US struggles against racism and Australian aboriginal campaigns. The authors also illustrate how one movement can influence others and stress the need to make archival and other sources (films, music, etc.) available.

Ridriguez, Samuel, [Global Resistance to Fracking: Communities Rise Up to Fight Climate Crisis and Democratic Deficit](#) [301], Madrid, Libros en Accion, 2015, pp. 153

This book, edited by the international coordinator of Ecologistas en Accion, covers 15 varied struggles against fracking around the world, and is intended to be a source of inspiration for continued resistance. Many are first person accounts, by those involved. Chapters cover personal opposition fracking in the courts or at the municipal level, resistance by local farmers to corporations backed by the government, as in Poland and Romania and the campaign for 'frack free' municipalities in the Basque territory of Spain. There are also accounts of resistance from Argentina, Algeria, South Africa, Australia, the UK (against drilling in Sussex) and Northern Ireland, and on the role of ATTA C in France. Includes a timeline and 'some snapshots' of the resistance, as well as some conclusions drawn by the editor.

Robinson, Lucy, [Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain: How the Personal got Political](#) [302], Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011, pp. 232

Robson, Bridget Mary, [What Part did Nonviolence Play in the British Peace Movement 1979-1985?](#) [303], Bradford, University of Bradford, MA Dissertation, 1992, pp. 89

Recounts debates surrounding the use of direct action and civil disobedience in anti-nuclear campaigns, noting the influence of New Left politics and feminism and the rise of nonviolence training, affinity groups and peace camps in the 1980s. Demonstrates that direct action was initiated at the grassroots level but in time accepted by CND leadership.

Rochon, Thomas R., [Mobilizing for Peace](#) [304], Princetown NJ, Princetown University Press, 1988, pp. 232

Wide-ranging analysis of West European anti-missile/nuclear disarmament campaigns 1979-1986, incorporating discussion of social movement theory and the wider political context. Focuses particularly on Britain, the



Netherlands, West Germany and France. It includes great deal of information on organizations, campaigns and types of action, as well as many useful sources and references.

Rogaly, Joe, [Grunwick](#) [305], Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977, pp. 199

Account by journalist who gave prominent coverage to the women's struggle during the strike.

Rose, Richard, [Governing Without Consensus. An Irish Perspective](#) [306], London, Faber & Faber and Beacon Press, 1971, pp. 567

Standard and frequently cited work by an American political scientist based in Britain. Charts the origins and development of the divided community in Northern Ireland since the foundation of the state, and considers the problems of governance it gives rise to. Includes a discussion of the civil rights movement. Sees no immediately practicable solution to the problem and draws a comparison with the race problems in the United States. The analysis is supported by data from an extensive social survey of public opinion and informal discussions with people active in Northern Ireland politics.

Roseneil, Sasha, [Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Action at Greenham](#) [307], Buckingham, Open University Press, 1995, pp. 225

This PhD thesis is a detailed account of the history and everyday life at Greenham, based on participation in the peace camp and interviews with other women. See also Roseneil, Sasha, [Common Women. Uncommon Practices: The Queer Feminism of Greenham](#) [308] London, Cassell, , 2000, pp. 352, which explores life-style and lesbian issues connected with the camp.

Roseneil, Sasha, [Common Women. Uncommon Practices: The Queer Feminism of Greenham](#) [308], London, Cassell, 2000, pp. 352

Explores life-style and lesbian issues connected with the Greenham Common Women's peace camp.

Ross, Stuart F., [Smashing H-Block: The Popular Campaign Against Criminalization and the Irish Hunger Strikes 1976-1982](#) [309], Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, 2011, pp. 226

In contrast to most accounts of the anti H-block campaign, this book focuses on the popular campaign outside the prison for the restoration of 'Special Category Status', originally accorded to both republican and loyalist prisoners in 1972 but phased out by the Labour Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, in 1976. Ross maintains that the campaign that grew around the hunger strikes of 1981 and 1982 was 'perhaps the biggest and broadest solidarity movement since Vietnam', much of it driven from the bottom up by the republican grassroots, not its leadership. He also suggests that it propelled the Provisional IRA towards calling a ceasefire and shifting to a political strategy.

Rossdale, Chris, [Resisting Militarism: Direct Action and the Politics of Subversion](#) [310], Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2019, pp. 288

Rossdale has studied a range of British campaigning groups taking radical forms of direct action to resist militarism and the arms trade, including the Campaign against Arms Trade and the broad coalition involved in Stop the Arms Fair. He describes some of their protests over the previous 15 years, such as peace camps, auctioning off a tank outside an arms fair and protesters supergluing themselves to the London offices of Lockheed Martin, and argues for the 'radical and ethical potential of prefigurative direct action'. He also develops a depiction of militarism from the standpoint of those resisting it, and examines the disagreements and debates between protesters, including the interpretation of nonviolence. Chapters cover feminist and queer anti-militarism, and the lack of racial diversity among the protesters.



Rowthorn, Bob ; Wayne, Naomi, [Northern Ireland: The Political Economy of Conflict \[311\]](#), Cambridge, Polity Press, in association with Blackwell, 1988, pp. 208

Analysis of the causes of conflict in Northern Ireland, dealing mainly with the period from partition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, though with a brief survey of the longer historical background. Pays greater attention than the majority of accounts to economic and class factors.

Rupp, Leila, [The Persistence of Transnational Organizing: The Case of the Homophile Movement \[312\]](#), American Historical Review, Vol. 116, no. 4 (Oct), 2011, pp. 1014-1039

Study of the reformist groups which were active in Scandinavia, West Germany, France, the UK, Canada and USA, primarily in the 1950s and 1960s, which joined in the International Committee for Sexual Equality (1951-1963) founded by the Dutch COC (the first 'homophile' group).

Samuel, Raphael ; Bloomfield, Barbara ; Boanas, Guy, [The Enemy Within: Pit Villages and the Miners' Strike of 1984-5 \[313\]](#), London, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1986, pp. 260

Collection of first-hand accounts, interviews, letters, speeches etc.

Saunders, Jonathan, [Across Frontiers: International Support for the Miners' Strike \[314\]](#), ed. [Samuel, Raphael \[315\]](#), [Bloomfield, Barbara \[316\]](#), [Boanas, Guy \[317\]](#), London, Canary, 1989, pp. 288

SBS Collective, [Against the Grain \[156\]](#), London, Southall Black Sisters, 1990

In-depth analysis of the campaigns fought by Southall Black Sisters and the issues that they faced in the first ten years of our existence.

Scalmer, Sean, [Gandhi in the West: the Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest \[318\]](#), Cambridge MA, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 254

Primarily discusses the US civil rights and the British nuclear disarmament movements.

Seel, Benjamin ; Patterson, Matthew ; Doherty, Brian, [Direct Action in British Environmentalism \[319\]](#), ed. [Kimber, Richard \[320\]](#), [Richardson, J.J. \[321\]](#), London, Routledge, 2000, pp. 223

Essays include a survey of British environmentalism 1988-97 in the changing political context, assessments of different types of environmental activity and role of the media. Brian Doherty, 'Manufacturing Vulnerability: Protest Camp Tactics' looks at evolution of nonviolent direct action tactics and transnational influences. There is some discussion of the incidence of violence and media (mis)perceptions.

Sethna, Christabelle ; Davis, Gayle, [Abortion Across Borders: Transnational Travel and Access to Abortion Services \[322\]](#), Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019, pp. 360

The authors examine how restrictive policies force women to travel both within and across national borders in order to reach abortion providers, often at great expense, over long distances and with significant safety risks. Contributors, who adopt both historical and contemporary perspectives, examine the situation culturally and politically diverse in regions that include Australia, Canada, Eastern Europe, Ireland, New Zealand, Poland, Prince Edward Island, Spain, Sweden, Texas, and post-Brexit referendum UK.



Silva de Assis, C., [Transgendering the media: Trans Media Watch and the struggle over representations of transgender in the British media](#) [323], Utrecht, University of Utrecht, Faculty of Humanities Theses, 2014, pp. 100

Simpson, Tony, [No Bunkers Here: A Successful Nonviolent Action in a Welsh Community](#) [324], Merthyr Tydfil, Nottingham and Mid-Glamorgan CND and Peace News, 1982, pp. 47

Account of direct action campaign against the building of a nuclear-blast-proof bunker.

Sitrin, Marina ; Azzellini, Dario, [They Can't Represent Us! Reinventing Democracy from Greece to Occupy](#) [325], London, Verso, 2014, pp. 192

Combines history of direct democracy from classical Greece to the Indignados, drawing on interviews with activists in contemporary movements, including Occupy, that are based on forms of participatory democracy and reject liberal parliamentary democracy.

Squatting Europe Kollektive, ; Cattaneo, Claudia ; Martínez, Miguel Ángel, [The Squatters' Movement in Europe: Commons and Autonomy as Alternatives to Capitalism](#) [326], London, Pluto Press, 2014, pp. 288

Case studies from most of Europe (excluding eastern Europe and Greece) covering direct action to create social housing and other community services over 30 year period.

Stead, Jean, [Never the Same Again: Women and the Miners' Strike](#) [327], London, Women's Press, 1987, pp. 177

Street, Tim, [The politics of British nuclear disarmament](#) [328], ed. [Grant, Matthew](#) [329], [Ziemann, Benjamin](#) [330], Oxford Research Group, 2015

Argues that the post-election debate on replacing the UK's Trident nuclear weapons system is welcome and necessary, but so far has not dealt with the underlying political meaning of the UK being a nuclear weapon state and what it would mean for it to disarm. This article discusses the politics of Trident in relation to the UK's military character and its imperial history.

Tallents, Jane, [Nukewatch – a Scottish Perspective](#) [331], Peace News, no. 2620-2621, 2018, pp. 11-10

Nukewatch focuses on monitoring road convoys carrying nuclear warheads from the Aldermaston Weapons Research Establishment near Reading to missile bases. The campaign began in the 1980s, and in the 1980s and 1990s Nukewatch also tried to publicize the convoys to the local population by protests along the route. From the 2000s stricter Ministry of Defence controls to ensure secrecy and speed, and Nukewatch's own concerns about possible acts of terrorism against convoys, led them to limit the information they put on the web. However, given the growth of social media and publicity about convoys on it, they joined in from 2015, whilst still using information with discretion.

See also article by Jane Tallents 'Warhead Accidents on our Roads – Who's Responsible?', p.10. of the same issue of *Peace News*.

Tamlit, Ali, [The Heathrow 13: the Resistance against a Third Runway](#) [332], ROAR, 2016

Tamlit writes as one of the 13 activists, giving a brief account of the occupation of a runway at Heathrow using locks and chains, and of the trial where the defendants pleaded 'necessity' to prevent local harm and harm caused by climate change. He also provides a summary history of the development of a broad anti-aviation campaign from 2000 against, the creation of Plane Stupid in 2005 which became a direct action network, and the Climate Camp at Heathrow.



See also: Mortimer, Caroline, 'Plane Stupid Climate Change Activists Block Heathrow Runway in Protest at Airport Expansion', *Independent*, 13 July 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/heathrow-protest-live-plane-stupid-climate-change-activists-block-runway-in-protest-at-airport-10384280.html> [333]

Tamilit, Ali, [The Heathrow 13: the Resistance against a Third Runway](#) [334], ROAR, 2016

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See also: Mortimer, Caroline, 'Plane Stupid Climate Change Activists Block Heathrow Runway in Protest at Airport Expansion', *Independent*, 13 July 2015 <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/heathrow-protest-live-plane-stupid-climate-change-activists-block-runway-in-protest-at-airport-10384280.html> [333]

Taylor, Ian, [Media Relations of the Anti-War Movement: The Battle for Hearts and Minds](#) [335], New York and London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 268

An examination of how the anti-Iraq War movement in the UK tried to secure press coverage as part of their campaign. The focus is on local anti-war groups and their relationship with the local press and examines such questions as the influence of the social composition of the movement on their approach to the media. Taylor also assesses how local journalists and media viewed the campaign.

Taylor, Richard, [Against the Bomb: The British Peace Movement 1958-1965](#) [336], Oxford, Clarendon, 1988, pp. 368

Well researched account of the first phase of the nuclear disarmament campaign in Britain, analysed and critiqued from a New Left/Marxist perspective.

Taylor, Richard ; Young, Nigel J., [Campaigns for Peace: British Peace Movements in the Twentieth Century](#) [297], Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987, pp. 308

Collection of analytical and descriptive essays spanning period from late 19th century to 1980s, but the main focus is on post-World War Two movement against nuclear weapons. Michael Randle assesses '[Nonviolent direct action in the 1950s and 1960s](#) [294]', pp. 131-61.

Teague, Ellen, [Thousands Lobby for Action on Climate Change](#) [337], The Tablet, 2019

This report in a Catholic newspaper stresses the role of Catholic and Christian bodies in this 'The Time is Now' mass lobby of the Westminster Parliament organized by the Climate Coalition (coordinating 132 environmental, social and religious bodies in the UK with a focus on lobbying). Teague reports: 'the whole day event started with a walk of witness down Whitehall, with Columbian missionaries, Jesuit Mission, Salesians, Arocha, Pax Christi and more'. About 12,000 took part, and over 350 MPs were lobbied.

See also: www.theclimatecoalition.org [338]

Terrence Higgins Trust, [Rewriting History: Key Moments and Issues of the Last 50 Years of British LGBT History](#) [339], London, Terrence Higgins Trust, 2010, pp. 22

Divided into sections on 1. Campaigns against homo/transphobia; 2. Law and change; 3. Health and wellbeing; and



4. Community and diversity (covering Pride, representation in the media and LGBT communities and spaces). Includes coverage of policing, Section 28, civil partnerships and HIV/AIDS and mental health issues.

Thomas, Ned, [The Welsh Extremist](#) [340], [1971], Talybont, Y Lolfa, 1991, pp. 144

Chronicles the Welsh cultural and national revival in the 20th century, including the nonviolent direct action campaign of the 1970s. Chapters on several of the leading figures in the movement. Critical assessment of the response of English socialists to the movement.

Thompson, Jennifer, [Abortion Law and Political Institutions: Explaining Policy Resistance](#) [341], Cham: Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 248

This book, which covers the period from the early peace process in the 1980s to 2017, is a comprehensive study of abortion politics and policy in Northern Ireland. Adopting a feminist institutionalist framework, the author illustrates the ways in which abortion has been addressed at both the national level at Westminster and the devolved level at Stormont.

Tomos, Angharad, [Realising a Dream](#) [342], ed. [Blanchard, Simon](#) [343], [Morley, David](#) [344], In Blanchard, Simon ; Morley, David, [What's This Channel Four? An Alternative Report](#) [55] London, Comedia Publishing Group, 1982, pp. 192,

Tonge, Jonathan, [The New Northern Irish Politics](#) [345], ed. [Murray, Dominic](#) [346], Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 282

Analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the constitutional arrangements embodied in the Good Friday Agreement. Argues that despite the difficult concessions unionists had to make, the GFA was a triumph for them politically since it embodied the principle of consent for any constitutional change in the province and the amendment of Articles 2 and 3 of the Republic's constitution. Rejects the proposition that the separate referendums on the GFA in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic amounted to a genuine exercise in Irish self-determination, but expresses cautious optimism that the void left by 'the demise of traditional republicanism' can be filled within the broader EU context by a growing bi-nationalism and diminution of the north-south border.

Toupin, Louise, [Wages for Housework: A History of an International Feminist Movement, 1972-77](#) [347], London, Pluto Press, 2018, pp. 336

Toupin, who is Canadian, writes initially from that perspective in her history of a feminist campaign that started from the reality that a majority of women worked unpaid in the home. Wages for Housework asserted that domestic work and child rearing and caring for the elderly did have specific economic value. The aim was partly to make women's contribution to society visible and also to increase the independence of housewives - and the campaign mobilized to prevent cuts to family allowances in Canada and the UK, a financial source controlled by women. Wages for Housework ran counter, however, to the predominant feminist pressure to open up job opportunities for all women, and take them out of the home. The book includes an 'Afterword' on the current situation, in which care and domestic work is often outsourced to migrant workers.

Tshseked, A., [Stop the DSEI Arms Fair Report](#) [348], rs21, 2019

A member of Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants gives an account of the varied protests, including nonviolent direct action, and cultural events, that challenged the Arms Fair which exhibits the most recent range of weapons to thousands of potential buyers every two years in east London. A wide range of groups took part in the week-long resistance to the arms fair - Day 7 focused on borders and migration, noting how the weapons on display helped to displace many people.



Tyler, Imogen, [Revoltin' Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain](#) [349], London, Zed Books, 2013, pp. 224

Begins with forced eviction (despite their resistance) of about 500 travellers from their homes in 2011, and explores exclusion and labelling of a range of 'abjected' groups (treated as scapegoats) and denigration of their resistance. Main focus on Britain, but makes comparisons with other oppressed groups, such as those in the Niger Delta.

Vidal, John, [McLibel: Burger Culture on Trial](#) [289], Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1997, pp. 354

Detailed account of the trial of two members of London Greenpeace, who refused to withdraw a leaflet denouncing McDonald's.

Vinthagen, Stellan ; Kennick, Justin ; Mason, Kelvin, [Tackling Trident](#) [350], Sparsnas Sweden, Irene Publishing, 2012, pp. 362

On two 'Academic Conference Blockades' at Faslane Trident missile base in Scotland in January and June 2007.

Wall, Derek, [Earth First! and the Anti-Roads Movement](#) [351], London, Routledge, 1999, pp. 219

Walter, Aubrey, [Come Together: The Years of Gay Liberation 1970-73](#) [352], London, Heretic Books, 1981, pp. 218

Based on articles from the newspaper Come Together. Walter was one of the founders of the British Gay Liberation Front.

Ward, Colin, [Housing: An Anarchist Approach](#) [353], ed. [Squatting Europe Kollektive.](#) [354], [Cattaneo, Claudia](#) [355], [Martínez, Miguel Ángel](#) [356], London, Freedom Press, 1976, pp. 182

Ward, a leading anarchist theorist and expert on housing, examines the post-1945 British squatters movement (pp. 13-27) and assesses the revival of squatting between 1968 and early 1970s.

Ward, Colin, [Cotters and Squatters: The Hidden History of Housing](#) [357], Nottingham, Five Leaves Publications, 2002, pp. 196

A social history that goes up to end of 20th century, primarily discusses British examples, but has references to many other countries.

Waterston, Elizabeth ; Boulton, Frank, [A history of British health professionals working for the abolition of nuclear weapons](#) [358], *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, Vol. 34, no. 4, 2018, pp. 350-359

In 1963 medical and dental professionals in the United States and the United Kingdom played an important role in highlighting the health threat posed by atmospheric nuclear tests. Analysis of the deciduous teeth of American children born during the testing years showed the widespread presence of Strontium-90, a radioactive fission product that accumulates in babies' teeth. The outrage of parents made fallout a central issue, and so put pressure on the US and UK governments to agree to the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

Wates, Nick ; Wolmar, Christian, [Squatting: The Real Story](#) [359], London, Bayleaf Books, 1983, pp. 240

Written and produced by squatters, focusing primarily on history in Britain, but some reference to squatting round the world.



Watts, Jonathan, [Yes. We. Canopy: Can alliances between indigenous people and young climate activists help to save the Amazon?](#) [360], Guardian Weekly, 2019, pp. 15-17

Account of preparation by indigenous communities to resist the destruction of the rainforest by farmers, miners and loggers backed by far right President Jair Bolsonaro. The article focuses on the discussions, held in the small riverine community Manolito in Terro do Meio, between indigenous people and international activists, including Extinction Rebellion UK organisers, Belgian activists in the School Strike and from the Russian feminist punk group Pussy Riot. Watts outlines the wider Brazilian context, and discusses how international participants revised their ideas and campaigning plans as a result of the meeting, which was named 'Amazon: Centro do Mundo'.

Wearing, David, [Why Britain's Relationship with Saudi Arabia is about to Change](#) [361], New Statesman, 2019

Article following the Court of Appeal judgement that the British government had unlawfully approved arms sales to Saudi Arabia despite a clear risk that they would be used in Yemen contrary to international humanitarian law. Wearing comments on the UK's historic support for Saudi Arabia since the 1920s and central role in providing military aircraft and weapons under both Conservative and Labour governments, despite a major fraud scandal under Mrs Thatcher over an arms deal.

See also: Smith, Andrew, 'Saudi Arms Sales were Illegal Says Court', *Peace News*, 2632-26 33, Aug.-Sept. 2019, p. 5.

The media coordinator of the Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) sets out the case against arming Saudi Arabia to fight in Yemen - tens of thousands killed as result of bombing over previous four years and at least 4.7 billion pounds worth of fighter jets, bombs and missiles licensed for sale from the UK. Notes the British government has appealed against the verdict to the Supreme Court.

See also: 'About CAAT: Ending the Arms Trade', <https://www.caat.org.uk/issues/introduction/ending-the-arms-trade> [362]

Sets out aims of campaign and details of organization and provides links to the UK Court of Appeal ruling and other relevant issues

See also: 'Unions and NGOs Block Saudi Arms Ship', *Peace News*, 2630-2631, June-July 2019, p. 5.

Brief report on direct action by Italian dock workers from the CGiL union and activists from Potere al Popolo and peace groups in Genoa, who prevented generators being loaded onto the Bahri Yanbu, because they could be used in Yemen. The ship had previously been deterred from loading weapons in France by two court cases launched by human rights groups against the shipment.

Wells, Ronald A., [People Behind the Peace: Community and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland](#) [363], Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans Pub, 1999, pp. 126

Focuses on the contribution to the peace process in the lead-up to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement of three ecumenical Christian peace centres in Northern Ireland – the Corrymeela Community, the Christian Renewal Centre, and the Columbanus Community. The author, in contrast to the majority of commentators, identifies religious differences as the main cause of the conflict, though he argues that religion can be 'both cause of and cure for social conflict'.

Welsh, Ian ; McLeish, Phil, [The European Road to Nowhere: Anarchism and Direct Action against the UK Roads Programme](#) [364], Anarchist Studies, Vol. 4, no. 1, 1996, pp. 27-44

Whyte, John, [How Much Discrimination Was There under the Unionist Regime, 1921-72?](#) [365], ed. Gallagher, Tom [366], O'Connell, James [367], In Gallagher, Tom ; O'Connell, James , [Contemporary Irish Studies](#) [145] Manchester, Manchester University Press, , 1983, pp. 144, pp. 1-35



Detached assessment of the evidence. Concludes that while discrimination against Catholics in this period certainly existed, it was more marked in some policy areas than others – more marked in electoral practices (especially at local government level), public employment and policing, generally less so in private employment, public housing and regional policy. But he notes that geographically, also, there were marked differences, with discrimination being more widespread in the west, which had a higher Catholic population.

Whyte, John, [Interpreting Northern Ireland](#) [368], Foreword by Garret Fitzgerald, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, pp. 328

Reviews the principal interpretations of the causes of conflict in Northern Ireland, including various Nationalist, Unionist and Marxist accounts, and proposed solutions. Concludes that both the traditional nationalist and traditional unionist interpretations had lost their popularity over the previous 20 years to be replaced by one prioritizing internal causes. Points also to the serious disagreements among Marxist commentators but acknowledges the major contribution a number of them, including McCann, Farrell, Bew, Gibbon and Patterson, have made to the literature, Suggests a new paradigm may be needed which, among other things, would take account of the contrast between different parts of Northern Ireland where areas only a few miles apart can differ enormously 'in religious mix, in economic circumstances, in the level of violence, in political attitudes.'

Williams, Glyn, [Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales](#) [220], London, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1978

Williams, Zoe, [No more nukes'? Why anti-nuclear protests need an urgent revival](#) [369], The Guardian, 2017

Account of some of the most important nuclear disarmament movements, specifically the Aldermaston march in Easter 1958; the development of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and the main activities they led in the 1980s; and the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign.

Wilson, Elizabeth, [What Is to be Done about Violence Against Women?](#) [370], Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1983, pp. 256

Chapter 6, 'Feminists fight back' (pp.169-224) covers the protests in Britain against male violence, and also constructive organizational responses and the campaign for legal change and challenges to prevailing attitudes.

Winterton, Jonathan ; Winterton, Ruth, [Coal, Crisis and Conflict: The 1984-85 Miners' Strike in Yorkshire](#) [371], Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1989, pp. 360

Young, Nigel J., [An Infantile Disorder? The Crisis and Decline of the New Left](#) [372], ed. [Weiss, Peter](#) [72], [Coates, Ken](#) [373], London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, pp. 490

The New Left became closely associated with opposition to the Vietnam War, and there are frequent references to this opposition in the US and UK, including a critique in chapter 9 'Vietnam and Alignment', of New Left support for North Vietnam, pp. 163-88.

Younge, Gary, [What black America means to Europe](#) [374], The New York Review Of Books, 2020

In this 'Long Read' article Younge discusses how protests for racial justice in the US from the Civil Rights Movement to Black Lives Matter have prompted expressions of European solidarity, but argues that the European continent must face its own predominant role in the history of slavery. (Also available on *The Guardian*, 11 June 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/11/what-black-america-means-to-europe-protests-racism-george-floyd> [375])



For an overview on how the BLM 2020 protests have erupted across the African continent see also: O'Dowd, Peter and Allison Hagan, 'Black Lives Matter Movement Resonates Across Africa', *WBUR*, 12 June 2020

(<https://www.thenation.com/article/society/kkk-all-black-baseball-monroviains/> [376]) and

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Zelter, Angie, [Trident on Trial: The Case for People's Disarmament and the Trident v. 3](#) [378], Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2001, pp. 312 (pb)

Following the 1996 ICJ Advisory Opinion that use or threat to use nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law, Angie Zelter, Ellen Moxley and Lilla Roder embarked on nonviolent direct action at the Trident nuclear base. The local Scottish Sheriff found them not guilty under international law as they were acting as 'world citizens'. The case was referred to the High Court, which refused to rule on the legality of UK nuclear weapons. The 'Trident Ploughshares' campaign therefore mounted other protests to challenge these weapons. This book is a personal account of the anti-Trident campaign, and includes profiles of other individuals and groups that have become involved in the movement to abolish nuclear weapons and contributions by them.

Zelter, Angie, [Trident on Trial: The Case for People's Disarmament and the Trident v. 3](#) [379], Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2001, pp. 312 (pb)

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Zelter, Angie, [Faslane 365: A Year of Anti-Nuclear Blockades](#) [380], Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2008, pp. 256 (pb)

Zelter, a prominent activist against nuclear weapons and global injustice, charts the 365 days of protest and blockade, drawing on a wide range of groups in Scotland and across the UK, at the UK Trident nuclear weapons base at Faslane, 30 miles from Glasgow. The protest occurred during the period the Westminster parliament voted to re-commission the nuclear submarines. The book includes commentaries on subjects such as the history of Trident, nuclear weapons under international law, and the role of the police.

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