

# Asia's Unknown Uprisings 1980-1992

- Gwangju 1980
- Philippines 1986
- South Korea 1987
- Burma 1988
- Tibet 1989
- China 1989
- Taiwan 1990
- Nepal 1990
- Bangladesh 1990
- Thailand 1992



# The Asian Wave 1986-1992

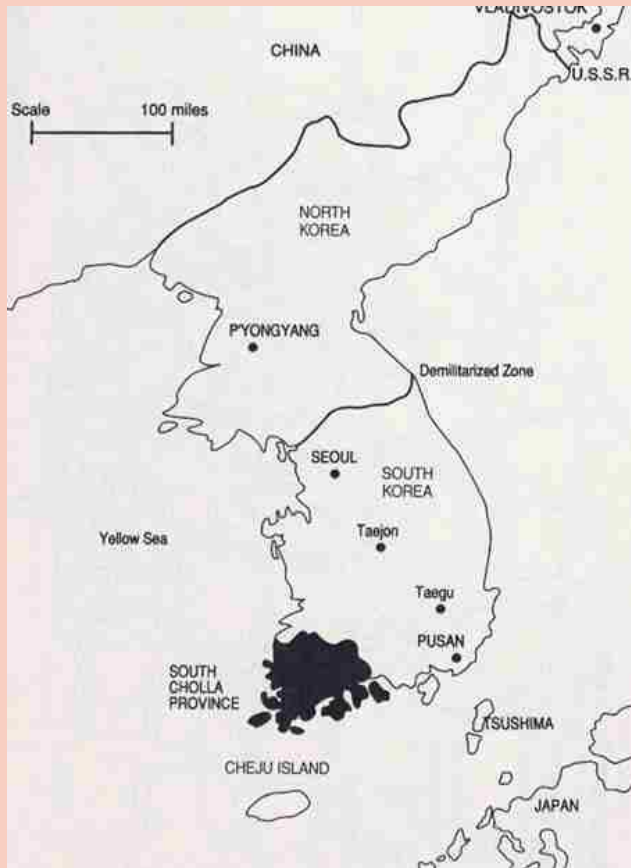
- In 6 years
- In 9 places
- 8 dictatorships were ended

# Dictatorships Ended By People Power

<b>Dictator</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Year</b>
Ferdinand Marcos	Philippines	1986
Chun Doo-hwan	South Korea	1987
Chiang Ching-kuo	Taiwan	1987
Ne Win, Sein Lwin	Burma	1988
King Birendra	Nepal	1990
Muhammad Ershad	Bangladesh	1990
Suchinda	Thailand	1992
Suharto	Indonesia	1998

# Gwangju, South Korea

May 18 to May 27, 1980



# Uprising's Popular Support



# May 21





# Direct Democracy



Although people in Gwangju heroically resisted, they were overwhelmed by the South Korean military with US support.



# The Beautiful Community



## The Union World 1

Woodblock by Hong Sung-dam



# The Philippines

## February 22-25, 1986

### People Power



# The 1986 Philippines Uprising: Birth of “People Power”

- For five days in February 1986, hundreds of thousands of people stayed in the streets to overthrow Ferdinand Marcos, dictator for over 20 years.



# People Power

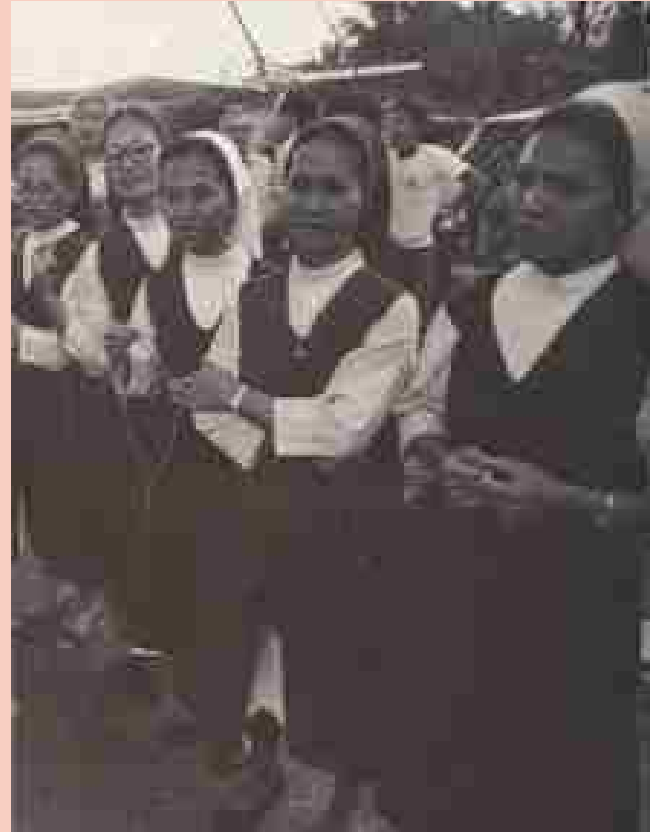
The Revolution started on February 22, 1986 when Reform the Armed Forces (RAM) mutinied against Marcos.



# The Church Calls for Help

Influential Archbishop of Manila, Jaime Cardinal Sin, exhorted Filipinos using Radio Veritas to come to the aid of the rebels.

Millions of citizens answered.



# Eros Effect

- “It’s about the people. It’s about the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the geek and the jock, losing their status, interlocking their arms, standing together in the long stretch of the highway, and for one moment, they were just Filipinos. All of them, one.”
- In 1986, the 3,000 islands on which Filipino people live with 80 languages came together:
- “Out of this confrontation, ordinary street Filipinos, Tondo people and faceless, joined with the middle class, and both discovered a kind of spontaneous collective will that they had never exerted before, and a common bond they had never nurtured. It electrified them. Tears streamed down their faces. Some began to sing. ‘People Power’ was born.”



# Military Mutiny Decisive





# South Korea's June Uprising

June 10-29, 1987

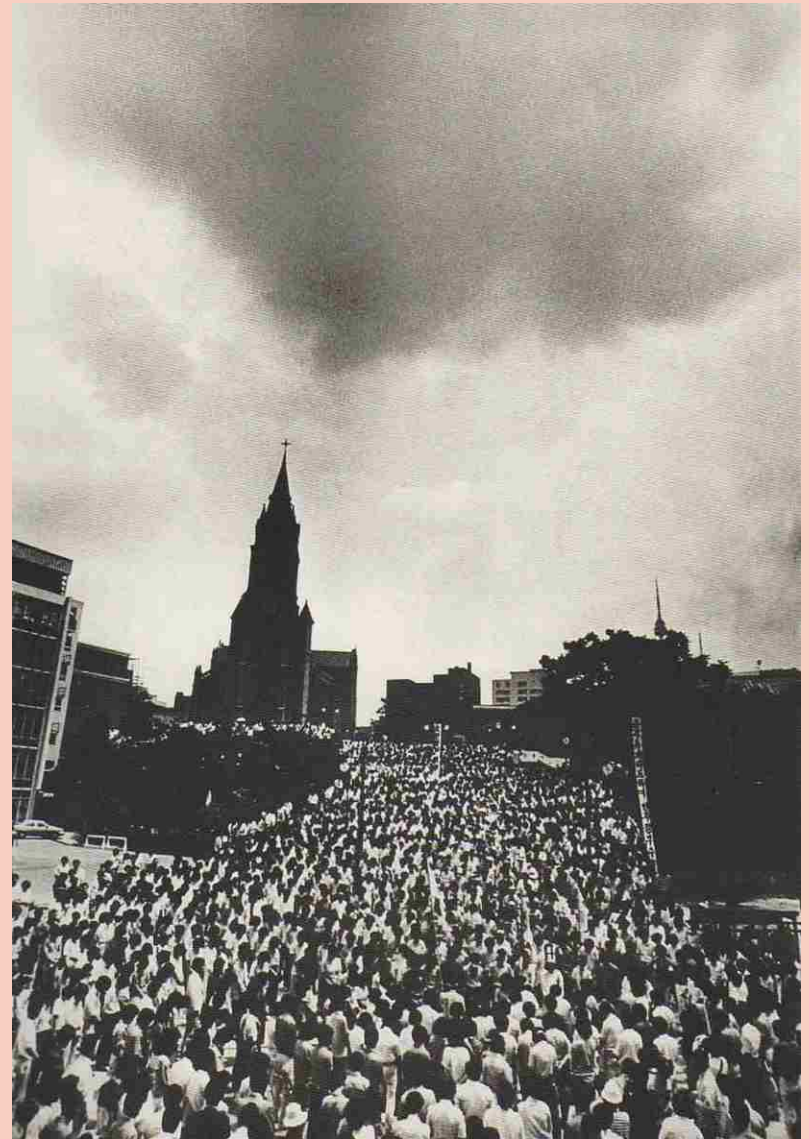
- Students Led the June Uprising

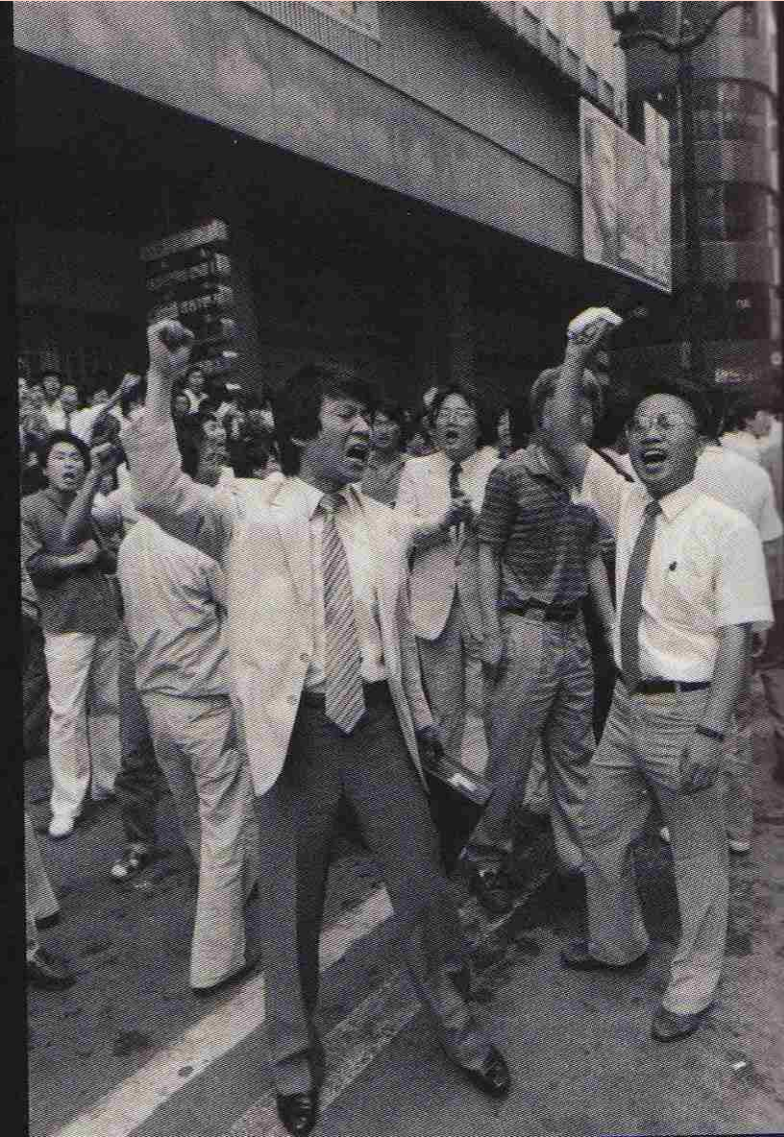


- June 10 to 29, 1987
- Nineteen consecutive days of illegal demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of people
- A nationwide uprising in which “Remember Gwangju!” was one of the most important slogans won democratic reforms and created unions.
- Chun Doo-hwan – military dictator Agrees to direct presidential elections and democratic reforms

# Myongdong June 14

On June 10, hundreds of people fleeing from riot squads and tear gas took refuge in Myongdong Cathedral. When the smoke cleared, more than 760 people found themselves inside. Led by students, they spontaneously organized a sit-in, and elected representatives of the various social groups present (workers, Buddhist monks, urban poor, middle-class, and students). The next day, as 350 demonstrators continued to occupy Myongdong, it became a focal point for the movement, comparable to the occupation of the Sorbonne in Paris in May 1968 or rallies in liberated Gwangju.





# Necktie Brigade

June 29, 1987

Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo  
promise direct presidential elections and  
democratic reform

More than 1 million people attended  
Lee Han-yol's funeral in Seoul July 5, 1987



He was buried in old Mangwoldong Cemetery in Gwangju.

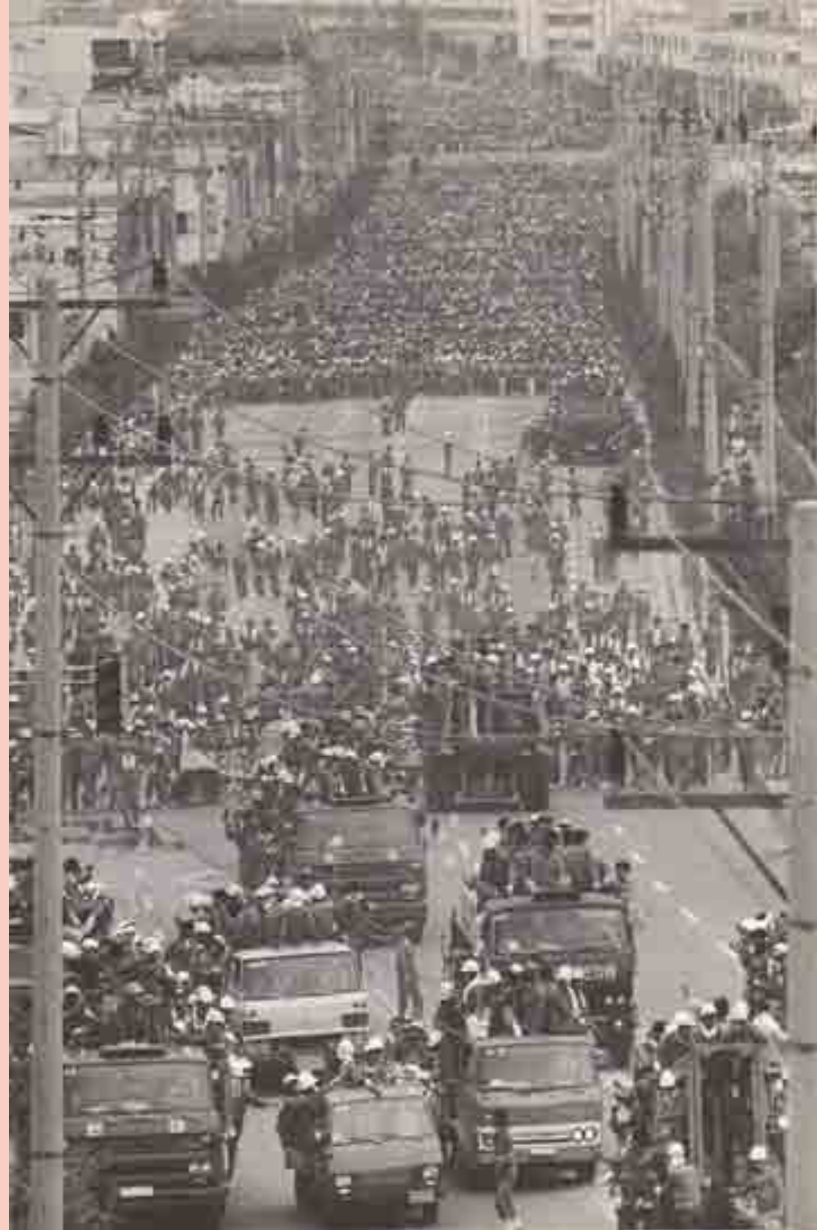
# July-September 1987: Largest strikes in South Korean history

In July and August, more than three million workers in over 3000 workplaces rose up in unison, demanding substantial wage increases, improved working conditions and, most importantly, autonomous trade unions. Without warning and in the absence of any central organization, wildcat work stoppages, street actions, plant closures and marches spontaneously broke out.

In a ten-week period, the number of labor disputes was double the number in the previous ten *years*. Schooled in the streets of June, inspired by the victories of the democratic movement, and protected by its continuing mobilizations, workers claimed their part of the country's expanding liberties.

Their capacity for self-organization in this period is a major indication of the ability of ordinary people to take control of their lives—to articulate their own needs and autonomously take action to make sure they are met.

# Ulsan 1987



# Results

Of 3,343 disputes, 2,448 were about wages.  
Workers clearly won their struggles.

From 1987 to 1993, working hours decreased from 51.9 per week to 47.5 and wages increases averaged 11.6% in 1987, 19.6% in 1988, and 25.3% in 1989.





# Burma 1988

- July 23, 1988 Ne Win resigns
- August 8, 1988 (8-8-88) – September 18, 1988
- August 19, 1988 Sein Lwin resigns
- Thousands Killed
- General Saw Maung established the State Law and Order Restoration Council
- Aung San Suu Kyi emerges as leader of the movement





“It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it” – Aung San Suu Kyi



Estimates of the number of casualties surrounding the 8-8-88 demonstrations range from hundreds to 10,000. SLORC military authorities put the figures at about 95 people killed and 240 wounded.

On September 18, 1988, the military retook power in the country. Troops went into cities throughout Burma, indiscriminately firing on protestors. Within the first week of securing power, 1,000 students, monks and schoolchildren were killed, and another 500 were killed whilst protesting outside the United States embassy.

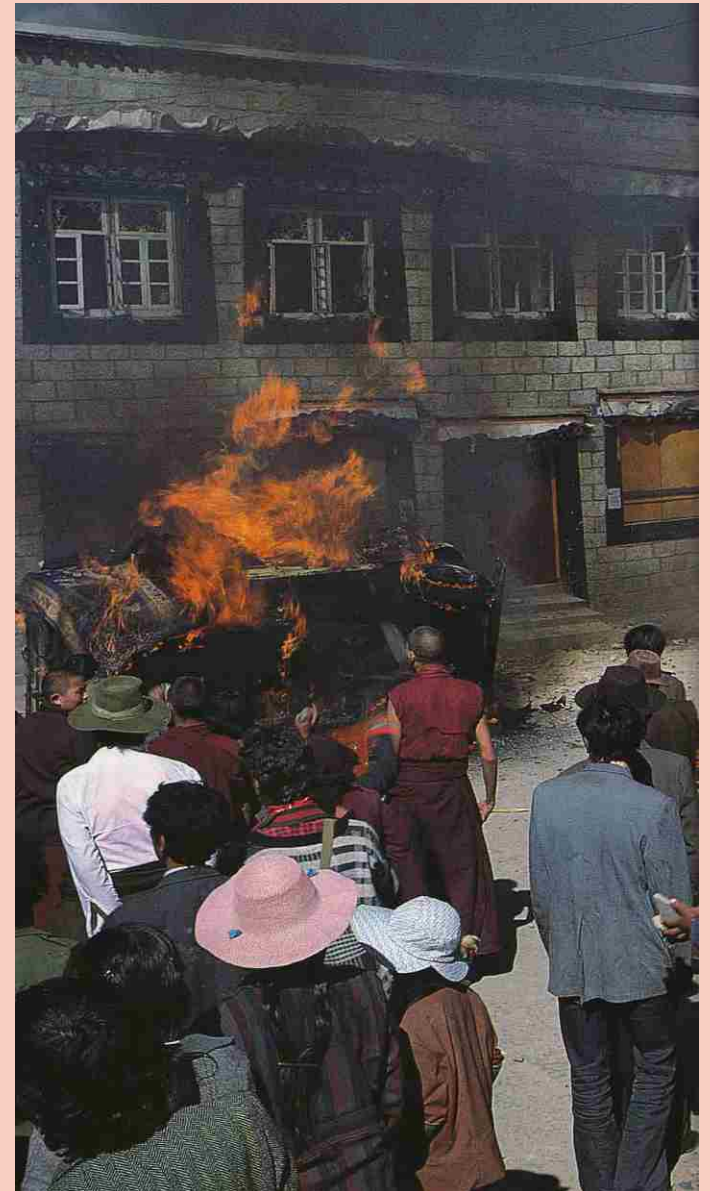
# Tibet 1987 to 1989



# Many Uprisings

- Between 1987 and 1992, approximately 150 uprisings occurred.
- Circling Jokhang Temple in Barkhor part of Lhasa was a common starting ground for protests.
- Most peaceful processions ended in bloodshed.

October 1, 1987





# 1988 Uprisings

- March 5 – Traditional Monlam Festival. Monks begin shouting independence slogans.
- Single shot kills a Tibetan man, and causes a violent outbreak.
- PLA brought in to regain control.
- Monks put up strong resistance.

# 1988 Uprisings



6. Monks demonstrating in the Barkhor, 5 March 1988

# December 10, 1988



# March 5, 6, and 7, 1989

- Biggest protests in 30 years
- At least 30-60 people killed by gunfire in Lhasa
  - US Congress, March 1989; Schwartz says 50 killed on March 5 and in three days, 80 to 150 killed. Chinese authorities claimed Tibetans used guns to fire on police.

# Results

- Over 150 uprisings.
- 100,000's of people flee to India.
- More than one million dead during Chinese occupation.
- pre-1959: 2,700 monasteries and 114,000 monks
- 1959 to 1966: 550 monasteries and 67,000 monks
- 1966 to 1983: 8 monasteries and 970 monks
- 1987: 970 religious centers and 1,500 monks

# 1989 – Martial Law

- March 8, 1989
  - Martial law was imposed in Lhasa and surrounding areas
- Thousand of Tibetans were detained

# China 1989

- April 19 to June 4, 1989
- Tiananmen Square
- Hundreds of thousands of protestors
- 300 deaths accounted by government with 7.000 injuries
- Protested against the “corrupt government”
- Protestors fought back



# Students organize

- April 19 autonomous student union formed at Beijing University
- April 20, police broke up sit-in with clubs, injuring many students
- May 4 more than one million people at students' rally



**Illustration 1.4.** Sit-in protestors at Xinhuaamen, the main entrance to Zhongnanhai, the Communist Party headquarters, during the early morning hours of April 19. Clashes between the students and police would later break out. Credit: Franki Chan.



# Workers Organize

- Hearing about the bloody end to the students' peaceful sit-in on April 20, one worker among the two dozen people clustered in Tiananmen rose to his feet and roused the group with a fiery speech denouncing the violence.
- They published two leaflets exposing Party leaders' wealth, their families' corruption, and the shortsighted impact of their economic policies.
- “How much money had one of Deng Xiaoping's sons bet at a Hong Kong racetrack? Did Zhao Zhiyang pay for his golf excursions from his own pocket? How many villas did the Party elite maintain for their private use?”
- On April 20, Beijing Autonomous Workers' Federation was 70 or 80 people—none of whom had activist experience.
- On May 2, they had 2,000 registered members, and in the two weeks from May 20 to June 3, they signed up 20,000 new members.

# Hunger Strike

- Early May: students staged a hunger strike after peaceful protests began.
- May 9<sup>th</sup>: 1,000 journalists joined the students in the square to push for more press freedom.
- May 13<sup>th</sup>: second hunger strike included journalists



# May 15<sup>th</sup>

- Mikhail Gorbachev visited Beijing; ceremony was to have been held in Tiananmen Square.
- Protests moved the ceremony to the airport
- Zhao Ziyang spoke to Gorbachev about the political situation



# Movement Spreads

- In Nanjing, tens of thousands of workers and students demonstrated, and some joined a hunger strike there.
- A “Goddess of Democracy” was erected in Shanghai before art students did so in Beijing.
- In Xian, one thousand hunger strikers sat down in New City Square. Delegations traveled to nearby factories to gain support. As many as 2000 students rode trains to Beijing on May 18 and 19.
- In Chongqing, 82 students began a fast in front of City Hall on May 18, copying both the Beijing tactic and the demand for a dialogue with officials.

# Li Peng agrees to Talks

- May 19<sup>th</sup>- Martial Law enacted
- Daily marches took place throughout China
- Communist officials accused students of civil unrest and anarchy
- Li Peng talked with hunger strikers on May 18

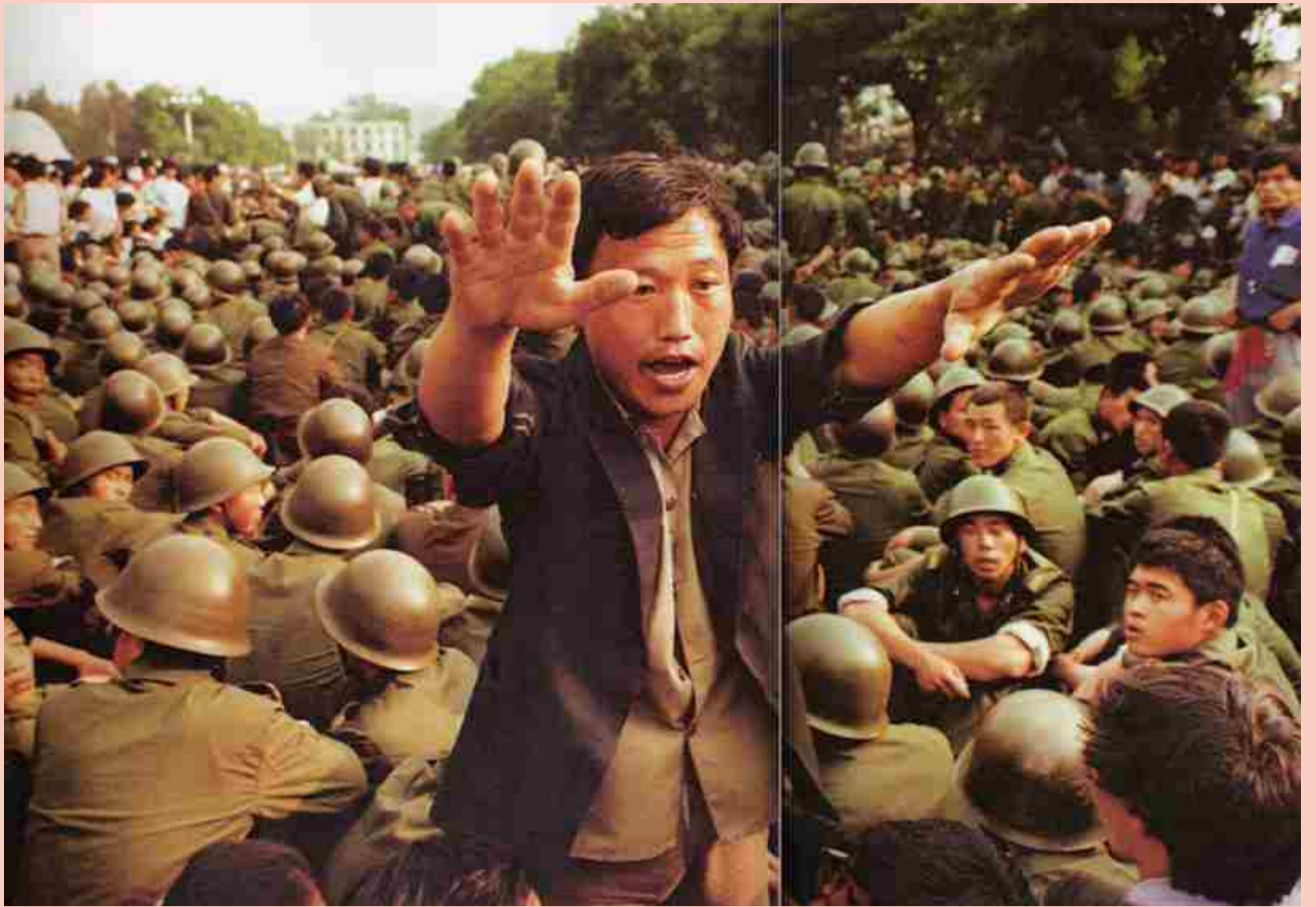


# Martial Law



Deng deployed troops to Tiananmen Square

- About 150,000 troops were mobilized
- For 48 hours, citizens surrounded the military



# Protests Continues

- The protests had now been carrying on for more than a month
- At the peak of the protests there were over one million participants but by June the numbers had dwindled to just a few thousand protestors
- Deng Xiaoping had been pushed to the end of his patience





# Leave the Square?



- On May 30, a general meeting in the Square decided to leave
- Chai Ling overrode the decision, declaring herself “Commander-in-chief”
- Only 10,000 students still occupied the Square



# June 3<sup>rd</sup> 1989



- At 10:30pm tank and APC columns advanced into the city
- Shots were fired into the crowds to clear streets
- Citizens retaliated with rocks and Molotov cocktails

# The Fighting Comes to a Close



- Students began to leave the square
- The fighting subsided around 7 o' clock the next morning
- Isolated gunfire continued in and around the square for the next several days

- Many reports of mutilations of soldiers' corpses were made, including: to the east of Xidan intersection, a soldier was killed and his body burned; in Fuchengmen, a soldier's corpse was hung in mid-air near where he was killed; in Chongwnemen, a soldier was burned alive while people present cheered and described it as "lighting a heavenly lantern." Near the Capital Cinema on West Chang-an Avenue, platoon leader Liu Guogeng shot four people. The crowd beat him to death, burned and disemboweled his corpse, and hung him on a burning bus.



Body of Liu Guogeng



"During the rebellion, more than 6000 officers and men of the martial law troops, armed police and public security police were injured, and dozens were killed at the hands of the rioters."

--Report Compiled by Shanghai Mayor Cheng Xitong

# Tiananmen Massacre

- PLA shooting indiscriminately
- 2,600 died (Chinese Red Cross)
- 400-800 died (CIA)
- 23 died (Communist Party)
- 7,000-10,000 injured
- Thousands and thousands arrested







# The Unknown Rebel



# Growing Economy

China has been able to maintain an astonishing growth rate.

From 1980 to 1996, it was 9.6%, and even amidst the IMF crisis of 1997, China's growth rate remained robust at 9.3%.

China's double-digit growth from 2003 to 2006 has continued to propel the country forward. Now the world's second largest economy, it is expected to reach the same level of output as the US in 2035.

# Taiwan 1990

## Winds of Eros

“In 1986 a ripple effect might have been felt in Taiwan as the rise of democracy toppled the neighboring autocratic regimes.”

- Chin-Chuan Lee, *Sparking a Fire: The Press and the Ferment of Democratic Change in Taiwan*



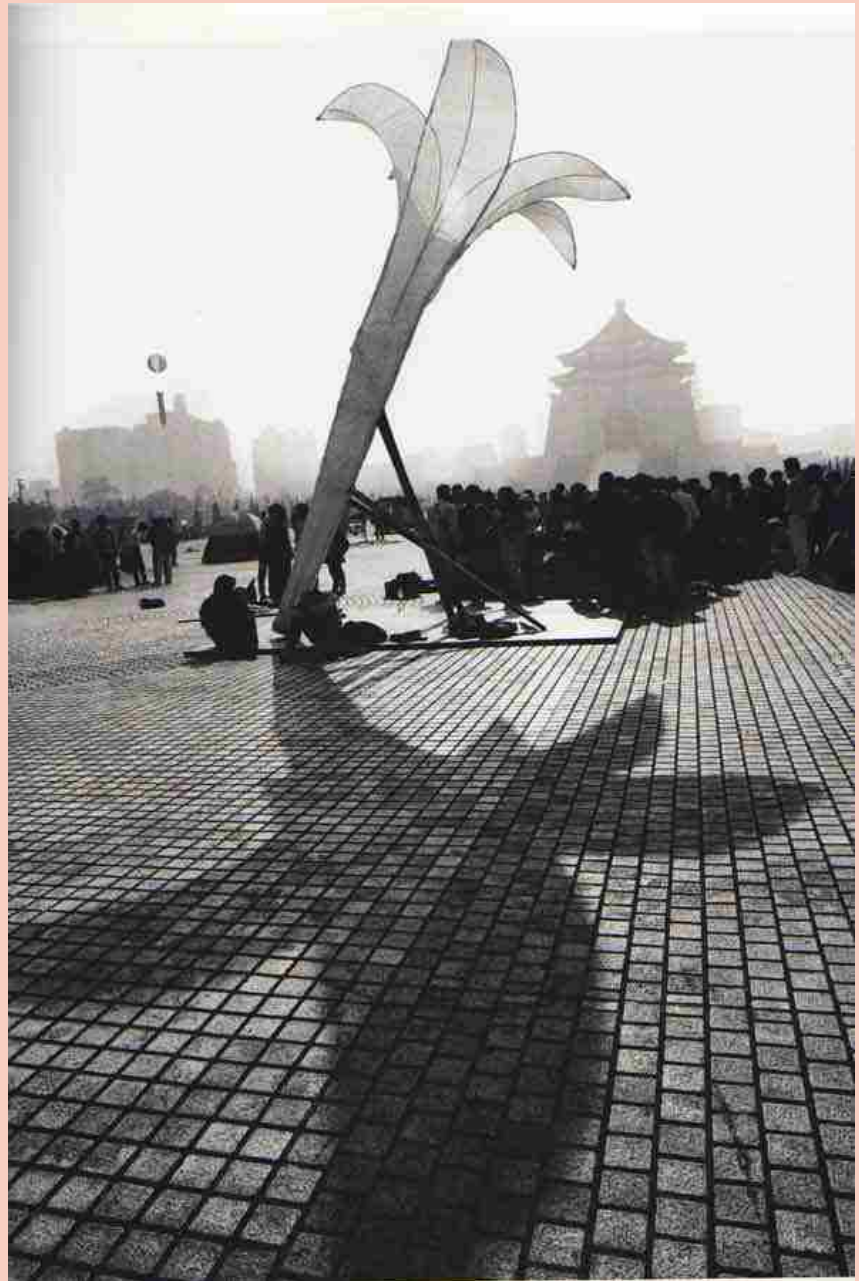
# Political Liberalization

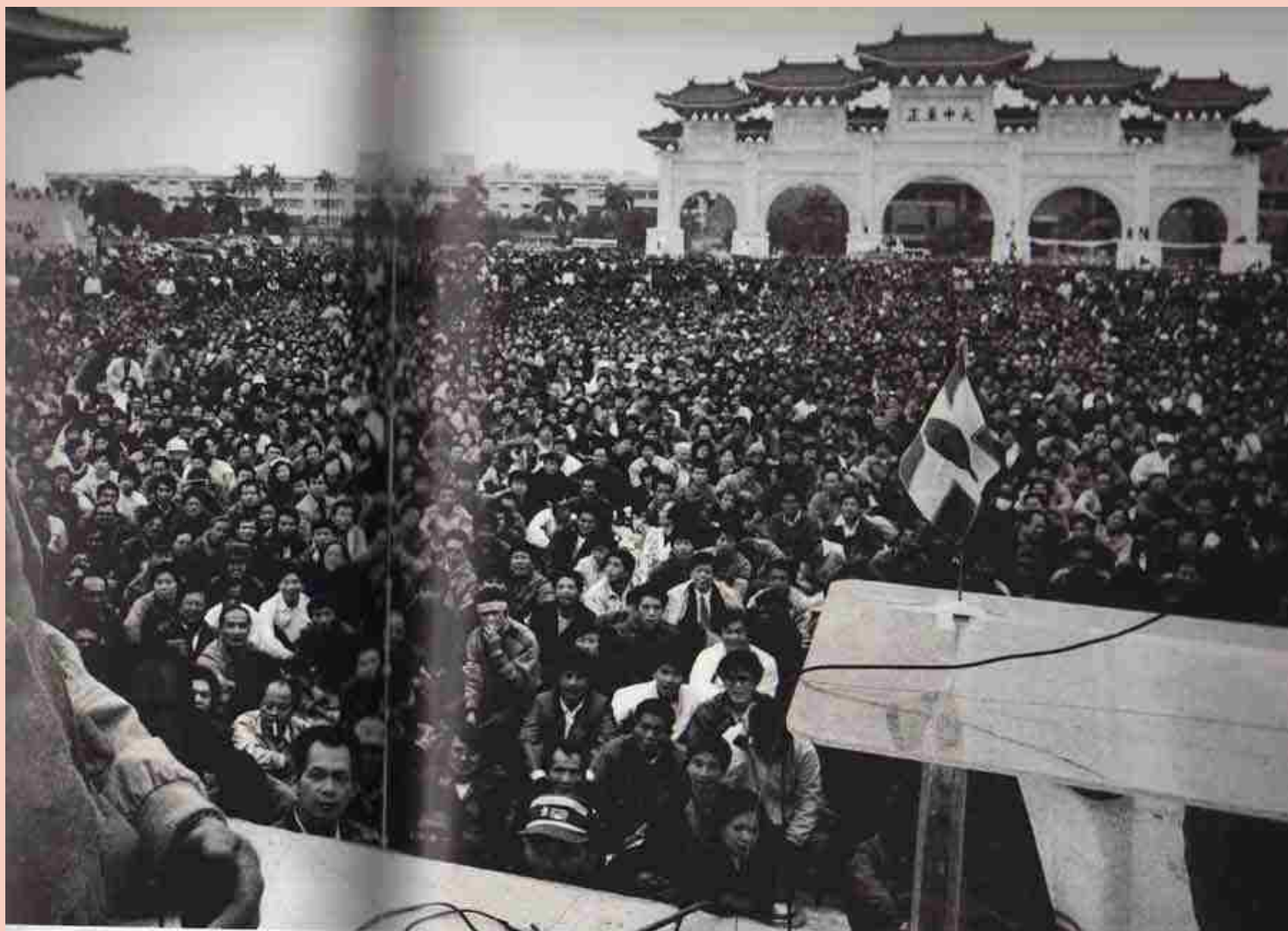
- On June 29, 1987 South Koreans won direct presidential elections after 19 consecutive days of illegal demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of people
- On July 15, 1987 Martial Law was lifted in Taiwan, but democratization required more struggles

# Surge

- Government data reported that between the end of martial law on July 15, 1987 and March 31, 1988, a daily average of five protests took place—a total of more than 1,408. While the number of labor disputes from 1981 to 1988 was 1305, in the first half of 1989 alone, some 1,009 took place as a surge followed democratization.
- At least 17 types of social movements were delineated along with the country's democratization, including among physically challenged people, anti-nuclear power, teachers' rights, and aboriginal rights.

Wild Lily Student  
Movement  
Demands Fresh  
Elections for  
Legislative Yuan  
and President





- March 14, 1990 Student protests break through police lines at KMT central offices
- March 20, 1990 Protests grow to 5,000+ students in addition to many other constituencies
- March 21, 1990 New President Lee Teng-hui meets with students and promises reforms
- April 22, 1990 Constitution revised; elections planned
- December 21, 1991 First full elections for National Assembly since 1947
- March 18, 2000 Chen Shui-bian elected first non-KMT president





Nepal 1990 Jana Andolan

# Eros Effect

As with many uprisings, events in distant parts of the world have profound consequences on people who long for freedom in their own. In 1986, when the People Power revolution in the Philippines overthrew Marcos, people rejoiced, many openly musing that the king should—and even more importantly, *could*—be driven from power. During the Eastern European revolutions of 1989, especially during the fighting in Rumania (whose president Ceausescu had recently visited Nepal), people followed the uprising closely and longed to imitate it. Ganesh Man Singh, considered the “supreme leader” of the 1990 Nepalese democracy movement, related that, “With Gorbachev’s announcement of *perestroika* and *glasnost* something like this became possible even in Nepal.”

# A 50-day Struggle

The seven-week struggle for democracy erupted on February 18 and lasted until victory on April 9—fifty days of courageous resistance to brutal attacks.

Dozens of people were killed, hundreds wounded, and thousands arrested. Nevertheless tens of thousands of people continued to go into the streets and demand democracy.

More than any others, students were in the forefront of initial street actions. The king closed all universities—as well as secondary and primary schools in the capital—but protests spread.

Although most intense among Newaris in the Kathmandu valley and professionals (teachers, doctors and lawyers), the *jana andolan* came to involve all of the country's ethnic groups and castes, workers and students, farmers, and unemployed youth.



Lawyers, doctors, engineers, students



# Blackouts

Blackouts became one of the movement's most important daily rituals, bringing many people into action who feared doing anything more than turning their lights out. Without anyone ordering it, blackouts began in the town of Narayanghat in the Terai, and the tactic quickly diffused to Kathmandu and other towns.

Beginning on March 29, blackouts became more systematic. Across Kathmandu, people plunged their neighborhoods into darkness for ten minutes every evening beginning at 7:00 p.m. It was a heartening show of solidarity and resolve—although houses that did not respect the blackout often had their windows broken. Soon the black-outs spread across the country.

# Liberated Patan

At the end of March in the Newari town of Patan (just across the river from Kathmandu), the uprising reached its highest level of expression when people took over the town and held it for a week. More than any other single battle, Patan's full-fledged popular uprising spelled the end of Birendra's reign as absolute monarch.

# Friday, April 6

Estimated to have involved anywhere from 200,000 to 500,000 people, the huge rally (said to be the largest in all of Nepal's history) soon began to chant anti-monarchist slogans. Everywhere illegal party flags were proudly carried. A popular refrain went, "Thief Birendra, Leave the Country!" Others insulted the queen, while still more simply said, "We want democracy!"

Police opened fire, killing dozens near the royal palace.

By the end of the month, a constitutional monarchy had been won.

# Long-Term Effects

## **The Uprising's Renewal of Civil Society**

As in South Korea where the victory of democratic forces in the June Uprising of 1987 led to a tidal wave of industrial strikes, workers immediately mobilized after the democratic breakthrough in Nepal.

On April 20, workers demanded higher wages and better working conditions, and strikes hit all Kathmandu Valley factories.

Groups of office workers occupied government buildings. At the same time, organized relay hunger strikes and *gheraus* (encircling a person and publicly humiliating them) broke out.



# Caste, Gender & Religion

Alongside workplace struggles, religious, cultural and social conflicts were visibly intensified. Indeed, “it seemed as if every caste, linguistic group, or ethnic community raised its voice in one way or another in the six months between the end of the revolution and the announcement of the new constitution.” For the first time, Buddhists became a visible political force. On June 30, 1990, the Nepal Buddhist Association led some 20,000 people in Kathmandu on a show of support for a secular state. Although a tiny minority, Christians also advocated a secular state.

One analyst concluded that, “The 1990 movement gave women, Dalits, and other low caste groups—ethnic groups as well as regional linguistic, religious and a plethora of other groups—the legal and political voice required to resist the old legitimacy of ascription, oppression and discrimination.”

# Long-Term Effects

Women mobilized as never before. By 1995, All Nepal Women's Association passed a "Women's Rights Charter" that formally recognized females' equal rights to family property.

One of the groups that grew out of the uprising, the Feminist Dalit Organization (FDO), reveals the extent to which Nepali society was transformed after 1990. About 20% of Nepal's people are Dalits—80% of whom live below the official poverty line. They are not allowed to enter many temples and routinely face discrimination in jobs and pay scales. In the countryside, many Dalits are landless sharecroppers; in the cities, it is estimated that 80% of sex workers are Dalits.

Bonded child labor was common, since rural families often needed cash. Children lucky enough not to be sold as indentured servants were often compelled to work at home since they were needed to contribute to the house and the farm from an early age. Deprived of an education, many children became lifelong illiterates—a large majority of them female. In 1992, a Bonded Laborers Liberation formed; eight years later, legislation passed outlawing such forms of slavery.

# NGOs, Co-ops, Media

In 1974, only 15 registered NGOs could be counted in all of Nepal. In 1977, with the queen as chair, 37 social service organizations formed a national council that by 1990 grew to include 219 groups. Seven years after the 1990 uprising, the number of NGO's had mushroomed to 5,128 that were registered with the national Social Welfare Council. In the same year, another estimate counted more than 20,000, and another analyst claimed there were at least 6000 voluntary NGOs.

The number of formally organized cooperatives also skyrocketed after the uprising: from a total of 850 prior to 1992, in 1997 nearly four times as many (3200) existed.

Most significantly, new found freedoms won and energies generated by the *jana andolan* impelled huge expansion of autonomous media. From far fewer than 400 newspapers in 1990, their number more than doubled to over 874 in 1996.

# Bangladesh 1990

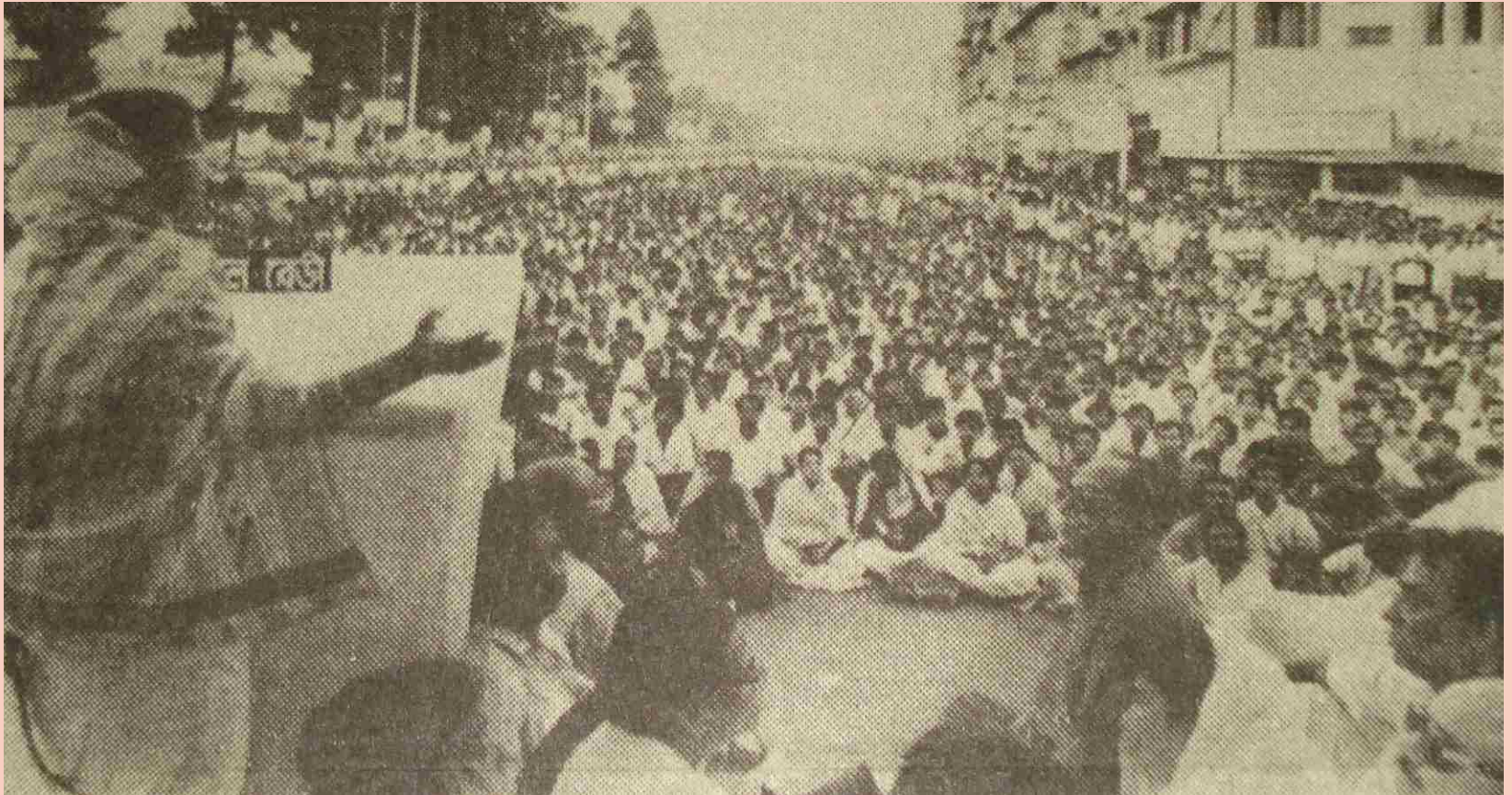


- 1971 Independence (more than one million people killed)
- 1982 General H.M. Ershad seizes power
- August 1990 Ershad deal with IMF
- October 1990 Students unite
- November 1990 United Front vs. Ershad
- December 4, 1990 Ershad steps down

# All Party Students Union



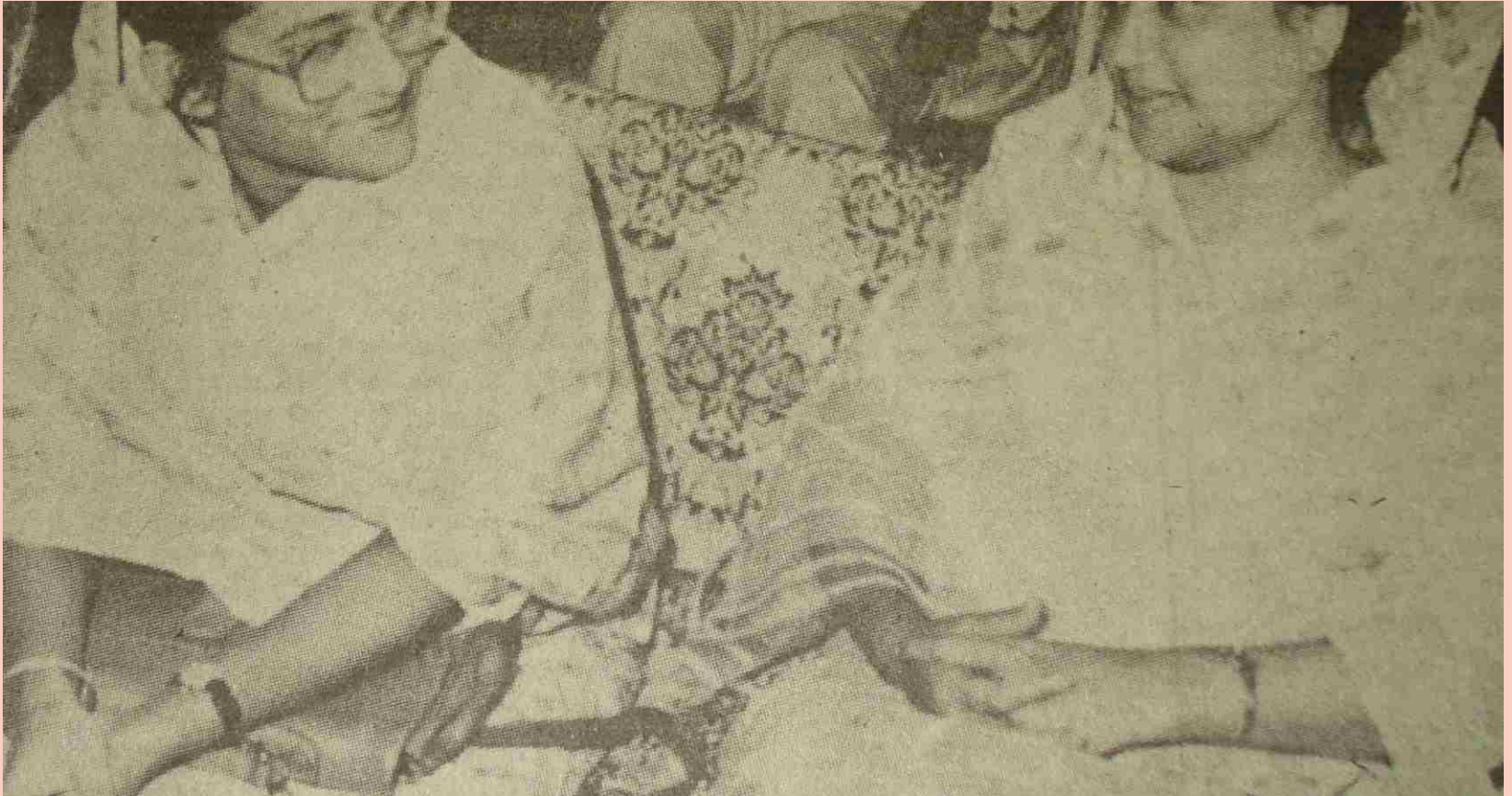
# Sheik Hasina



# Khaleda Zia



# Khaleda and Zia Unite



**5-Party Alliance Forms**

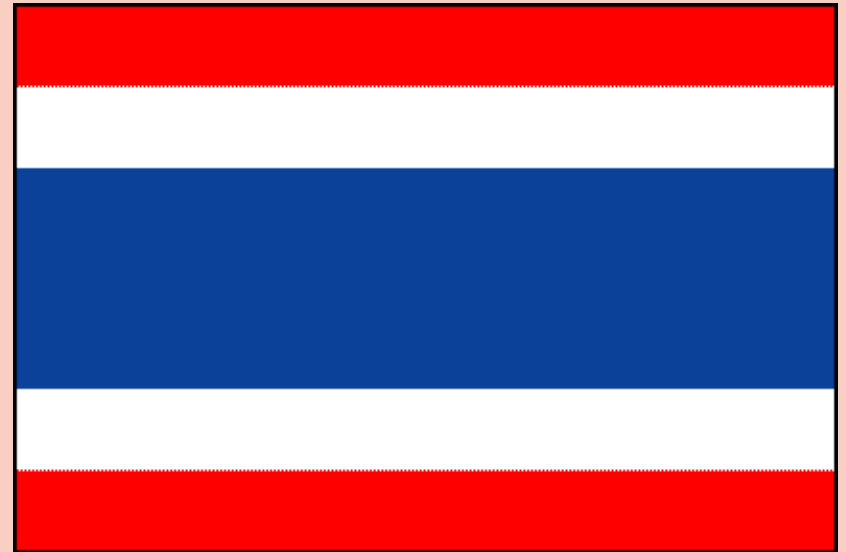


# Ershad Steps Down December 4, 1990 Celebrations



# Thailand

- 1932 – Bloodless revolution led to a constitutional monarchy.
- 1973 – Student-led Uprising for democracy in October; a revolution in Thai politics: 73 killed, 857 wounded.
- 1976 – Hundreds of students tortured and 41 killed at Thammasat University.



King Bhumipol  
Adulyadej Rama IX



General Suchinda  
Kraprayoon



**Coup d'etat overthrew  
Prime Minister Choonhavan  
on February 23, 1991**

# 1992 Uprising

- May 17-20, 1992
- “Black May”
- “Bloody May”
- Over 200,000 protestors
- 52 confirmed deaths
- 293 missing, 505 wounded.



May 18, 1992:  
Soldiers opened fire on thousands of  
protesters with M-16 automatic rifles.



# Doctors and Nurses set up a makeshift hospital in the Royal Hotel on May 18

On May 19, soldiers assaulted it, beat everyone and made them lie outside in the sun for hours



People burnt government buildings, and an  
“army of motorcycles” fought the police





**On 24 May 1992, Suchinda resigned.**



# Continuing Uprisings

- Philippines People Power 2 & 3 2001
- Korean Candlelight Protests 2002, 2008
- Nepal 2006
- Burma 2007
- Tibet 2008
- Thailand Ongoing

# A World of Uprisings

“The likelihood of democratic development in Eastern Europe is virtually nil...with a few exceptions, the limits of democratic development in the world may well have been reached.”

—Samuel Huntington, 1984

“We, the old ones, may never see the decisive battles of the coming revolution.”

—V.I. Lenin, January 1917

# A World of Uprisings

- Uprisings break out with such remarkable surprise that neither those who wish to destroy existing systems nor their antagonists seem capable of predicting them.
- The world we live in has been created by revolutionary insurgencies far more than we normally realize. From the American Revolution to the Russian, from the Gwangju Uprising to Tiananmen Square, uprisings and ruptures in political continuity occur with astonishing regularity.

## Civil Uprisings

This mutually reinforcing relationship of uprisings and civil society is a pattern I have already discerned in empirical studies of South Korea, Bangladesh, Taiwan, and the Philippines. For this reason, I refer to these people power insurgencies as *civil uprisings*, to distinguish them from centralized armed insurrections, coups d'etat, and riots.

What are the Causes of Civil Uprisings?

### Inflation and GDP Growth Rate Before Uprisings

Country	Years	Inflation	GDP Growth Rate	Years
Nepal	1980-1990	9.1%	7.2%, 4.2%	1988, 1989
Bangladesh	1980-1990	9.6%	2.9%, 2-5%	1988, 1989
Philippines	1980-1986	18.2%	-7.3%, -7.3%	1984, 1985
Indonesia	1998, 1999	58.5%, 20.5%	4.7%, -13.1%	1997, 1998
Thailand	1980-1992	4.2%	11.6%, 7.9%	1990, 1991
South Korea	1980-1987	5%	6.9%, 12.4%	1985, 1986
Taiwan	1980-1987	1.3%	4.9%, 11.6%	1985, 1986
China	1988, 1989	18.8%, 18.0%	11.3%, 4.1%	1988, 1989
Burma				

**Table : GNP Per Capita at the Time of Uprising**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>GNP/capita</b>
Burma	1988	
Nepal	1990	\$170
Bangladesh	1990	\$210
Nepal	2006	\$268
China	1987	\$290
Philippines	1986	\$560
Indonesia	1998	\$636
Thailand	1992	\$1,840
South Korea	1987	\$2,690
Taiwan	1987	\$5,325

**Table: Peaks of Urban Protests**

<b>City</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>#Protesters</b>	<b>Metropolitan Population</b>	<b>% Population</b>
Bangkok	October 13, 1973	500,000		
Gwangju	May 21, 1980	300,000	700,000	43%
Manila	February 1986	1,000,000	7,725,000	13%
Seoul	June 1987	1,000,000	10,000,000	10%
Rangoon	August 8, 1988	500,000	2,800,000	18%
Rangoon	September 8, 1988	1,000,000	2,800,000	36%
Beijing	May 20, 1989	1,000,000	12,000,000	8%
Kathmandu	April 6, 1990	400,000	1,100,000	36%
Bangkok	May 17, 1992	300,000	6,220,000	5%
Jakarta	1998		9,000,000	
Kathmandu	April 22, 2006	1,000,000		

### Deaths During Uprisings

<b>Place</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number Killed</b>	<b>Number Wounded</b>
Lhasa	1959	5,000	4,000
Thailand	1973	73	857
Gwangju	1980		
Manila	1986	12	
Korea	1987	0	
Burma	1988	3,000	
Beijing	1989	200	
Romania	1989	794	
Nepal	1990	62	1,307
Thailand	1992	52 (293 missing)	505
Indonesia	1998	1,000	
Nepal	2006	19 (18 missing)	3,723

Note: Numbers used are conservative and reflect official counts when available.



# Eros Effect

The eros effect names the spontaneous spread of similar revolutionary aspirations in a synchronous chain reaction of uprisings and the massive occupation of public space—the sudden entry into history of millions of ordinary people who act in a unified fashion, intuitively believing that they can change the direction of their society.

In moments of the eros effect, universal interests become generalized at the same time as the dominant values of society are negated (such as national chauvinism, hierarchy, and individualism).

# Eureka Moment

I developed the concept of the eros effect to explain the rapid spread of revolutionary aspirations and actions during the strikes of May 1968 in France and May 1970 in the United States as well as the proliferation of the global movement in this same period. As I pulled together my empirical studies, I was stunned by the synchronicity of movements around the world.

After 1968, as the global movement's capacity for decentralized international coordination developed, five other episodes of the international eros effect can be discerned:

- The disarmament movement (early 1980s)
- The wave of East Asian uprisings 1986-1992
- Revolts against Soviet regimes 1989
- Alter-globalization wave from the Zapatistas to antiwar mobilizations on February 15, 2003
- The Arab Spring in 2011, *Indignatos* and the Occupy Movement

# Common Characteristics of Global Movements

- Autonomy (non-party)
- Direct Democracy
- Eros (Solidarity)
- Direct Action