

Université Paris-est Créteil 2013-2014

UFR de Lettres et de Sciences Humaines

Département d'anglais

Master enseignement

M1

Préparation à l'épreuve écrite « composition ».

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## General preparation.

You are expected to show good knowledge of anglophone societies and literatures, particularly British and American. While you are preparing the CAPES you should lose no opportunity to increase your knowledge of these subjects. Films based on anglophone literature, MP3 documentaries from appropriate websites such as the BBC site, visits to museums in London or elsewhere, and so on. It is essential to read regularly at least one British and one American newspaper so as to have a general grasp on what issues are important. If you can't say anything about what happened \*this year\* concerning current issues such as Scottish independence, Obama and Syria, the Tea Party, commemorating the First World War, debates about multiculturalism, etc. you are unlikely to get through.

## Chronology - women's rights

**1659** Anna Maria von Schurman: **The Learned Maid; or, Whether a Maid May Be a Scholar.**

**1673** Mrs. Bathsua Makin: "An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues."

**1694** Mary Astell: "A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest."

**1792** Mary Wollstonecraft: **A Vindication of the Rights of Woman**

**1803** Methodist conference bans women from preaching.

**1813** Jane Austen: **Pride and Prejudice.**

**1818** Mary Shelley: **Frankenstein.**

**1823** John Stuart Mill jailed for distributing pamphlets on birth control.

**1825** Anna Wheeler/William Thompson: **Appeal of One Half of the Human Race.**

**1832 First Reform Act**

**1837** Grimke: **Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women.**

**1838** Sarah Ellis: **The Women of England, Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits.**

**1839** Child Custody Act (now possible for a mother to be given custody of her children under seven).

**1840** Judge upholds a man's right to lock up his wife and beat her in moderation.

Sydney Owenson Morgan: **Woman and her Master**, 2 volumes.

**1842** Ashely's **Mines Act** (women and children excluded from the mines).

Louis Aime-Martin: **The Education of Mothers of Families; or, The Civilisation of the Human Race by Women.**

**1843** Mrs. Hugo Reid: **A Plea for Woman, Being a Vindication of the Importance and Extent of her Natural Sphere of Action.**

**1844** **Factory Act** (women and children).

**1846** Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot): translation of Strauss' **Das Leben Jesu (Life of Jesus).**

Anna Jameson: "'Woman's Mission' and 'Woman's Position'" "On the Relative Social Position of Mothers and Governesses."

**1847** first leaflet on female suffrage published

**1847 & 1850**

- **Factory Acts** (women and children restricted to 10 1/2 hour day).

- Charlotte Brontë: **Jane Eyre.**

**1848**

Queen's College, London, established for women who intend to teach.

- Mrs. Gaskell: **Mary Barton.**

**1849**

Bedford College for Women founded.

- Charlotte Brontë: **Shirley.**

**. 1851**

- Harriet Taylor: "The Enfranchisement of Women."

- Women's Suffrage Petition presented to the House of Lords.

**1851** Founding of Sheffield Association for female franchise

**1852**

Judge rules that a man may not force his wife to live with him.

Anna Jameson: **Legends of the Madonna, as presented in the fine arts.**

**1854** Barbara (Leigh Smith) Bodichon: **A Brief Summary in Plain Language of the Most Important Laws Concerning Women.**

**1855**

George Eliot: "Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft."

Stephen Fullom: **The History of Woman, And her Connexion with Religion, Civilization, and Domestic Manners, from the earliest period** (denounced by George Eliot).

Mrs. Gaskell: **North and South.**

Harriet Martineau: **Autobiography.**

**1856**

Caroline Frances Cornwallis: "The Property of Married Women."

Bessie Parkes: **Remarks on the Education of Girls.**

Emily Shirreff: **Intellectual Education, and its influence on the Character and Happiness of Women.**

**1857**

Elizabeth Barrett Browning: **Aurora Leigh.**

Barbara (Leigh Smith) Bodichon: **Women and Work.**

Caroline Frances Cornwallis: "Capabilities and Disabilities of Women."

Association for the Promotion of the Employment of Women established.

**Matrimonial Causes Act** (legally separated wife given right to keep what she earns; man may divorce wife for adultery, whereas wife must prove adultery aggravated by cruelty or desertion).

**1859**

George Eliot: **Adam Bede.**

Harriet Martineau: "Female Industry."

- Society for Promoting the Employment of Women.

**1860** George Eliot: **The Mill on the Floss.**

**1862** Christina Rossetti: **Goblin Market and Other Poems.**

**1863** Barbara (Leigh Smith) Bodichon: "Of those who are the property of others, and of the great power that holds others as property." 1864, 1866, 1869

**Contagious Diseases Acts** (women living in certain garrison towns liable to be declared prostitutes and forcibly examined for venereal disease).

(through 1860s): **The Alexandra Magazine.**

**1865** Committee for women's suffrage founded

**1866** First women's suffrage petition presented to parliament. First London public meeting on women's franchise

**1866**

Barbara (Leigh Smith) Bodichon: "Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women."

(through 1910): **The Englishwoman's Review, A Journal of Woman's Work.**

**1867** Second Reform Act : J S Mill's amendment to include women defeated

**1867** Campaign to get women's names on electoral register

**1868** Josephine Butler: **The Education and Employment of Women.**

**1868** National Society for women's suffrage

**1868** Chorlton vs Ling case

**1869**

First women's college at Cambridge founded (Girton College).

Extension of municipal franchise (right to vote) to women ratepayers.

John Stuart Mill: **On the Subjection of Women.** (electronic text at Wiretap)

**1870**

**First Married Woman's Property Act.**

Ladies National Association for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts founded by Josephine Butler.

Josephine Butler: **On the Moral Reclaimability of Prostitutes.**

**Education Act** (right of women to serve on School Boards).

John D. Milne: **Industrial Employment of Women, in the Middle and Lower Ranks.**

**1870** Women's Suffrage Journal published.  
**1870** Quaker women had property confiscated for refusing to pay taxes  
**1872** Secret Ballot  
**1874** First Manchester Suffrage meeting  
**1875** First female Poor Law Guardian elected  
**1878** Domestic Science a compulsory subject for girls in Board schools  
**1881** Women in the Isle of Man get the vote  
**1882** Married Women's Property Act  
**1884** Matrimonial Causes Act  
**1884** Third Reform Act  
**1885** Criminal Law Amendment Act  
**1890** Women's franchise league  
**1892** Women's emancipation league  
**1893** First women factory inspectors appointed  
**1897** National Union of Women's Suffrage societies  
**1902** Education Act  
**1903** Women's Social and Political Union  
**1905** Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney arrested for causing a disturbance  
**1906** Easy victory for Liberals at election  
**1906** WSPU Bye election policy established  
**1906** Government refuses to support an amendment to give vote to some women  
**1907** Women's freedom league  
**1907** First women's parliament established by WSPU  
**1907** Women's Suffrage Bill rejected  
**1908** Women's Suffrage Bill passed first reading  
**1908** First window smashing and chaining to railings  
Common Cause published  
**1909** Women's suffrage bill passed second reading but abandoned by government  
**1909** Hunger Strike; first forced feeding  
**1910** Joint WSPU and WFL demonstration  
**1911** Boycott of census  
**1912** mass window smashing; attempted arson; letter box damage  
NUWSS-Labour Party alliance established  
**1913** Golf courses ruined; telegraph wires cut; arson attacks  
protest chanting in churches  
**1913** Emily Davison dies under King's horse on Derby Day  
**1913** Suffragette published  
**1913** Cat and Mouse Act  
**1913** Government Franchise bill introduced universal male suffrage but an amendment to enfranchise women was declared unconstitutional  
**1914** Rokeby Venus slashed; suffragette demonstration to Buckingham Palace  
**1914** Militancy ceases when war is declared  
**1918 Representation of the People Act** (Enfranchised all men over 21, and all women over 30).  
**1928 Equal Franchise Act** (Equal voting rights for both men and women).

**Subject A : colonies. Compare and contrast these two documents :**

## **A1: Our Duty in India**

**Winston Churchill March 18, 1931. Albert Hall, London**

[...] To abandon India to the rule of the Brahmins would be an act of cruel and wicked negligence. It would shame for ever those who bore its guilt. These Brahmins who mouth and patter the principles of Western Liberalism, and pose as philosophic and democratic politicians, are the same Brahmins who deny the primary rights of existence to nearly sixty millions of their own fellow countrymen whom they call 'untouchable', and whom they have by thousands of years of oppression actually taught to accept this sad position. They will not eat with these sixty millions, nor drink with them, nor treat them as human beings. They consider themselves contaminated even by their approach. And then in a moment they turn round and begin chopping logic with John Stuart Mill, or pleading the rights of man with Jean Jacques Rousseau.

While any community, social or religious, endorses such practices and asserts itself resolved to keep sixty millions of fellow countrymen perpetually and eternally in a state of sub-human bondage, we cannot recognise their claim to the title-deeds of democracy. Still less can we hand over to their unfettered sway those helpless millions they despise. Side by side with this Brahmin theocracy and the immense Hindu population - angelic and untouchable castes alike - there dwell in India seventy millions of Moslems, a race of far greater physical vigour and fierceness, armed with a religion which lends itself only too readily to war and conquest. While the Hindu elaborates his argument, the Moslem sharpens his sword. Between these two races and creeds, containing as they do so many gifted arid charming beings in all the glory of youth, there is no intermarriage.

The gulf is impassable. If you took the antagonisms of France and Germany, and the antagonisms of Catholics and Protestants, and compounded them and multiplied them ten-fold, you would not equal the division which separates these two races intermingled by scores of millions in the cities and plains of India. But over both of them the impartial rule of Britain has hitherto lifted its appeasing sceptre. Until the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms began to raise the question of local sovereignty and domination, they had got used to dwelling side by side in comparative toleration. But step by step, as it is believed we are going to clear out or be thrust out of India, so this tremendous rivalry and hatred of races springs into life again. It is becoming more acute every day. Were we to wash our hands of all responsibility and divest

ourselves of all our powers, as our sentimentalists desire, ferocious civil wars would speedily break out between the Moslems and the Hindus. No one who knows India will dispute this.

But that is not the end. The Brahmins know well that they cannot defend themselves against the Moslems. The Hindus do not possess among their many virtues that of being a fighting race. The whole south of India is peopled with races deserving all earnest solicitude and regard, but incapable of self-defence. It is in the north alone that the fighting races dwell. Bengal, for instance, does not send from her forty-five million inhabitants any soldiers to the native army. The Punjab is a place where fighting races dwell, on the other hand, and the Pathans, together with the Ghurkas and the Sikhs, who are entirely exceptional sects of Hindus, all dwelling in the north, furnish three-quarters of the entire army in the time of peace, and furnished more than three-quarters of it in time of war. There can be no doubt therefore that the departure of the British from India, which Mr. Gandhi advocates, and which Mr. Nehru demands, would be followed first by a struggle in the North and thereafter by a reconquest of the South by the North, and of the Hindus by the Moslems.

## A2 : From the Statute of Westminster

An Act to give effect to certain resolutions passed by Imperial Conferences held in the years 1926 and 1930

Whereas the delegates to His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland, at Imperial Conferences holden at Westminster in the years of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-six and nineteen hundred and thirty did concur in making the declarations and resolutions set forth in the Reports of the said Conferences:

And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion:

And whereas it is necessary for the ratifying, confirming and establishing of certain of the said declarations and resolutions of the said Conferences that a law be made and enacted in due form by authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

And whereas the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland have severally requested and consented to the submission of a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom for making such provision with regard to the matters aforesaid as is hereafter in this Act contained:

Now, therefore, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. In this Act the expression "Dominion" means any of the following Dominions, that is to say, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland.

2. (1) The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865 [making void Dominion statutes that conflicted with Imperial statutes] shall not apply to any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule, or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Parliament of a Dominion shall include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as the same is part of the law of the Dominion.

...

## Section B : Being gay in Britain. Compare and contrast these two documents

# B1: Editorial: Crime and sin

Originally published in *The Guardian* on 5 September 1957

The Wolfenden Committee's report on homosexual offences and on prostitution is out at last, after three years' preparation. The committee take their stand, in both sections of their report, on a principle of fundamental importance. They distinguish between crime and sin, and regard as criminal only those acts, however sinful, which do injury to someone other than the sinners, or which are an offence against public decency. From this principle spring the two most striking recommendations made – that homosexual acts done in private between consenting adults should cease to be criminal offences, and that prostitutes convicted of soliciting several times should be liable to penalties of increasing



severity, rising to three months' imprisonment for the third offence, in place of the present derisory forty shillings. To many people it must seem that two homosexuals acting together, however discreetly, are on a lower moral level than a prostitute looking for a customer. They may be, the committee would say; but they injure none but themselves and leave public decency intact. Therefore their sin is not a crime. Only one member of the committee, Mr Adair, formerly a procurator-fiscal in Glasgow, dissents from this cardinal principle. Yet if it stands the main recommendations based upon it must surely stand, too.

The proposal regarding the acts of consenting adults is not so startling as it seems at first sight. What the committee propose is in fact the law to-day in France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain. The complex of offences commonly known as "gross indecency" have been illegal here only since 1885. Yet the issue is not quite clear-cut. Two points in Mr Adair's dissent deserve particular consideration. One is that two homosexuals, living together, might escape prosecution by committing no overt acts in public, and yet so flaunt their way of life in other respects as to be offensive or demoralising to others. Is there any way in which such conduct could be defined as an offence against public decency, which in effect it is? Secondly, he points out that a homosexual who knows that while he acts discreetly he is not liable to prosecution loses a strong motive for seeking medical or other assistance in lessening his desires or strengthening his resistance to it. There is perhaps a certain inconsistency here between the committee's attitudes to the homosexuals and the prostitutes. The threat of severe sentences for soliciting is defended on the ground that it will induce prostitutes to accept the guidance of a probation officer rather than go to prison. Does not the same argument apply to the homosexual, who may need expert aid just as much as the prostitute does?

B2 : « Civil Partnership » From the website of Stonewall

## The Civil Partnership Act

The Civil Partnership Bill became law on 18 November 2004 and came into effect on 5 December 2005.

The Government's consultation document 'Civil Partnership: A framework for the legal recognition of same-sex couples' proposed to set up a scheme under which same-sex couples would be able to register their partnership.

The consultation period ended on 30th September 2003 and in her speech on 26 November 2003 the Queen announced the Government's proposal for the introduction of the civil registration scheme for same-sex partners. 83% of responses supported the principle of a civil partnership scheme.

On 31 March 2004 the government published the Civil Partnership Bill which had its second reading in the House of Lords on 22 April 2004, the first opportunity for it to be debated.

The Bill went through the report stage in the House of Lords on 24 June 2004 and had its third reading in the House of Lords on 1 July 2004.

The Bill passed to the House of Commons and had its [second reading](#) on 12 October 2004. The Commons removed the amendment passed during the report stage at the House of Lords which would have extended the provisions of the Bill to family members and carers. This amendment, sponsored by Conservative peer Baroness O'Cathain, would have made the Bill unworkable and undermined hundreds of years of family law. A further attempt to extend the Bill in this way was made at the [third reading](#) in the Commons on 9 November 2004 but a large majority of MPs voted against it.

The Bill was passed and received Royal Assent on 18 November 2004. It took a year to implement the Civil Partnership Act. This was to allow all the necessary changes to be made and implemented, for example changes to the tax and benefits computer systems, forms that had to be amended and registrars trained in the new procedures.

Changes were made to the tax system in the 2005 Finance Bill, so civil partners would be treated as a married couple for inheritance tax purposes.

Same-sex partners were able to register from 5 December 2005 and the first registrations were in Northern Ireland on 19 December 2005, followed by Scotland on 20 December and then England and Wales on 21 December.

During February 2006, Stonewall and Barclays embarked on a 'Get Hitched' road show to inform gay people about what civil partnership meant for them. The seminars were held in Blackpool, Brighton, London, Manchester and Birmingham and Barclays and Stonewall staff were on hand to give people free advice about the financial and legal implications of civil partnership.

[http://www.stonewall.org.uk/at\\_home/civil\\_partnership/2622.asp](http://www.stonewall.org.uk/at_home/civil_partnership/2622.asp)

### Subject C : Chartism. Compare and contrast the following documents :

C1 Friedrich Engels on the Chartist Land Plan First published: in *La Réforme*, November 1, 1847 and *The Northern Star*, November 6, 1847;

About two years ago the Chartist workers founded an association with the object of buying land and dividing it among its members into small holdings. <sup>[162]</sup> It was hoped in this way to diminish the excessive competition between factory workers themselves, by keeping from the labour market some of these workers to form a quite new and essentially democratic class of small peasants.

This project, whose author is none other than Feargus O'Connor himself, has had such success that the *Chartist Land Company* already numbers from two to three hundred thousand members," that it disposes of social funds of £60,000 (a million and a half francs), and that its receipts, announced in *The Northern Star*, exceed £2,500 per week. In fact, the Company, of which I propose to give you later a more detailed account, has grown to such a size that it is already disquieting the landed aristocracy; for it is evident that this movement, if it continues to grow at the same rate as up to now, will end by becoming transformed into a national agitation for taking possession of the nation's land by the people.

The bourgeoisie does not find this Company to its taste either; it sees it as a lever in the hands of the people which will allow the latter to free themselves without needing the help of the middle class. It is particularly the small bourgeoisie, more or less liberal, which looks askance at the Land Company because it already finds the Chartists much more independent of its support than before the founding of the association. Moreover, these same radicals, unable to explain the indifference which the people show them and which is the inevitable consequence of their own lukewarm attitude, insist on attacking Mr. O'Connor continually as the sole obstacle to a reunion of the Chartist and radical parties. It

was therefore enough that the Land Company should be the work of O'Connor to draw upon it all the hatred of the more or less radical bourgeois. At first they ignored it; when the conspiracy of silence could no longer be maintained they tried to prove that the Company was so organised as to end inevitably in the most scandalous bankruptcy; finally, when these means did not prevent the Company from prospering, they returned to the tactic that for ten years they had constantly used always without the least success against Mr. O'Connor. They sought to cast suspicions upon his character, to throw doubts on his disinterestedness, to destroy the right he claimed to call himself the incorruptible and unpaid administrator for the workers.

When, therefore, some time ago, Mr. O'Connor published his annual report, six more or less radical papers, which appear to have had a clandestine meeting, joined in attacking him. These papers were the *Weekly Dispatch*, the *Globe*, the *Nonconformist*, the *Manchester Examiner*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the *Nottingham Mercury*. They accused Mr. O'Connor of the most shameless thefts and misappropriations, which they sought to prove or to make probable by the figures of the report itself. Far from being satisfied with that, they pried into the private life of the celebrated agitator: a mountain of accusations, each graver than the other, was heaped on him, and his adversaries could well believe that he would be overwhelmed by it. But O'Connor, who for ten years has not ceased to fight the so-called radical press, did not flinch under these calumnies. He published in *The Northern Star* of the 23rd of this month a reply to the six papers. This reply, a polemical masterpiece which recalls the best pamphlets of *William Cobbett*, refutes one accusation after another and, in its turn taking the offensive, launches against the six editors very severe attacks, full of superb disdain. This was enough completely to justify O'Connor in the people's eyes.

## C2 The song of the lower classes

The writer of this song, Ernest Jones, stood unsuccessfully as a Chartist MP in 1847, was arrested in 1848 and sentenced to two years of solitary confinement. From 1851 on, he started publishing a weekly magazine, **Notes to the People**, in which this song was published in March 1852.

### The song of the lower classes

We plough and sow we are so low  
That we delve in the dirty clay  
Till we bless the plain with golden grain  
And the vale with the fragrant hay

Our place we know we are so low  
Down at the landlord's feet  
We're not too low the bread to grow  
But too low the bread to eat

Down down we go we are so low  
To the hell of the deep sunk mine  
But we gather the proudest gems that glow  
When the crown of the despot shines  
Whenever he lacks upon our backs  
Fresh loads he deigns to lay  
We're far too low to vote the tax  
But not too low to pay.

We're low we're low we're rabble we know  
Yet at our plastic power  
The mould at the lordling's feet will grow  
Into palace and church and tower  
Then prostrate fall in the rich man's hall  
Cringe at the rich man's door  
We're not too low to build the wall  
But too low to tread the floor

We're low we're low yet from our fingers glide  
The silken flow and the robes that glow  
Round the limbs of the sons of pride  
And what we get and what we give  
We know and we know our share  
We're not too low the cloth to weave  
But too low the cloth to wear

We're low we're low we are so low  
Yet when the trumpets ring  
The thrust of a poor man's arm will go  
Through the heart of the proudest king  
We're low we're low, our place we know  
We're only the rank and file  
We're not too low to kill the foe  
Too low to touch the spoil

**Subject D : Women's Rights. Compare and contrast the following two documents.**

## D1: Debate on the 'Conciliation' Bill, to enfranchise about 1 million Women voters, 28 March 1912

### 1. Mr Agg-Gardiner (proposing the Bill):

I am bound to admit that within the last few weeks the prospect [for the Bill] have been dimmed and darkened by the deplorable conduct of certain person who desire to obtain its object – the enfranchisement of women... I prefer to regard them as victims of a probably well-intentioned and perhaps earnest, but certainly misguided enthusiasm...

[Arguments against giving women the vote] are both out of date and out of place. They might have been correct and proper two or three centuries ago, when the duties of women were restricted to weaving tapestries and looking after children, but not in the twentieth century, when women have for years, by common consent, taken an active part in public affairs, when they are members of town councils, boards of guardians and Royal Commissions; when they speak on public platforms and are prominent members of political associations...

There are countless [women], some of whom have won the highest distinction in the realms of literature, of science and of art, but who are not entitled [to vote]...

### 2. Sir Alfred Mond (seconding the Bill):

The fact that we have in this country over 5 million women engaged in earning their own living, over 2 million engaged in industrial pursuits, surely is sufficient argument to those who still talk of setting up woman as a sort of china doll in a sacred hearth to be worshipped from afar...

...

The right Honourable Members for East Worcester is an anti-Suffragist, but he has not hesitated to address a large meeting of women on the question of Tariff Reform... If they are capable of being addressed and instructed, surely they are capable of forming an opinion... I think women have been very patient. Many people who oppose giving them the vote think nothing of asking them to go out at election times, day after day and night after night, canvassing the slums. Apparently they are quite capable of instructing men electors what to do...

We have a large number of Colonies, a number of States in America, and several European countries which have given women the vote. Am I to be told that the conditions of these countries are so very different to the conditions of this country? ...

It is particularly true that the mentality and ordinary emotions of women are not exactly the same as those of men. It is to my mind an advantage to the State that this is so... it would, to me mind, impoverish the State if we do not bring this section of the community into our counsels. Men take women's advice frequently and very often they find it better than their own judgement...

Some who have voted in the past for Woman Suffrage have suddenly changed their mind. Their argument is: 'If certain sections of those in favour of Woman Suffrage commit acts which we strongly disapprove of, therefore we will oppose the Bill, and thus punish all the other women who have done nothing at all... By committing an injustice of this kind, punishing all to penalise a few, you are doing nothing but stirring up bad feeling and committing a grave injustice.'

### 3. Mr Harold Baker (opposing the Bill):

The exact numbers of women who were serving in public capacities [is very small]... On boards of guardians there were only 1,327 women serving out of a total of 24,824; on town councils there were only 24 women out of a total of 11,140; on urban district councils there were only 6 women out of a total of 10,561, and on county councils there were only 4 women out of a total of 4,615... It shows a very undue reluctance to take advantage of the considerable opportunities which at this moment are offered to them...

The question is not the enfranchisement of any particular class, but the enfranchisement of politically inert masses who take no interest in politics and do not desire to do so...

I think the influence of women in legislation is practically unlimited. Take the case of the pit-brow women – it happened not many years ago – by merely explaining their case in plain terms, women succeeded in avoiding what they conceived to be an injustice which was about to be inflicted on them by an Act of Parliament... [The vote] is a badge, not of superiority, but of difference, a difference of masculine character and coercive power, a difference which is adapted for the governance of alien races and for the safeguarding of our Empire...

I think the breaking of windows has let in a good deal of fresh air on this subject... it goes to show that those who claim to have more power to persuade women are exactly those who are least fitted to exercise political power...

**4. Viscount Helmsley** (seconding the opposition):

I maintain that the whole position and functions of Parliament would be altered... the fact of the two sexes sitting together in an assembly such as this would no doubt alter the whole tone and whole feeling of this Parliament. I do not think that any man will deny that he is conscious when he is debating in common with women of an extremely different feeling, a feeling of reserve, which is very different from the feeling which men have when they are discussing freely and debating freely with one another...

The way in which certain types of women, easily recognised, have acted in the last year or two, especially in the last few weeks, lends a great deal of colour to the argument that the mental equilibrium of the female sex is not as stable as the mental equilibrium of the male sex. The argument has very strong scientific backing... It seems to me that this House should remember that if the vote is given to women those who will take the greatest part in politics will not be the quiet, retiring, constitutional women... but those very militant women who have brought so much disgrace and discredit upon their sex. It would introduce a disastrous element into our public life... One feels that it is not cricket for women to use force... It is little short of nauseating and disgusting to the whole sex...

Government? Where are the women merchants and the women bankers? Where are the women directors of great undertakings? Nowhere to be seen at the head of the great businesses of the country. I can imagine very few undertakings in which women exercise an equal share of the control with the men...

It appears to me that it is one of the fundamental truths on which all civilisations have been built up, that it is men who have made and controlled the State, and I cannot help thinking that any country which departs from that principle must be undertaking an experiment which in the end will prove to be exceedingly dangerous...

I believe that the normal man and the normal women both have the instinct that man should be the governing one of the two, and I think that the undoubted dislike that women have for men who are effeminate and which men have for masculine women is nothing more or less than the expression of this instinct...

## D2 Comment

### Let's reclaim the f-word

Roll up, roll up, for a spot of that old favourite, feminist-bashing. Anyone can have a go, it's easy. Trot out that readymade mythological figure of the dungaree-clad, scary, hairy and humourless feminist. It's just as insulting as the slights of "noisy virago" and "shrieking sisterhood" hurled at the founder of the Fawcett Society, Millicent Fawcett, when she was campaigning for women's right to vote more than 100 years ago.

And yet history is on the side of Millicent, on the side of the 70s feminists who campaigned for equal pay, on the side of the women in the early 90s who campaigned to make rape within marriage illegal. The stereotype of the mythological feminist, while ridiculous, is dangerous in that it gives the impression that feminism is first and foremost about how women should dress or whether they should wear make-up.

It belittles feminists' true legitimate and serious concerns - that the pay gap still exists, that violence against women is at crisis levels, that women's caring roles are so undervalued, that women are still woefully underrepresented in positions of power. Add to this the fact that there is no one organisation or definition of feminism, and it makes it all the easier for people to indulge in a spot of feminist-bashing; they can pick and choose and exaggerate the elements they want and then knock them down.

So why has feminism always provoked such hostility? Unlike other radical movements, feminism is calling for something many women and men find difficult: a profound change in the power relations between sexes - not only in the public sphere, but also, much more trickily, in the private sphere.

Feminists aim to transform not just who gets the top jobs in business, but also who gets the job of cleaning the toilet at home. Feminists want to change not just who walks the corridors of power, but also who feels safe walking home at night. Feminism is not just about allowing women to lead the same lives that men have for many years; it's about changing the rules of the game, mapping out a possible future in which activities that do not directly contribute to further swelling the coffers of UK plc, such as caring for family and others, are valued much more highly. It's about more than tinkering at the edges - and that feels threatening to a lot of people.

Although there are different strands of feminist thought, there is a common agenda on which we can unite. Women still need to work together on the issues that preoccupied 1970s feminists but still are not resolved. The pay gap short-changes



women every day; quality childcare is out of the reach of most parents; rape conviction levels are at their lowest ever; and more than 80% of MPs are men. And we now also have to contend with the hypersexualisation of our culture, a phenomenon that has developed and snowballed with hardly a murmur of dissent. Against a backdrop of ubiquitous images of women's bodies as sex objects, rates of self-harm among young women are spiralling, eating disorders are on the rise, and plastic surgery is booming.

We need to harness the beginnings of a third wave of feminism. A unified movement must include those who feminism has failed to reach in the past, such as men, many ethnic minority women, working-class women, and young women. It is only together that we can reclaim the f-word. We must challenge the stereotypes. We must hold government and policy-makers to account. We must stand up and use our electoral power to call for change.

We need to map out the profound changes that feminism could bring - making it clear that our arguments are so much bigger than what women wear. This vision could be centred around five key freedoms: power, rights, autonomy, respect and choice.

In a world of equal power, women politicians would no longer be seen as a rare breed, whose clothes attract more comment than what they say. In a world of equal rights, women could expect to be paid the same as a man for a job of equal worth. True autonomy would mean your teenage daughter could go out without you worrying about her safety. Respect would mean that we valued - and paid - those who look after our children more than those who look after our cars. Choice would make it unremarkable to see a woman managing a Premiership football team, or a male nursery nurse.

• Dr Katherine Rake is director of the Fawcett Society

[www.fawcettsociety.org.uk](http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk)

**Subject E : Relations between England, Scotland and Wales. Compare and contrast the following two documents :**

E1 : Callaghan's desserts

## MR CALLAGHAN'S DESSERTS

Mr Callaghan has had a wretched spring. But none of his misfortunes to date have compared with the stunning punishment he received at the hands of the electorate on Thursday. The Wales Bill, to which he and his colleagues have pinned their prestige and their considerable influence, in his own political fief, suffered rejection virtually without precedent in its finality. In Scotland – contrary to all expectations – the margin in favour of the Scotland Bill was so derisory that the likelihood of Parliament advancing the Bill to the Statute Book, whatever the Government's wishes, must be remote. In England two by-elections suggested that an early General Election would produce a landslide victory for the Conservative party. Yet the outcome of the referendums has dramatically increased the chances that an early election will not be avoidable.

So the theatre of British politics has undergone another transformation. Presumably Mr Callaghan will be quite undeterred by the narrowness of the Scottish results from inviting Parliament to proceed with the Scotland Bill regardless. Since concern for the good government of Scotland – let alone of the rest of the United Kingdom – has never remotely entered his calculations it would be out of character for him to shrink back now.

He will be able to count on the votes of the Nationalist protagonists of separatism; and presumably most of the Liberal MPs will be prepared to back him too – if only in the hope of one more stay of execution for themselves. As for Labour's anti-devolutionists, they will be subjected to every refinement of political blackmail to make them come to heel. Their constitutional duty to resist such blackmail is self-evident; and in practice they can probably be relied upon to do so.

Even the shattering body-blows will not suffice to persuade Mr Callaghan to go quietly. If he is deprived of the support of the Nationalists, he can be expected to switch his considerable ingenuity to the concoction of yet one more shabby deal, with the Ulstermen. But Mr Powell's ability to sweet-talk his fellow Ulster MPs into the Government lobby, whenever needed for a motion of confidence, must be problematical.

So after all, Mr Callaghan, having shrunk from what would probably have been a narrow electoral defeat last autumn, looks like having soon to lead his party to disaster at the polls. It is hard to think of a richer example of poetic justice in modern British political history.

Meanwhile "devolution" is dead. The fact that one voter in six in Wales, and that one voter in three in Scotland, could be found to support these constitutional monstrosities, is a signal tribute to the maturity of the electorate. Of course it does not mean that nationalism has been exorcised (although it suggests that the Nationalist MPs are in for decimation when the election comes). But it does mean that the next Conservative Government will have an invaluable breathing space in which to produce a sensible response to the emotions which nationalism has reflected.

Nationalism in Scotland and Wales is essentially a heart-cry against the excessive power of the modern State. If that power is not sharply and swiftly diminished, then the fortunes of SNP and Plaid Cymru will soon revive: and next time there may be no stopping short of the full disintegration of the United Kingdom.

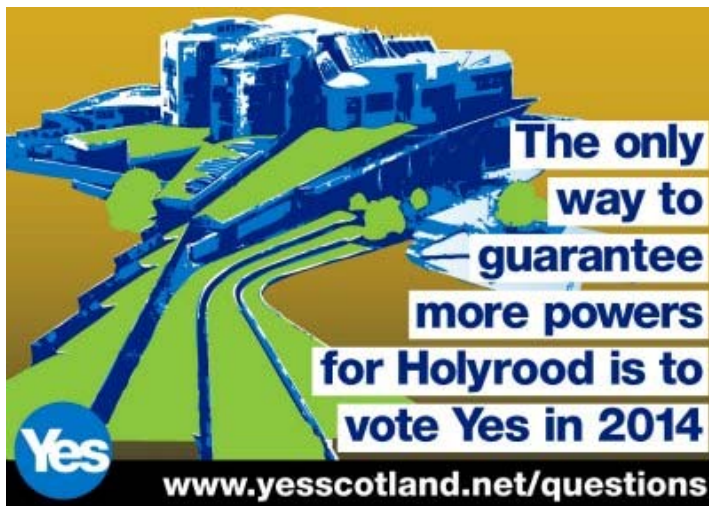
But the Conservative party is given the chance to make a reality of the only genuine alternative. That is true devolution: not from one layer of bureaucracy to another, but from the State to the private citizen.

*The Daily Telegraph*, Saturday, March 3, 1979.

E2 : Polemic concerning the referendum

## 16 years on – it's time for another Yes

Posted by Blair Jenkins on September 11, 2013



16 years ago to the day, Scotland's voters gave a resounding Yes to the creation of a Scottish Parliament in the 1997 devolution referendum. I was in the Edinburgh conference centre on the night the result was declared – a moving and unforgettable occasion.

It was an historic decision that delivered a vote of confidence in the people of Scotland; a declaration of belief that where choices are made in Scotland, by Scotland, taking account of our specific needs and priorities, those choices will better meet the aims and aspirations of the people who live here.

That Yes vote was an expression of trust in the ability of the people of Scotland to run our own affairs, and in our capacity to make this country a better place to live.

More than a decade and a half later, there are very few in Scotland who regret the outcome of that referendum.

With the power to make our own decisions over key areas like healthcare, education and housing, the Scottish Parliament and successive Scottish Governments of varying political hues have succeeded in delivering distinctive policies designed to benefit people of all ages and families across Scotland.

Having powers over the NHS has enabled the Scottish Parliament to remove the costly prescription charges that for too many amounted to an unfair tax on the

sick, and to protect our health service from the rapid privatisation we are seeing south of the Border, where Westminster has control.

While Westminster has introduced crippling tuition fees in England and Wales, Scotland's power to make our own choices over such matters has enabled us to guarantee the right to a free university education, basing access to higher education not on the ability to pay, but the ability to learn.

Scottish administrations have protected and increased police numbers, helping to make our streets and communities safer. Meanwhile, police officers in the rest of the UK boo Tory Ministers, enraged by a reckless Westminster approach to the police force characterised by job losses, wage reductions and funding cuts for vital services.

Scotland's legislation to tackle homelessness, combat climate change and improve public health have all been described as world-leading. We have used our ability to make our own choices to pursue a progressive agenda.

With these limited powers over our own affairs, Scotland has chosen a different path to the harmful policies of Westminster. The decisions we have been able to make have better matched the priorities of the people of Scotland.

And yet still some of the most important decisions affecting us are made by a parliament in London where our MPs are in a tiny minority and our interests are often ignored. UK Governments that the people of Scotland didn't even come close to voting for impose harmful policies like the Bedroom Tax, hitting the poorest and most vulnerable in our society.

One year and one week from today, the people of Scotland will go to the polls again. The question on the ballot paper will be different from the one we were asked 16 years ago, but the choice we will be asked to make is the same.

Who do we trust to make the best decisions for Scotland and to make this country a fairer and more prosperous place – politicians at Westminster, or people who live here in Scotland?

If we compare the record of the two, the choice is simple. The faith that Scottish voters placed in our own abilities in 1997 was not mistaken.

In the year ahead, Yes Scotland will be working hard to articulate how independence can allow us to protect and build on the gains we have achieved with devolution. Having a Scottish Parliament has had real and tangible positive effects, and only by giving it the full powers of independence can we hope to achieve the kind of Scotland we all want to see.

It is a fundamental truth that the best future for the people of this country lies with putting Scotland's future in Scotland's hands. With that in mind, I am more confident than ever that the people of Scotland will say Yes on September the 18th next year.

From the Yes Scotland website September 2013

## Subject F : Northern Ireland. Compare and contrast the two documents

### F 1 Executive Summary

After four and a half long years, devolution was finally restored to Northern Ireland on 8 May 2007. It was a personal triumph for the prime minister, Tony Blair, and he timed his resignation announcement to make the most of it—and the media images which winged around the world. The laughter of the new first and deputy first ministers, Rev Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party and Martin McGuinness of Sinn Féin, captured the celebration of the ending of direct rule and the reestablishment, after successive rounds of inter-party negotiations since 2002, of a power-sharing government.

There were further positive signs once the cameras had gone. The d'Hondt proportionality rule for the formation of the Executive Committee having already informally been run, on the basis of the party strengths established in the 7 March assembly election, ministers were quickly allocated their anticipated places and the executive got down to business. The committee chairs and deputy chairs were also appointed and the committees, ministers and officials addressed their policy agendas.

In further signs of a welcome normalisation, a British-Irish Council summit was held in Belfast, and the North/South Ministerial Council—which had been in cold storage, like the devolved executive—reconvened in Armagh. Meanwhile, a visit by the European Commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso, to Stormont, provided the opportunity to stress the EU's commitment to the region.

Under the surface, however, all was not quite so rosy as the carefully staged media events suggested. Graphically, it emerged that a new 'peace wall'—by the official count, the 47th—was to be built in north Belfast, on of all places land used as the

playground of an integrated school. The assembly, meanwhile, found itself unable to endorse the direct-rule administration's policy on 'community relations', *A Shared Future*, electing merely to note it instead.

There was a stand-off between the DUP and SF over the commitments in the St Andrews agreement of October 2006, setting the framework for the renewal of devolution, to the devolution of policing and criminal justice by May 2008 and the introduction of an Irish Language Act. St Andrews had bequeathed a system of governance even more replete with deadlocking vetoes, which threatened chaos in education after the expiry of the '11+' transfer test in 2008.

In particular, dealing with Northern Ireland's 'troubled' past had the potential to derail the new arrangements. As the army finally ended 'Operation Banner' after 38 years, a number of episodes excited neuralgic reminders, particularly in the Catholic community, of the unassuaged wounds left by decades of ethno-nationalist antagonism.

Rick Wilford & Robin Wilson (eds.), *Northern Ireland Devolution Monitoring Report*, September 2007, pp. 7-8, [[http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/devolution/MonReps/NI\\_Sept07.pdf](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/devolution/MonReps/NI_Sept07.pdf)]

**Commentaire [JM1]:** Need a second document on Northern Ireland



F2 : a Sinn Féin press release

## West Belfast Sinn Féin launch Election Campaign

Published: 1 April, 2011



Sinn Féin's West Belfast candidates and representatives

Hundreds of people packed out the Roddy McCorley Club on Thursday March 31 for the launch of the West Belfast Sinn Féin election campaign. Sinn Féin leaders and newly elected TDs Gerry Adams and Mary Lou McDonald were guest speakers at the town hall-style meeting, with Sinn Féin's five Assembly candidates in attendance as well as the 14 west Belfast council candidates contesting the Belfast and Lisburn City Council elections on May 5.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said: "This is the first time since I declared my candidacy for Louth that I have spoken to a political public meeting in west Belfast. The leadership initiative taken last autumn, and hard work done over many years beforehand, brought about a historic election result in the 26 counties this year. West Belfast helped that happen.

"The peace process has moved at lightning pace. Politically we have achieved many things which even until recently, people claimed would never happen.

"Yet we do not have social justice and economic equality - and this is what we must achieve with the political transition we have brought about."

Mr Adams discussed the work Sinn Féin has carried out across west Belfast in the effort to overcome decades of deprivation and discrimination.

Sinn Féin Vice President Mary Lou McDonald also addressed the crowd and said she was proud to be speaking in west Belfast as a representative of an all-Ireland party. "While Sinn

Féin took the decision for Gerry Adams to move to the Dáil to strengthen the movement for Irish unity and independence, other parties in the north send their representatives to Westminster," she said.

### **Irish Unity**

West Belfast Assembly candidate Sue Ramsey said: "The recent election in February marks the arrival of republicans as a truly significant political force in the 26 Counties, with 14 TDs to complement the strength of the party in the Six Counties.

"The election showed that against the backdrop of banking bailout and savage cuts to community services and welfare, people are responding to our republican message and taking a stand.

"It also shows our strategy for achieving Irish unity and independence is working.

### **Remembering 1981**

"Throughout this year we will be commemorating the 30th anniversary of the sacrifice of our 10 comrades who died on Hunger Strike in 1981 in the fight against the criminalisation of the republican movement. The Hunger Strikers showed that our struggle is unbreakable, and that we will not be criminalised, isolated or silenced.

"Republicanism today is more popular than at any point since partition. And we're moving forward with confidence.

### **Next battle**

"The elections to local councils and the Assembly on Thursday May 5th mark the next battle for republicans. These are important elections - and the voice of the community needs to be heard.

"While the media and the Unionist parties are engaged in a sham fight over the title of First Minister, we in Sinn Féin are more concerned with delivery. The real issues in this election are the creation of jobs, the protection of existing jobs and the effective provision of vital public services.

### **Resisting Tory cuts**

"Sinn Féin is totally opposed to the cuts by the Tory government. They will have a negative impact on communities and won't aid economic recovery.

"We support the trade union campaign against these cuts and have sought to use the Executive to try to counter the blow coming from the British government.

"The Budget recently adopted by the Executive contains several measures aimed at countering this blow - including revenue-raising proposals that source an additional £1.6bn in revenue.

### **Economic control**



"Winning control of the economy from London is the next key challenge we face.

"We need the necessary economic levers to set our own economic agenda - for example, the power to vary the tax rate; the power to borrow; and the power to set the minimum wage.

"Resisting the cuts, defending jobs and services, and winning the power to set our own economic agenda - these are the key priorities of the Sinn Féin candidates contesting this election.

### **Building the new Belfast**

"In the elections to Belfast City Council a significant opportunity presents itself. For the first time in Belfast's history, nationalists are in a position to gain a majority. This would see the complete transformation of Belfast City Hall - the new Belfast would become truly a city of equals.

"In the Colin area, there is a possibility that Sinn Féin could become the second- largest party on the Lisburn City Council in this election. This breakthrough would boost Sinn Féin's campaign for equality and an end to unionist discrimination on the council.

### **Get involved!**

"We're committed to continuing our strong record of delivering for the local community in west Belfast and we have an excellent group of candidates here tonight contesting the Assembly and council elections.

"These elections give us the opportunity to move forward on the road to achieving full equality and to advancing Irish unity. I'd like to finish with an appeal for everyone here to get involved in the election campaign and join in making these elections as successful for republicans as possible."

## Section G : slavery

Comment and contextualize the two following documents :

### G1: Debates on the slave trade

#### Parliamentary History, XXVIII, 41-101. 12/ 21 May 1789

12 May: Wilberforce . . . A report has been made by H.M.'s Privy Council, which, I trust, every gentleman has read, and which ascertains the slave trade to be just such in practice as we know, from theory, it must be. What should we suppose must naturally be the consequence of our carrying on a slave trade with Africa? With a country vast in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Does anyone suppose a slave trade would help their civilization? Is it not plain, that she must suffer from it? That civilization must be checked; that her barbarous manners must be made more barbarous; and that the happiness of her millions of inhabitants must be prejudiced with her intercourse with Britain? Does not everyone see that a slave trade, carried on around her coasts, must carry violence and desolation to her very centre? That in a Continent just emerging from barbarism, if a trade in men is established, if her men are all converted into goods, and become commodities that can be bartered, it follows, they must be subject to ravage just as goods are; and this, too, at a period of civilization, when there is no protecting Legislature to defend this their only sort of property, in the same manner as the rights of property are maintained by the Legislature of every civilized country. We see then, in the nature of things, how easily the practices of Africa are to be accounted for. Her Kings are never compelled to war, that we can hear of, by public principles, by national glory, still less by the love of their people. In Europe it is the extension of commerce, the maintenance of national honour, or some great public object, that is ever the motive to war with every Monarch; but, in Africa, it is the personal avarice and sensuality, of their Kings; these two vices ... we stimulate in all these African Princes, and we depend upon these vices for the very maintenance of the slave trade. Does the King of Barbessin want brandy? He has only to send his troops, in the night time, to burn and desolate a village; the captives will serve as commodities, that may be bartered with the British trader...

Having disposed now of the first part of this subject, I must speak of the transit of the slaves in the West Indies. This I confess, in my own opinion, is the most wretched part of the whole subject. So much misery condensed in so little room, is more than the human imagination had ever before conceived... Let anyone imagine to himself 6 or 700 of these wretches chained two and two, surrounded with every object that is nauseous and disgusting, diseased, and struggling under every kind of wretchedness! How can we bear to think of such a scene as this? One would think it had been determined to heap upon them all the varieties of bodily pain, for the purpose of blunting the feelings of the mind; and yet, in this very point (to show the power of human prejudice) the situation of the slaves has been described by Mr. Norris,

one of the Liverpool delegates, in a manner which, I am sure will convince the House how interest can draw a film over the eyes, so thick, that total blindness could do no more ...

"Their apartments," says Mr. Norris, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. The right ankle of one, indeed, is connected with the left ankle of another by a small iron fetter, and if they are turbulent, by another on their wrists. They have several meals a day; some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery; and by way of variety, another meal of pulse, &c. according to European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime juice. Before dinner, they are amused after the manner of their country. The song and dance are promoted," and, as if the whole was really a scene of pleasure and dissipation it is added, that games of chance are furnished. "The men play and sing, while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, which they are plentifully supplied with."... .

What will the House think when, by the concurring testimony of other witnesses, the true history is laid open? The slaves who are sometimes described as rejoicing at their captivity, are so wrung with misery at leaving their country, that it is the constant practice to set sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. The pulse which Mr. Norris talks of are horse beans; and the scantiness, both of water and provision, was suggested by the very Legislature of Jamaica in the report of their committee, to be a subject that called for the interference of Parliament. Mr. Norris talks of frankincense and lime juice; when the surgeons tell you the slaves are stowed so close, that there is not room to tread among them: and when you have it in evidence from Sir George Yonge, that even in a ship which wanted 200 of her complement, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance, says Mr. Norris, are promoted. It had been more fair, perhaps, if he had explained that word promoted. The truth is, that for the sake of exercise, these miserable wretches, loaded with chains, oppressed with disease and wretchedness, are forced to dance by the terror of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it...

It may be observed, too, with respect to food, that all instrument is sometimes carried out, in order to force them to eat which is the same sort of proof how much they enjoy themselves in that instance also. As to their singing, what shall we say when we are told that their songs are songs of lamentation upon their departure which, while they sing, are always in tears, insomuch, that one captain (more humane as I should conceive him, therefore than the rest) threatened one of the women with a flogging, because the mournfulness of her song was too painful for his feelings.

In order, however, not to trust too much to any sort of description, I will call the attention of the House to one species of evidence, which is absolutely infallible. Death, at least, is a sure ground of evidence, and the proportion of deaths will not only confirm, but if possible will even aggravate our suspicion of their misery in the transit. It will be found, upon an average of all the ships of which evidence has been given at the Privy Council that exclusive of those who perish before they sail, not less than 12½ per cent perish in the passage. Besides these, the Jamaica report tells you, that not less than 4½ per cent die on shore before the day of sale, which is only a week or two from the time of landing. One third more die in the seasoning, and this in a country exactly like their own, where they are healthy and happy as some of the evidences would pretend... Upon the whole, however, here is a mortality of about 50 per cent and this among negroes who are not bought unless quite healthy at first, and unless (as the phrase is with cattle) they are sound in wind and limb. How then can the House refuse its

belief to the multiplied testimonies before the Privy Council, of the savage treatment of the negroes in the middle passage e Nay, indeed, what need is there of any evidence? The number of deaths speaks for itself, and makes all such inquiry superfluous.

## G2 Blair: Britain's 'sorrow' for shame of slave trade

- Historic statement condemns 'crime against humanity'
- Critics say Prime Minister has fallen short of full apology

David Smith  
Sunday November 26, 2006

Observer

Tony Blair is to make a historic statement condemning Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade as a 'crime against humanity' and expressing 'deep sorrow' that it ever happened.

The Prime Minister plans to go further than any previous leader in seeking to distance himself from the actions of the British Empire, nearly 200 years after the 1807 legislation that led to slavery's abolition. However, he will stop short of making an explicit apology despite years of pressure from some black campaigners and community leaders.

'It is hard to believe that what would now be a crime against humanity was legal at the time,' the Prime Minister will say. 'Personally I believe the bicentenary offers us a chance not just to say how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence utterly and praise those who fought for its abolition, but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened, that it ever could have happened and to rejoice at the different and better times we live in today.'

The ground-breaking remarks will appear in the black community newspaper New Nation, which has been campaigning for an apology for slavery, and in a statement to Parliament tomorrow.

Blair was praised last night for breaking decades of official silence to acknowledge the grievance and resentment still felt by many towards the empire's exploitation of Africans. Paul Stephenson, a black activist in Bristol, said: 'It's historic for a British Prime Minister to say this and it is to be welcomed. It shows a recognition of the importance of human rights and

challenges the deniers who don't admit that the British Empire caused so much social, physical and psychological damage.'

The Prime Minister's decision to make a statement on the issue will reignite the debate on the role of apology in modern politics. He was criticised when, in 1997, he said he 'reflected' on the deaths caused by the Irish Potato Famine. The move will be seen by some as an attempt by Blair to shore up his legacy both domestically and on the world stage.

According to notes seen in the possession of Baroness Amos, the Lead of the House of Lords, earlier this month, the Prime Minister wanted to make a bold gesture that will be 'internationally recognised'. He will back a United Nations resolution by Caribbean countries to honour those who died at the hands of international slave traders.

The notes suggested that Blair was willing to accommodate the requests of many campaigners and is 'prepared to go further than [he is] being asked to' on the issue of an apology.

The slavery issue has come to a head in the build-up to the bicentenary next March of the parliamentary Slave Trade Act. Estimates vary that between 10 and 28 million Africans were sent to the Americas and sold into slavery between 1450 and the early 19th century. By then Britain was the dominant trader, transporting more than 300,000 slaves a year in shackles on disease-ridden boats.

An advisory committee chaired by John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, whose Hull constituency was once represented by anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce, has been planning the 200th anniversary commemorations and addressing the problem of how Britain should acknowledge its past. It was reported that Whitehall advisers had warned that a full apology could open the door to claims for reparations from the descendants of slaves. Louise Ellman, MP for Liverpool Riverside, who has been campaigning for an annual slavery memorial day, welcomed the statement as 'major step forward. It says that slavery is a "crime against humanity". It uses the word "shameful". It entirely disassociates all of us from what happened.'

The Observer revealed the campaign for an apology two years ago when Rendezvous of Victory, a group which seeks to combat the legacy of slavery, said it would call on the Queen to issue an apology. Its joint co-ordinator, Kofi Mawuli Klu, said he was disappointed by Blair's suggestion that slavery is a thing of the past: 'He's missed the point. They do not understand contemporary

enslavement. There is nothing in this statement about the enduring legacy of slavery in terms of racism and global injustice.'

Klu criticised the absence of the word 'sorry', claiming: 'It's adding insult to the lingering injuries of the enslavement of African people by the European ruling classes. The message is that if you commit crimes against African people you cannot be held responsible; even when you acknowledge that you have done wrong, you do not feel it necessary to apologise.'