Retrospect

The University of Edinburgh History Society Journal
Easter 2010

Empire

History Society President

DUNCAN BUTLER

WELCOME TO the 'Empire' issue of *Retrospect*!

The eighth edition of the University of Edinburgh History Society journal, *Retrospect*, tackles the theme of 'Empire' in a historical context. Under the umbrella of this theme the Features and Academic sections draw our attention to some obvious, as well as some latent, notions of Empire. Like last term's issue of 'Trial and Retribution,' this issue demonstrates the excellent work of our contributors. The success and overall quality of the publication rests on the commitment of those involved; this issue exemplifies the hard work and dedication of the *Retrospect* staff. The journal is invaluable to the overall success of the History Society and its continual success is something to be especially proud of.

In terms of success, the History Society as a whole has had a year above and beyond what I could ever have ever expected. I have always seen the diverse range of areas the society covers as its primary strength. I still firmly believe this and to be named the Best Society at the Society Oscars for this very reason has confirmed this to me.

It is recognition of the society committee's devotion to everything we do: from taking days out at the weekend to lead trips to historical sites, to dressing up as a popstar to lead one of our themed pub crawls. The committee have risen to the challenge to exceed the remit of their individual position and get involved in every aspect of the society. As well as a great committee, the members have made the society what it is in taking part and enjoying all our social and academic events.

I graduate this year feeling immensely proud of what the History Society has achieved over the last year. Handing over this summer to Deborah Britland, our current Social Secretary, I know that the strengths and assets of the society will continue to be built on. Fitting to the theme of 'Empire' the sun is far from setting on the History Society's fortunes.

Retrospect Editor

MISA KLIMES

"EMPIRE" IS a theme that inspires a wide spectrum of debates and emotions. Usually these debates are divisive and the feelings associated with them intense. Contentious academics, ranging from Edward Said to Niall Fergurson, have mustered all the intellectual firepower at their disposal to contribute controversial perspectives to the debate about empire. Said was very much a critic of empire and Fergurson is at the maximum a cheerleader for it and at the minimum sympathetic to imperialism.

This issue of *Retrospect* is a challenging one in two ways. Firstly, it is difficult to choose the best pieces of work in this edition as it has many well written, informative and stimulating essays. Secondly, the arguments on offer are compelling ones as do not fall easily into the Said or Fergurson camps. They take nuanced and subtle rather than contrarian positions in discussing empire.

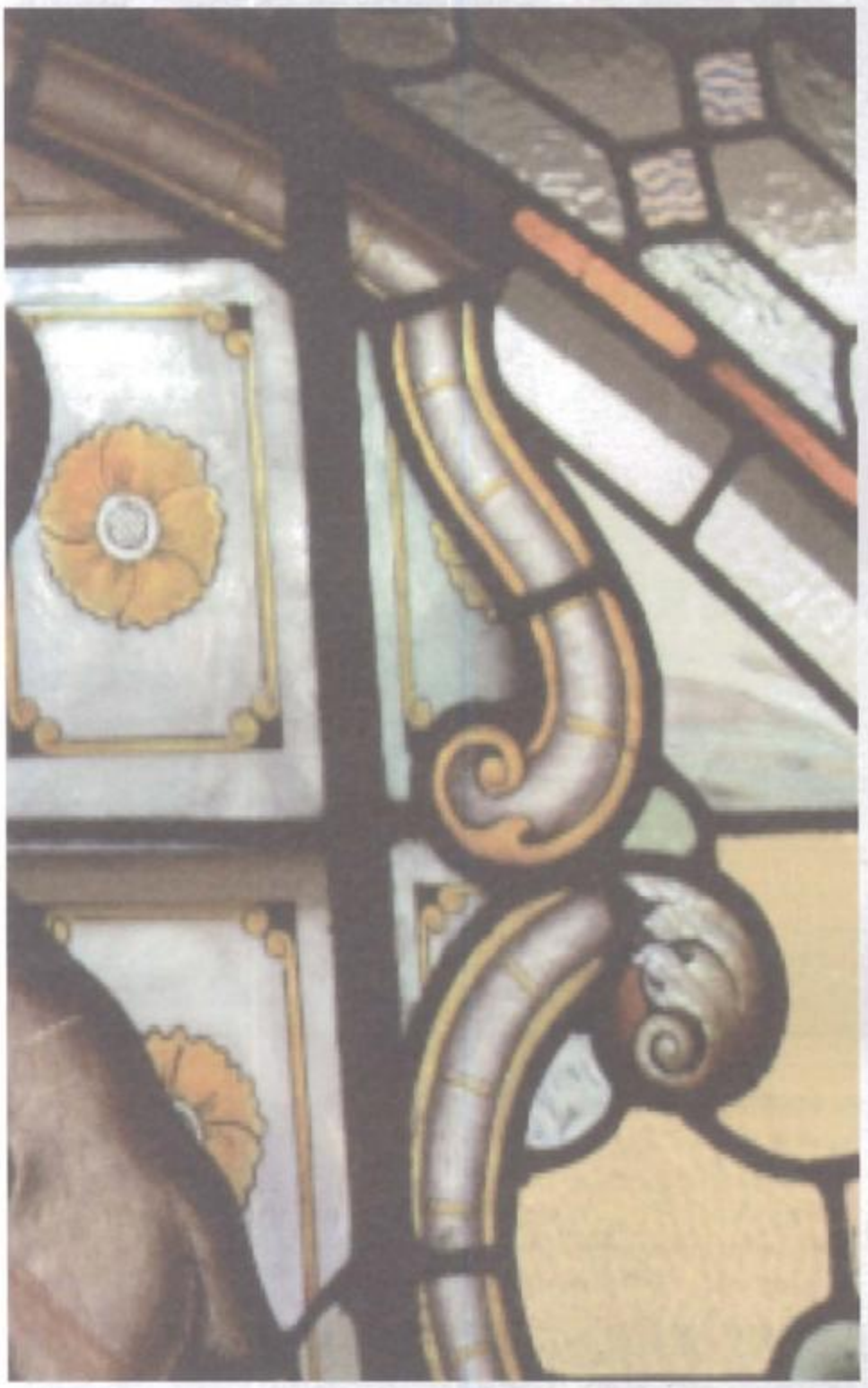
For instance, the Academic section has work on the duplicity of British soldiers in India during the Mutiny of 1857. There is another essay on the irony of seeing the Stalinist regime in Communist Czechoslovakia undermined by an obscure rock band. Other essays look at the establishment of European empires through naval supremacy and the politics of science is also explored. The longest article in the academic section provides an intellectual history and assessment of postcolonial theory.

The Features section is equally strong with evaluations of the United Fruit Company in Latin America, the Falklands War, the Roman Empire, how to interpret the Partition of India and the role of children's literature in empire. Reviews offers educated opinions on the latest books, theatre and film that have been released in recent weeks.

Overall, I am very proud of this issue and the staff and writers which have contributed to it. It is a fine way to finish my own journey at the University of Edinburgh as I finish four very happy years here.

Retrospect

SPRING 2010



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The History Society wants to ensure that history students get the best education possible at the University of Edinburgh. On the committee we have a dedicated Staff Student Liaison Officer who is there to represent you before the staff at official meetings. If you want to raise any issues you have with the department or have any suggestions on how to improve the department get in touch with Kate Cranston-Turner at history.society@ed.ac.uk

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To get involved in writing or production, contact Retrospect at: retrospect.historysociety@googlemail.com

Cover Image: Stained glass window in the British Columbia Parliament Building.

Society

Victory at the Oscars

Susannah Ross reports back from the EUSA Society Oscars, where the History Society won a top award

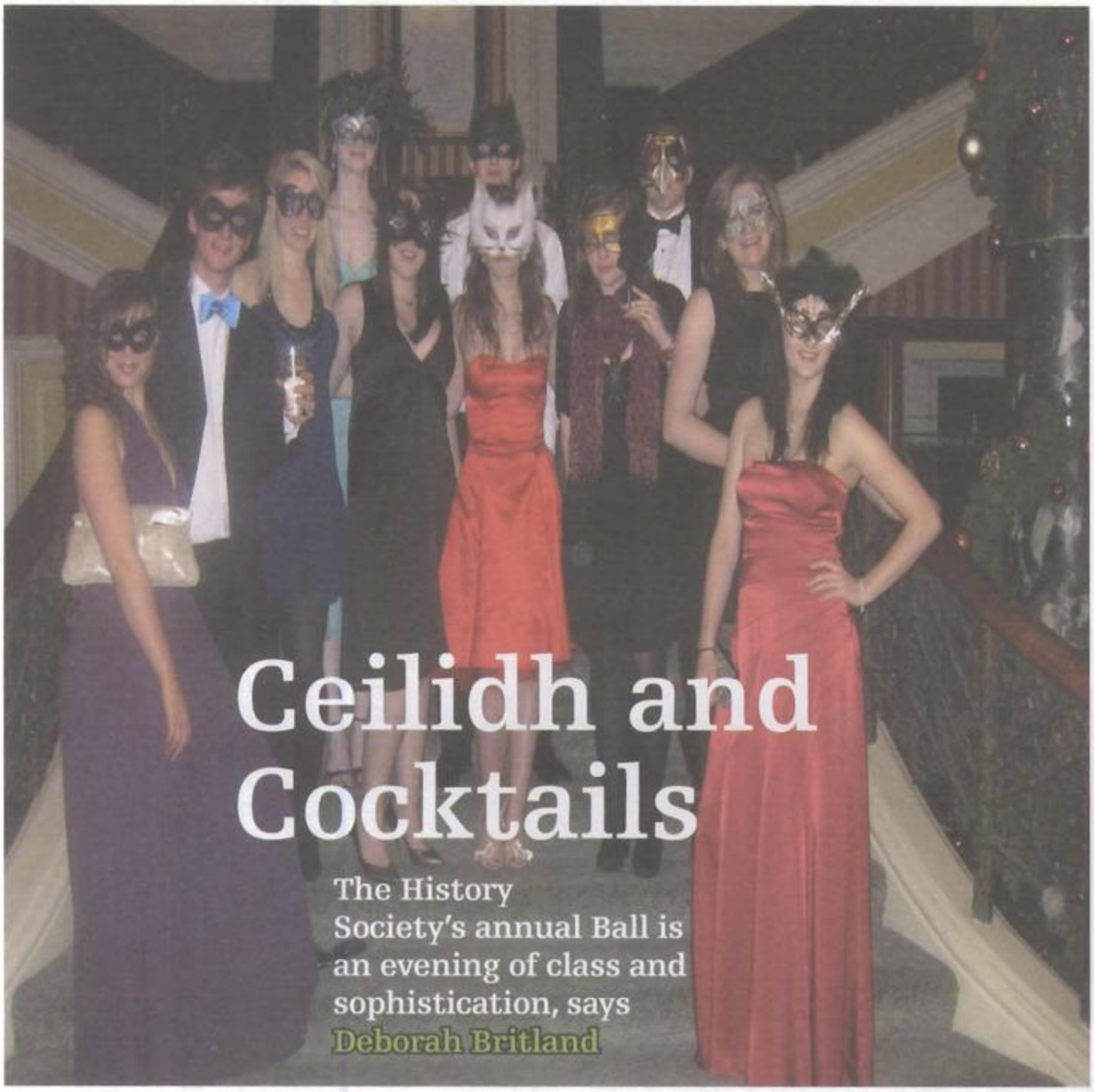
A FANTASTIC night was had by all the History Society committee at EUSA's Society Oscars, held in Teviot in February. As if the promise of free food and wine were not enough to draw History Society committee members along, the extra thrill of having been short listed for the 'Best Society' award meant it was a night not to be missed!

Sporting party frocks and tuxes, the committee members didn't quite hit the red carpet, but Teviot debating hall did look very smart all the same. During the buffet dinner, whilst sampling the finest offerings from 'Echo Falls', we were entertained by the rhythmic sensation that is the Bangra Dance Society, the female voice choir and a hilarious performance by the Improverts. As the awards were announced, the room gained an air of excitement and anticipation, heightened by the stream of winners and runners-up approaching the stage to collect their winnings. Our table became extremely nervous as the night approached its climax and the announcement of who had won 'Best Society' was growing ever nearer.

As Camilla Pierry began to run through the short list, our table's claims of, "the economics society must have it," and, "it can't be us, no way," nearly drowned out her description of the winning society's football team, trips to Historic Scotland sites and own journal. Finally the penny dropped. Before Camilla could even utter the words, our shrieks announced to the entire hall that the History Society had been victorious. Grinning from ear to ear and eager to collect our £500 prize, we ran for the stage. President of the society, Duncan Butler, perhaps a little more eager than the rest of us (or perhaps just having consumed a little more shiraz) reached the microphone first and thanked EUSA and his fellow committee members from this year and last who had contributed to the win.

Amid the excitement of being on stage, getting our photo taken and receiving the large novelty cheque, there was one casualty of the evening. The decapitation of the Oscar statue did not dampen our spirits, however, as we headed to the bar. As our euphoric celebrations continued, it began to sink in what an achievement the award actually was. It had been ten years since the History Society had won this award and our victory was gratification for the hard work of the committee who successfully organised events and trips and helped to increase membership. It is also proof of the dedicated and talented History Society members who support us and participate so eagerly in all of our events.

Winning the 'Best Society' award is a great achievement, especially as Edinburgh has one of the largest number of student societies at any UK university. Competition was stiff, but the Oscar is confirmation of what we already knew; that we are the best society. All the trips we run, our journal, our football team and the epic pub crawls, all of which contributed to the win, could not have been possible without our loyal members and committee. Thank you to you all and watch this space for what we plan to do with the prize money over the coming year.



Ceilidh and Cocktails

The History Society's annual Ball is an evening of class and sophistication, says Deborah Britland

THE HISTORY Society Ball is one of the biggest and most anticipated events in the University of Edinburgh's social calendar. After last year's success at Dynamic Earth, the pressure was on to create an event just as amazing. This year's ball certainly didn't disappoint.

'To make the event spectacular, the ball was transformed into into a masquerade. From classical Venetian masks, to the kind modelled by Zorro'

The five star Caledonian Hilton Hotel was the venue for this social extravaganza; history students surrounded by the beautiful artwork of the hotel's grade II listed Castle Suite, the building dating back to 1905.

To make the event spectacular, the ball was transformed into a masquerade. From classical Venetian masks, to the kind usually modelled by Zorro, guests hid their faces whilst letting their dresses, kilts, suits and tuxedos do the talking.The night started with a bang, literally. As guests arrived to the sound of our very own piper, a cascade of fireworks, celebrating St. Andrews day, decorated the sky, Edinburgh castle providing the perfect backdrop to the magical evening. Guests were then greeted with a champagne reception, before taking their places under the beautiful chandeliers of the Castle Suite for an exquisite three course gourmet meal.

Full to the brim with food and wine, there was then the opportunity for mass photo taking, the beautifully decorated Christmas trees as well as the hotel's grand piano being hotspots. Guests took full advantage of the stupendous staircase, some using it for photos, whilst others used the opportunity to recreate the infamous Disney *Beauty and the Beast* scene. Guests then enjoyed a vast menu of cocktails, slowly working their way through the many versions of martini on offer, the Paolo Martini going down a storm!

After being suitably refreshed, the real fun of the evening began. Having transformed the room into a large dance floor, it was time for guests to grab their partners and dosey doe. After stripping the willow and a few Gay Gordons, people rested their feet whist the President of the History Society, Duncan Butler, gave a few words of thanks to guests and to those who had been responsible for organizing the event, the History Society committee.

With the night still young, guests hopped across the road to club Bacaro, which had opened exclusively that night for the History Society. The celebrations continued in style, with more dancing, more swishing skirts and a few more cocktails. Bow ties were undone, whilst some of the men felt it necessary to prove their true Scotsman status with a cheeky flash of the kilt.

The night was a success and a wonderful opportunity to get the whole society together for a bit of Christmas cheer. However, all thoughts now turn to how the History Society is going to top such an outstanding event next year.

You're History

Captain Max Hoffman reports on the Football Team's tough season

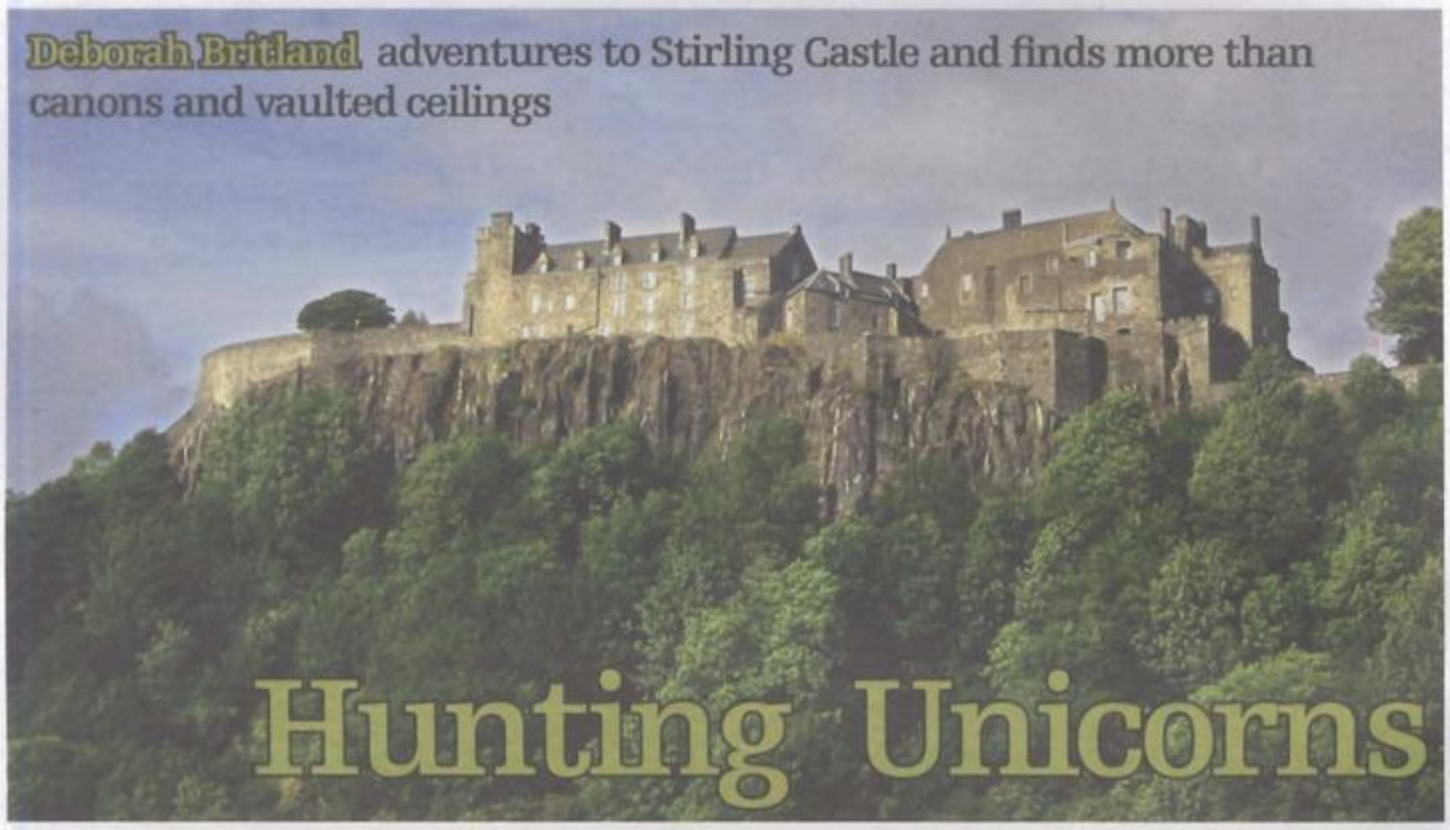
IT WAS a winter of discontent for You're History FC. With their spot in the Wednesday Second Division secured in dramatic fashion in November, the History Boys faced the departure of a number of key men in January. Aberdeen came in for star central-defender Tom Ilett, Peter Henderson was snapped up by "one of the big London clubs", top-scorer Richard Cook was declared ineligible by the "real world", while the dreaded dissertation wreaked havoc on team-selection. The upheaval meant You're History started the season against Rapid Lairy's Burning Elysium with a completely revamped back-four.

Despite battling performances from new arrivals like Gibson, striker Mark Slaats and full-back Iain Walker, and classy showings from veterans like Adam 'I wish I was Arshavin' Crichton, History failed to reproduce marauding attacking play of yesteryear. Going down in consecutive defeats to the Medics, the Matriculators, and Morning Glory Elect, History were handed ignominious relegation to the Third Division. The team must now rally itself for the upcoming Summer Cup, where YHFC plan to upset the pessimistic predictions of pundits who have tipped them for an early exit.

Liberated from dissertations, revelling in underdog status and bolstered by returning veterans, History's fourth-years will be handed one last shot at elusive intramural glory. The team will be taken over next year by perennial fan-favourite and midfield stalwart Jamie Foulis, who will need to recruit heavily to build around a talented young core of Roberts, Sharples, McColl and Gibson. History's goalkeeping problems have not been adequately addressed. One thing is certain; the sky-blue Golden Wonders will be seen again in the Intramural top-flight.

Hunting Unicorns

Deborah Britland adventures to Stirling Castle and finds more than canons and vaulted ceilings



THE HISTORY Society kicked off the New Year with a free visit for all members to Stirling Castle, re-establishing the society's link with Historic Scotland.

Despite the early morning start on a cold, miserable day, History Society members turned up in full, wrapped up to tackle the cold. Although the trip nearly ended up in Bathgate, after a misunderstanding with trains, all members eventually arrived in Stirling, ready to face the steep ascent up to the castle.

Upon reaching the castle, society members took in the breath-taking view, cameras capturing the distant Wallace Monument as well as the royal castle set against the backdrop of snow covered hills. After having a small amount of time to explore the castle for themselves, they were treated to a tour by a most enthusiastic guide. From the canons to the beautiful wooden beams supporting the great hall, members were given detailed information about the history of the castle. Throughout the walking tour, visitors continued to snap away with their cameras at the beautiful, symbolic architecture.

The tour ended in the Royal Chapel, surrounded by a series of exquisite tapestries known as *The Hunt of the Unicorn*. History Society members were told of the stories surrounding each tapestry, furthering their interest in the beautiful artwork.

With the tour completed, members set off around the castle, exploring all of the different rooms, walkways and viewpoints the site has to offer. From a depiction of life in a sixteenth century castle kitchen, to the opportunity to visit the regimental museum, visitors were spoilt for choice in the range of activities on offer. One of the most unique opportunities, however, was the chance to see professional weavers attempting to recreate the outstanding tapestries that had been previously admired in the great hall. In the tapestry studio, members were able to observe the fascinating process and witness how difficult weaving is, with the tapestry taking nearly four years to complete.

The excursion to Stirling Castle was a great success and History Society members were able to gain hands-on experience of the amazing history that Scotland has to offer. Although the weather was miserable, members explored the castle till their hearts' content, the History Society pleased to have provided another successful trip with the help of Historic Scotland.

Sweden and the Third Reich

Caroline Paterson reports back from John Gilmour's talk to the History Society

IN EARLY March, the History Society were honoured to host a lecture given by Honourary Fellow in Scandinavian Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Mr. John Gilmour, author of the eagerly anticipated new book, *Sweden, the Swastika and Stalin*.

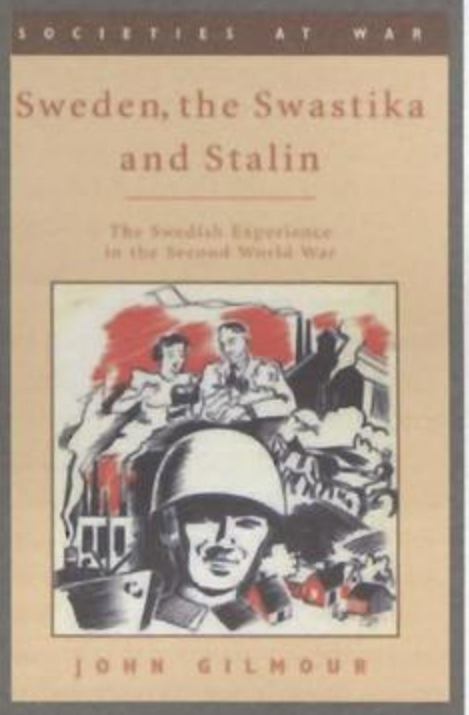
It is easy to write a good review of this lecture as Mr. Gilmour expertly explored the intricate twists and turns of Swedish foreign and domestic policy during the Second World War. He demonstrated that what has been a relatively neglected area of history is, in fact, equally as fascinating as more popular and mainstream areas of investigation.

He began his fascinating journey through Sweden's World War Two policies by shattering the image of Sweden as a small nation unsure of how to conduct herself in the conflict. Immediately after the British declaration of war, Sweden negotiated the continuation of trade with both Britain and Germany at their pre-war levels. Furthermore, Mr. Gilmour showed how the Allies had attempted to use the USSR's attack on Sweden as a method of getting her to enter the war against Germany. The Swedish refusal of such pressures, Mr. Gilmour explained, reflected the fact that Sweden had her own strong and independent foreign policy and a will to risk choosing her own path, despite immense diplomatic pressure from her neighbours.

Swedish conduct during the war was motivated primarily by a desire to protect her own people. In his lecture, Mr. Gilmour suggested this was not a motivation that should be branded as selfish, but was part of a policy of self-preservation. Sweden's acceptance of allowing German troops to cross through her territory to maintain their hold over Scandinavia lasted only a couple of years, and this, along with more minor concessions to Germany, convinced Hitler that Sweden was his ally. Such actions permitted the continuing transportation of invaluable German coal supplies to Sweden, and allowed Swedish ships through the German blockade so her own people could be spared the starvation which had been experienced during the Great War.

Mr. Gilmour concluded with remarking on Swedish involvement in the Holocaust, claiming that she was connected only with, "sterilisation rather than extermination." Ironically, through actually engaging with Germany in a low key manner, the Swedish government saved thousands of Jews; in 1942, 900 Jews escaped from Norway to Sweden, followed a year later by 7,000 Danish Jews. Despite these humanitarian actions, Swedish conduct during the Second World War remains a controversial topic surrounded by debate, which can only increases as more studies explore this fascinating area of historical study.

Mr. Gilmour's lecture addressed the benefits that Swedish policy brought from 1939 to 1945, but he also highlighted the popular notion that by continuing to deal with the Nazi regime, Sweden was acting as a client state of Hitler's Germany. It is doubtful whether historians will ever agree as to whether Swedish conduct is to be praised or condemned, but in his lecture Mr. Gilmour certainly provided his audience with an extremely interesting argument to contemplate.



Gilmour, John, *Sweden, the Swastika and Stalin: The Swedish Experience in the Second World War (Societies at War)* (Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

New Home for History

Kate Cranston-Turner and Brittany Harbidge report back from their sneak preview of the new School of History, Classics and Archaeology building

AS SOME of you may have read in the last issue of *Retrospect*, the School of History, Classics and Archaeology is soon to be established in a new home, in the West Wing of the historic medical school.

As members of the cross-school staff student liaison committee, we were invited, along with Classics and Archaeology representatives, to see how the work was coming along. Despite the miserable day, the dust and scaffolding, it is clear that the work being done is creating a truly beautiful space, fitting for the study of the past. As a grade A listed building, the re-design has been undertaken with great care. Key features, such as cornerstones and window frames, have been preserved. However, this has largely restricted the utility of the space.

The most obvious impact is the disparity in the size of staff offices, some of which have only been created with half a window each (if any staff are reading this they may want to get their requests for particular offices in early, we recommend the third floor). The strikingly beautiful staff room does go some way to making up for this. The post-graduates will also be lucky enough to have exclusive use of five forty-capacity study rooms, all benefiting from large windows and stunning architecture. However, undergraduate students of each school are not so lucky.

> 'Particularly concerning is how it will affect the Classics students'

Despite claims that the building was designed to reinforce the sense of an "academic community", the undergraduate seems to have been left out in the cold somewhat, with only one sixty-capacity study space for all of the 1,100 students. Each of the representatives present voiced our concerns as the tour continued and it became clear that no more space was to be allocated for us.

Particularly concerning is how this will affect the Classics students who will rely on this space once their private library in David Hume Tower is moved into the new building. For History students, the Scottish, social and economic and the Compton libraries will also be relocated into this limited space, raising concerns over of how many students will actually be able to access these books at one time. Be reassured, the main library will still retain its collections of history books, but it is frustrating that provision for undergraduates seems to have been an afterthought in the designs of the building.

When these concerns were raised at a recent cross school meeting, it was implied that student representatives were being close minded with regard to use of the space. With the building already underway, there is now little option of making any significant changes to the plans. However, it was suggested that if we have any ideas on how to make use of the existing space - such as whether to include computers or just powerpoints - these may be brought before a further board meeting.

As a result we leave it to you to tell us what you want. A facebook discussion has now been created on the history society page, with links to the Classics and Archaeology societies. If you would prefer to remain anonymous, email Kate Cranston-Turner, the staff student liaison officer for the History Society, with any suggestions.

Key Features

- Grade A listed building
- 5 forty-capacity study rooms for postgraduates
- 1 sixty-capacity study space for undergraduates
- Classics library
- Scottish History library
- Compton library
- Social and Economic library

Any suggestions go to History Society's Facebook page or, email Kate at: www.history.society@ed.ac.uk

Remembering James F. McMillan

Jill Stephenson and Jeremy Crang pay tribute to their brilliant friend and colleague James F. McMillan

PROFESSOR JAMES F. McMillan, Richard Pares Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh, has died at the age of 61. He was an outstanding scholar, an inspirational teacher, a brilliant academic manager and a wonderful colleague: the word "collegial" might have been coined to describe him. His death robs the academic community of a bright star whose warmth and humanity won him so many friends, in Edinburgh and many other places. The tributes paid to him by former students testify to his brilliance and commitment as a teacher and research supervisor.

Jim was an immensely sociable man who enjoyed nothing more than comradely conversations with colleagues about the idiosyncrasies of academic life over a convivial glass of wine. His presence in a group invariably lifted its spirits: as one member of staff recalled, "Jim made us all feel better about ourselves". For Jim, the glass was always at least three-quarters full; this "can-do" approach was both attractive and infectious, spurring colleagues and friends to attempt to solve problems that had previously seemed intractable.

Jim McMillan showed early promise as a dux medallist at St Mirin's School in Paisley, his home town. He went on to emerge from the University of Glasgow in 1969 as top Modern History graduate in his year, proceeding from Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford, where he completed his D.Phil. thesis on 'The Effects of the First World War on the Social Condition of Women in France" under the supervision of Richard Cobb. This was the basis for his path-breaking book, *Housewife or Harlot? The Place of Women in French Society 1870-1940* (1981), published at a time when "women's history" was still a minority interest. After a year as a tutorial assistant in Glasgow in 1972-73, Jim's academic career began at the University of York, where he served as lecturer, and then senior lecturer, from 1973 to 1992.

His years at York were happy ones, especially after his marriage to Donatella Fischer. As well as producing two further books, *Dreyfus to de Gaulle: Politics and Society in France 1898-1969* (1985) and *Napoleon III* (1991), Jim demonstrated his intellectual breadth by teaching undergraduate courses on the history and sociology of religion as well as on literary theory and history. In 1987-88 he was an exchange professor at California State University.

'He was an outstanding scholar , an inspirational teacher, a brilliant academic manager and colleague'

In 1992, Jim returned to Scotland as Professor of European History at the University of Strathclyde, and it was here that his managerial skills became evident. He served with distinction as Head of the Department of History and as Vice-Dean (Resources and Planning) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. A revised and extended edition of *Dreyfus to de Gaulle* appeared under the title of *Twentieth Century France: Politics and Society 1898-1991* (1992) and his academic excellence was recognised by his election to a Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1996.

In 1999 Jim was appointed to the Richard Pares Chair at the University of Edinburgh in succession to another distinguished historian of France: Maurice Larkin. He threw himself into academic affairs in Edinburgh with immense energy and infectious enthusiasm. A further book soon followed, *France and Women 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (2000), and the respect and admiration he earned from his colleagues made him an obvious choice as the founding Head of the new School of History and Classics in 2002, as part of the university's internal restructuring.

His preparation for an orderly transition was painstaking. Some staff were sceptical about the new structures, but Jim patiently took time to nurse them. This was his method throughout: to take colleagues along with him, by consent. Jim's judicious policies, especially in the area of staffing, saw the appointment of many talented young scholars to the new School. He leaves a solid foundation for the future.

'Jim demonstrated his intellectual breadth by teaching undergraduate courses on history and religion'

Jim's prodigious work as Head of School, as well as the care and attention he gave to his many devoted students, did not crowd out other interests. With Donatella, he was a keen theatre and concert-goer, and he remained an ardent Celtic fan. Indeed, while at York, he had played in a local league as part of the staff team and was said to have been a creative midfielder with "a cultured right foot". He also remained loyal to his faith, serving for many years as convener of the Scottish Catholic Historical Association. Cancer claimed Jim McMillan at the height of his powers. At the end of his tenure as Head of School in 2005 he assumed the directorship of the university's Centre for the Study of the Two World Wars and was awarded a Major Leverhulme Fellowship to enable him to research and write a book on religious belief in the First World War.

The following year he was elected to a Visiting Fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford. Alas, emerging ill-health prevented him from making the most of these new avenues and opportunities and his book remained unfinished. Jim faced his long illness with typical courage and dignity. He was a truly inspiring figure whose remarkable human qualities and exceptional scholarship will be sorely missed by his colleagues and many friends. He is survived by his wife, Donatella, a lecturer in Italian at the University of Glasgow.

Features

A patriotic venture

Hamish Kinnear reviews Britain's ongoing imperial stance in the Falklands War in the 1980s

BY THE 1980s Britain was a shadow of its former imperial self. Since the conclusion of the Second World War its territories had been systematically relinquished. Despite Harold Macmillan's "Winds of Change" speech that had suggested an honourable handover of power to local authorities, Britain's policy of decolonisation was a humiliating experience. In the face of the intellectual protest of Mahatma Ghandi or the aggressive nationalism of Nasser, Britons began to feel an acute sense of embarrassment about their imperial past and apathy towards their future.

Yet the British overseas territories which were and are still remaining represent an "empire" on which the sun never sets. The territory that once covered a quarter of the globe has been thoroughly dismantled, but there still remain a number of –mostly uninhabited- islands dotted around the globe. These imperial leftovers include a set of barren, windswept isles in the South Atlantic named the Falklands. The Islands had little to profit from economically and therefore few incentives for settlement. Their proximity to Cape Horn –the tip of South America- made them strategically important. Indeed, a crisis over their ownership in 1770 brought Britain, France and Spain to the brink of war. However, in 1833 ownership passed to the British who established the first permanent settlement of Port Stanley. The British nationality of the settlers ensured loyalty to their country of origin. But claims on the Islands by Spain and its post-colonial successor Argentina, dating from their discovery in the 1520s, plagued British administration.

The issue of sovereignty became significant with the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. The Argentines joined the scores of other nations asking for territorial concessions off Britain. The Argentine claim on the Falklands, or *Las Malvinas*, was justified by accusing the British of aggression when they removed the Argentine inhabitants from the Islands in 1833.

In 1982 the faltering military junta that had taken control of Argentina in 1976 decided to distract attention from its economic and political failings by increasing the pressure on Britain to concede the Falklands. The lack of British diplomatic engagement led some Argentine leaders to believe that invasion was the only option. Eventually, encouraged by Britain's apparent lack of concern for the Falklands and its dwindling military presence in the area, the Argentine leader Leopoldo Galtieri ordered an invasion.

Now in an attempt to save the remnants of her empire, Britain tackled the Argentine offensive head-on. Bombing raids were executed from the mid Atlantic possession of Ascension against Argentine positions. This was followed up by heavy naval bombardment and a task force that reclaimed the Islands within one month. War fever reminiscent of the height of empire swept through Britain, enthused by the hard-fought battles at Goose Green and Mount Longdon. *The Sun* newspaper famously, and rather coarsely, headlined its report on the controversial sinking of the Argentine Crusier General Belgrano with "GOTCHA!"

The British had reason to celebrate. They had won a war 8,000 miles from home in which the objectives were considered by many to be a "military impossibility". They had also seemingly fought for the right reason: the liberation of British subjects from an unprovoked invasion by a militaristic aggressive neighbour. The wave of patriotic fervour and confidence had been unseen since the Second World War. Returning soldiers were greeted by crowds of jubilant, flag-waving civilians. There were notable opponents to the war. but the general consensus was undeniable. Indeed, the Prime Minister herself, Margaret Thatcher, stated that the victory "put the 'Great' back in Great Britain". Britain had rid herself of her post-imperial apathy through a method that had originally created the Empire: warfare.

> 'War fever reminiscent of the height of empire swept through Britain'

But why was a war where the combined casualties of each country nearly equalled the population of the territory fought over so popular? Further to this, though the outcome of the war was uncertain, why were British people willing to accept such high casualty figures during its duration, and even after the war? A single month of the hostilities caused 258 deaths, a higher figure than the current British fatalities in the nine year conflict in Afghanistan. Perhaps the easiest conclusion is that so long as a conflict is short and successful the populace will accept high casualties.

The more important factor is the impact that the success of war can have on a nation. Thatcher's election to a second term in 1983, by no means assured before the war, was secured by the military victory. Her approval rating almost doubled during the relatively short duration of the conflict. The opposite was observed in Argentina, where the ruling junta was quickly deposed following its defeat.

The protection of British citizens is an essential task if we are to believe in the principle of a nation-state, and in this sense the Falklands War was justified. But the euphoria that greeted the successful conclusion of a conflict over a set of islands hitherto unheard of came as a surprise to many. As modern and "civilised" western nations we may consider ourselves to be above the celebration of war. It remains clear that regardless of the original motive or the death toll, a successful war will always be popular.


THE Sun

QE2 IS SET TO SAIL FOR WAR

We told you first

GOTCHA

Our lads sink gunboat and

SUNK

A plague on both your houses

Katie Linsell assesses the difficulty in recording the violence of the Partition of India

"THERE WERE lavatories, jammed with corpses of young men who had muscled their way to comparative safety. And all the nauseating smell of putrefying flesh, faeces and urine. The very thought brought vomit to Hukum Chand's mouth."

This sorry description of the typical violence carried out between South Asian Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs during the mass migration which followed the Partition of India in August 1947 is taken from Khushwant Singh's famous novel, *Train to Pakistan*. The novel, published nine years after Partition in 1956, is set in Mano Majra, a fictional village on the border of Pakistan and India. Singh contrasts the peaceful cohabitation of the Muslim-Sikh population with the heart-breaking violence that ensued once the British imposed false borders to divide India's three communal groups.

Although the statistics vary, it is accepted that a million people lost their lives in the intercommunal homicide. In the context of decolonisation after the Second World War, and with the growing influence of Gandhi's nationalist Quit India Movement, Britain was all too happy to flee the violent subcontinent which seemed on the brink of civil war, and focus her imperial might on the scramble for Africa. Britain's colonial policy of "Divide and Rule" through the colonial census – which classified Indian citizens in terms of their religion rather than their social status or gender – exacerbated an environment of hostile communal relations.

The Indian National Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru was seen as a largely Hindu organisation and was vehemently challenged by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Muslim League. But it was the work of Viceroy Mountbatten and lawyer Sir Cyril Radcliffe – the latter never having visited India in his life – that divided the subcontinent into two sovereign states, Muslim and Hindu. The extent of the violence caused by such a decision has only recently been recognised by Western readership. Partition literature such as Singh's has been praised for its ability to uncover the human aspect of the event and describe the gut-wrenching attacks that each religious group carried out against its countrymen. Singh writes, "Both sides killed. Both shot and stabbed and speared and clubbed. Both tortured. Both raped".

Such thorough detail of emotional suffering is absent from contemporary political reports; Ayesha Jalal and Sugata Bose have uncovered Lord Mountbatten's detachment in his appraisal of Partition as merely "one of the greatest administrative operations in history". Subsequent historiography has overlooked the suffering of the masses by referring to refugees in terms of statistics and employing focusing on the political ramifications of the event.

> 'Is it possible that some experiences are just so barbaric that they are indescribable? Words fail.'

The raison d'etre of the historical approach lies in factuality and objectivity; this impartial stance is prone to present individuals as mere sources of information, eyewitnesses, the deceased and the missing. The individual's suffering can never be uncovered through traditional historical sources such as government reports which presented the evacuation in terms of sums of money or quantity of clothing needed for the unidentified refugees.

Western historiography's struggle to produce human history confirms Edward Said's Orientalist theory that Western historians cannot help but cast the experiences of colonial natives as "other". Such detachment denies the reader an empathetic understanding of what Partition meant in social terms. Nor does human emotion feature in Indian nationalist histories which portray Partition as simply part of the larger drama of the struggle for independence.

> 'Partition novels are not without their own flaws...they are hugely subjective'

Thanks to the literary devices of dialogue and description, Partition novels can tackle aspects of human suffering which lie beyond the historian's scope. Anthropological interviews and first person literary accounts reveal the inner-most feelings of those who participated in Partition violence and go further in explaining their motivations than historiography. Saadat Hasan Manto's collection of satirical poems, *Mottled Dawn*, and Bhisham Sahni's *Tamas*, the latter having been made into a film, offer intimate accounts of Partition on a popular scale.

But Partition novels are not without their own flaws. Written by those who experienced the terror, they are hugely subjective and it is difficult to monitor the author's exaggeration of events. Singh's depiction of communal harmony, before the arrival of a trainload of murdered migrants as depicted above, has been criticised as an unrealistic idyll: "Sikh and Muslim villagers fell into each other's arms and wept like children". The author's memory is never pure or unmediated and therefore seems unreliable. But it is important to note that Mano Majra, although a typical Indian town, is fictional and Singh does not present his own experience.

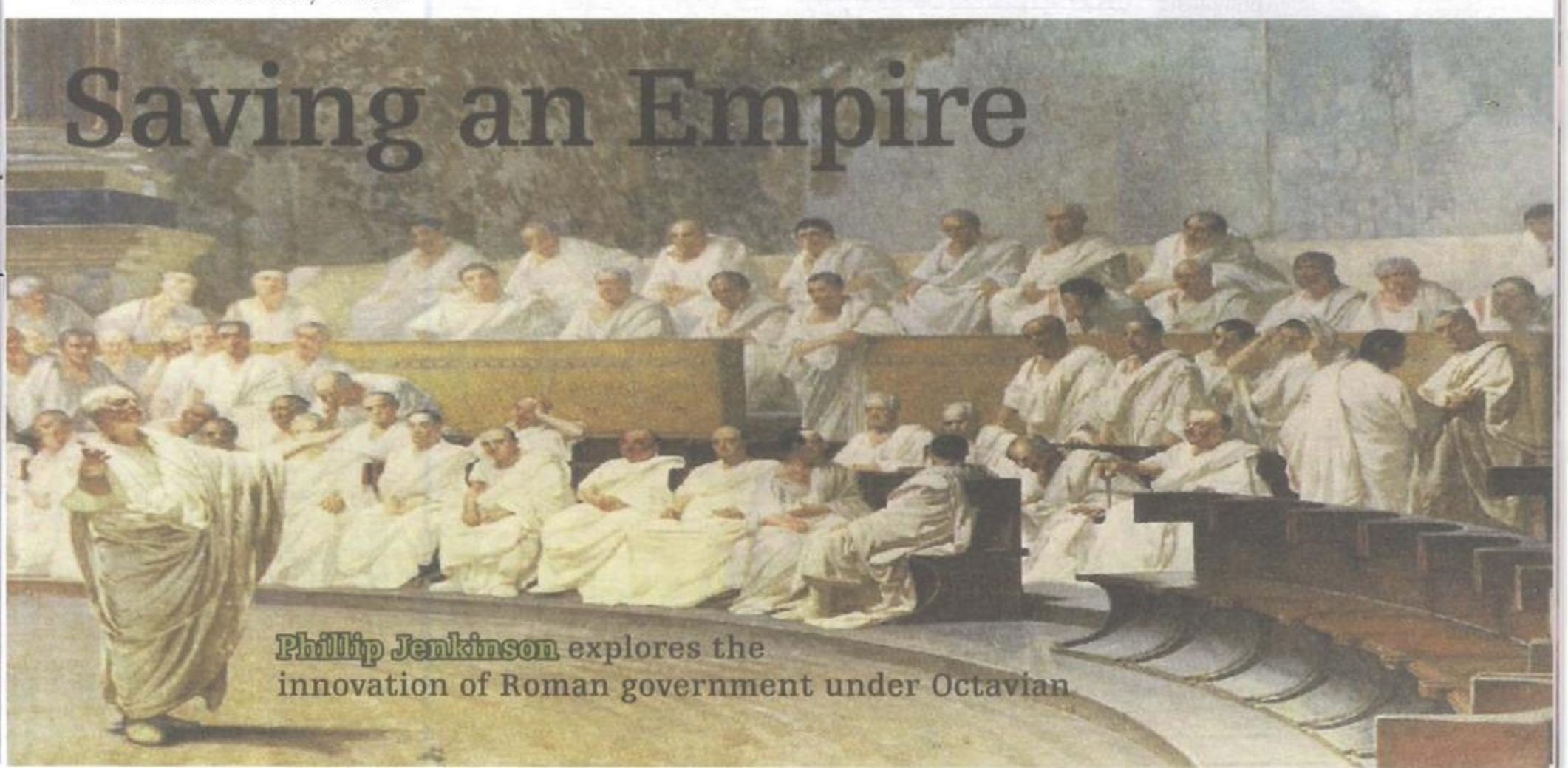
In terms of first-hand accounts, is it possible that some experiences are just so barbaric that they are indescribable? Words fail. In remembering one's own suffering is it natural to adopt a detached stance and protect oneself from further pain? The intercommunal nature of the hostilities meant that socio-religious pride played a significant role. In some accounts fathers chose to kill their own families and then themselves to save their wives and daughters being raped or their sons converted to the enemy religion. The mass-suicide of Sikh women and children in Thoa Khalsa was praised by Congress for their preservation of Indian womanhood. Others neglected their religious belief and converted simply to save their lives, which could be considered shameful.

Some women were forced to convert, remarry and settle in Pakistan or India among their enemy communal group. What is even more difficult to grasp is that, when India launched legislation to recover these lost women from Pakistan, many did not want to leave, aware of the difficulties of reintegration once tainted by the opposite religious community.

A middle way that marries historical factuality with personal narratives could solve the problem of recording Partition violence. Knowledge of the political events that caused such violence is equally as important as appreciating the suffering which followed.

A reader must not forget what happened and that such knowledge helps communal conflict in South Asia come to an end.

Saving an Empire



Phillip Jenkinson explores the innovation of Roman government under Octavian

"THEN HE broke the barriers of war and through the swollen river swiftly took his standards. And Caesar crossed the flood and reached the opposite bank. From Hesperia's forbidden fields he took his stand and said: 'Here I abandon peace and desecrated law. Fortune, it is you I follow. Farewell to treaties. From now on war is our judge.' Hail, Caesar: We who are about to die salute you."

It is with these momentous words that, according to Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (the Pharsalia of Lucan), Julius Caesar crossed over the Rubicon river into the heart of the Roman Empire, ushering in a series of civil wars that raged across the Roman Empire, virtually crippling its governing power for the next 20 years. One man would emerge from this conflict to rebuild the world's greatest empire, once again placing it at the very pinnacle of human civilisation, but in doing so he would destroy the world's first and greatest republic.

In the years preceding these events, Roman rule through the republican senate had sunk from the glorious heights achieved at the close of the Macedonian and Carthaginian wars into an oligarchic system of corruption, characterised by power struggles and endemic mismanagement. This ubiquitous inability of the senate to govern the Roman Empire had lead inexorably to the civil wars that marked its effective end as the sole arbiter of governmental power throughout the empire.

As its fortunes plummeted in a series of political power struggles, the senate desperately searched for one man after another in a vain attempt to compensate for its own shortcomings through the unconstitutional governance of powerful individuals. The only efficient counterweight to such sporadic governance, which amounted to a series of military despotisms, was the creation of another such power to oppose it. This build up of power in the hands of a few, ruthlessly motivated men could only, inescapably, lead to full blown military hostilities.

The rise of Gaius Octavianus Julius Caesar to supreme power mirrored that of so many others throughout history. Octavian (as he is more commonly known) scrambled home, through the tumult of civil war, using an effective mix of inspired leadership and sheer determination to better his opponents in a string of military and political confrontations.

> 'The emergence of Octavian...ushered in a new era of Roman rule'

After achieving the ultimate victory, the remainder of Octavian's career would break the historic mould as he attempted to restore the republic which he and his forebears had done so much to destroy.

On his return to Rome in 29BC Octavian enjoyed a personal ascendancy in power as had never been rivalled by any other individual throughout Roman history. He had the full strength of the military at his disposal, had recently won great prestige in the war with his rivals, Antony and Cleopatra - who were despised as traitors by the citizens of Rome – and was the sole survivor of a string of military autocrats who had dominated Roman rule for two decades.

The principate of Octavian has been viewed by scholars, both ancient and modern, as merely another case of despotism in the cycle of totalitarian Roman rulers; his authoritarianism was expertly masked by a shroud of superficial republican perceptions. However, this simple notion of yet another aggressive usurpation of power cannot explain the constant battle waged by Octavian with the senate in his attempt to revive the republican rule of the Empire.

During the course of his rule Octavian retained command of the empire's army. This can easily be misconstrued as a purely belligerent act, Octavian clinging to military control in order to assert his will on the rule of the empire. However, the regulation of the administration of the armed forces by a single, all powerful, leader was essential in order to prevent the proliferation of new civil wars. In order to prevent the rise of another military commander who may have been able to challenge Octavian for the rule of Rome, he was forced to keep full control of military arrangements, only entrusting truly loyal subjects with command.

While maintaining an authoritarian hold of the martial forces, Octavian attempted to pass civil authority back into the hands of the senate. On 13 January 27BC Octavian revealed his genuinely republican sentiments as he announced his resignation of all power and provinces to the free disposal of the senate and people of Rome. This acclamation was drowned in protest from all corners of the senate; the senators pleaded with Octavian not to abandon the empire which his actions alone had saved. The senate's refusal to allow Octavian to abdicate acknowledged his rectorial position as indispensable and granted him senatorial authority to last 10 years.

It is at this time that Octavian had the title Augustus conferred upon him by the senate, signalling his transition from dictator to constitutional ruler. Coins and inscriptions of the age hailed Augustus' rule as the "restoration of the republic". Such a declaration was not mere propagandist fantasy; it contained a degree of truth. From 27 BC Augustus took the role of an elective official whose powers were a gift from the senate and people of Rome, being subject to the full sovereignty of the law.

The restoration of republican rule was not to last; its final end arose from its sheer inability to govern the complex, far-reaching empire. The senate, either through fear or lack of experience, made such sparing use of its powers of legislation that this role was devolved, in whole, upon Augustus, who either brought forward bills directly or had them brought forward by other senators. In recognition of its own shortcomings the senate began to withdraw its numerous administrative services, leaving them to be filled by nominations of the emperor (which Augustus had, in effect, now become).

By replacing the volatile senate with a new, professional imperial executive Augustus ended the republican predilection of roman rule and allowed effective reconstruction of the governing system of the empire. The emergence of Octavian as the primary power in roman governing society unequivocally sealed the fate of the republican order and ushered in a new era of roman rule. By the astute reformation of governance laid down by the settlements of Augustus, the empire was placed on a firm footing, socially, economically and militarily.

A ruthless neighbour

Gregor Donaldson explores the USA's economic dominance of Guatemala

"CUBA," SAID Fidel Castro in the aftermath of the botched Bay of Pigs invasion, "is not another Guatemala". The desire in Cuba to avoid the same fate as Guatemala demonstrates the importance of this often overlooked episode in American foreign policy.

The American government's success in aiding and abetting the overthrow of the democratically elected, progressive President Jacobo Árbenz in 1954 extinguished the last chance for democratic change in the region and polarised political opinion within Central and South America. It was a morally repugnant stain upon the history of American foreign policy. Over the next four decades, the successive US-backed military juntas waged a counter insurgency campaign of terror against leftist rebels, which killed 200,000 people.

The economic relationship between the United States and Guatemala, specifically the actions of the US United Fruit Company in Guatemala, constituted a mercantilist, domineering form of neo-imperialism, inspired by economic self-interest, communist paranoia and a traditional assumption of the legitimacy of American hegemony in the entirety of the Americas, harkening back to the Monroe Doctrine.

The extent of the UFCO's influence was not limited to bananas; the company earned the name *El Polpo* (The Octopus) amongst Guatemalans due to its far reaching monopoly over the nation's railways, maritime transport and even domestic politics.

El Polpo's tentacles were not only wrapped around the Guatemalan government; the UFCO had an ever-increasing sway over United States foreign policy and diplomatic relations with Guatemala and other "Banana Republics". In 1948, attempts to institute minor labour reform in Guatemala had been thwarted by US diplomatic pressure. The UFCO instigated this policy, concerned that their ever growing monopoly in Guatemala was being undermined. Yet this disregard on the part of the UFCO and the U.S. government for Guatemalan sovereignty and progressive reform pales in comparison with the events that were to follow.

Guatemala was an enormously divided nation; a mere 2.2 per cent of the population controlled 70 per cent of the nation's arable land whilst utilizing only 12 per cent of it. The UFCO controlled vast swathes of land across Guatemala as well as Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Jamaica, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. By 1954, the company was the single largest landholder and employer in Guatemala. Over half a million acres of arable land was under its control. The US State Department described the UFCO in 1954 as "the expression of Guatemala's economic colonialism."

Such was the influence of the UFCO that in 1936, its Managing Director, Samuel Zemmary, was able to gain a 99 year lease on land on both Pacific and Atlantic coasts. Other concessions absolved the UFCO from nearly all tax and import duties, granted the company unregulated transport rates and prevented other companies from competing charters. If this was not enough, the UFCO was awarded unlimited profit remittances, free reign to build new transport and communication networks and the right to charge for their use once built. By 1950, the UFCO's annual profit exceeded $25 million: a sum equivalent to twice the ordinary revenues of the Guatemalan government.

> 'Why then did the CIA train, arm and finance a military coup to overthrow a government?'

In March, 1951 Colonel Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán ascended to the Guatemalan Presidency in what marked the first peaceful transition of power in Guatemalan history. He campaigned on a platform of economic and social reform and, thanks to his popular policy of ending Guatemalan dependence on the United States, Árbenz won 65 per cent of the vote. The cornerstone of Árbenz's reforming ideology was land reform and the improvement of Guatemalan infrastructure. His 1952 Decree 900 redistributed unused lands of sizes greater than 223 acres amongst local peasants. The UFCO plantation of *Tiquista* had 234,000 acres of uncultivated land which was redistributed amongst the Guatemalan people. At the *Bananera* plantation, 173,000 acres of the 253,000 acre plantation were redistributed.

The UFCO received government bonds of up to $1,185,000 for the redistributed land. The company had become a victim of its own success at manipulating the Guatemalan government as it had previously undervalued its land for tax purposes and only once the lands were seized was the true value revealed as $19,355,000.Árbenz's government also threatened *El Polpo's* grip on the country's infrastructure. The new programme of road improvement and construction in Guatemala helped to lift what the World Bank declared "the greatest single barrier to the economic development and cultural integration of the Republic". Crucially, it broke the monopoly of the International Railways of Central America Company on internal freight transport from the capital to the Pacific coast.

Rumours of a US-backed invasion spread once the CIA began training and arming Guatemalan exiles and prevented the Guatemalan government from buying weapons from Canada and Germany. A defector among the plotters confirmed Árbenz's suspicions and aided the Guatemalan government in an arms deal with Czechoslovakia. The arms shipment provided the United States government with a pretext to launch overt action against Árbenz. The US State Department records of Guatemalan-American relations and the recently declassified CIA records of Operation PBsuccess demonstrate an awareness that the alleged Communist stance of the Árbenz government only posed a minimal threat to the United States. The only thing threatened by a left -wing Government in Guatemala was the UFCO monopoly.

The US state department admitted in a memorandum in May1954 that, "the international Communist movement is certainly not the cause of the social revolution in Guatemala", and that Guatemala presented, "no present military danger to us at all." Why, then, did the CIA train, arm and finance a military coup to overthrow a government that posed no threat to America? It was the fact that this reform threatened American business and American property in Guatemala, namely that of the United Fruit Company.

The eventual successor of Árbenz, Carlos Castillo, who had been an advisor to the UFCO, immediately reversed the redistribution efforts of Decree 900. Allen Welsh Dulles, the head of the CIA during the period, was a major shareholder in the UFCO, as was his brother. Under the pretence of national security, the CIA instigated a military junta at the expense of a freely elected government, to reaffirm American economic dominance and the security of the UFCO to continue to exploit the natural resources of Guatemala.

Through a child's eyes

Catherine McGloin

reveals the British Empire's influence on children's literature

TOM BROWN and his school days, Mary Lennox and her secret garden; both were popular, fictional characters of Victorian and Edwardian children's literature. Children's boisterous play began to move beyond the school yard, to the wider playground - inhabited by strange creatures and dangerous "natives". The ornamental empire, British India specifically, became the setting for many children's adventure stories.

Popular fiction is rarely just about a story. Authors champion certain values and use their work to propound contemporary ideologies. Thus, literature is simultaneously a social product and a socialising force. Arguably, these functions are most explicit within juvenile literature as most texts are written or bought by adults who direct children to the types of literature they read, and thus, their own acculturated ideas. Children of the empire provided writers, publishers, moralists and imperialists with a captive audience.

Children's literature became increasingly popular from the 1860s and developed after the 1870 Education Act, which encouraged literacy amongst school children. Most genres were imbibed with a sense of instruction and were deployed as a form of social control. From Sunday school tracts that consciously strove to save innocent street-urchins from the corruptible clutches of industrialisation, to fictional adventure stories that continued to propound evangelical models of male morality, children's literature was a lucrative enterprise for Victorian publishers.

As a source of much prestige and power for Britain, it is unsurprising that the Empire became a popular literary motif during the nineteenth century. Authors were conscious that these young, impressionable minds were, potentially, the empire's future leaders, or their mothers. Conservative interpretations of empire were typically enshrined and unchallenged. Frances Hodgson Burnett's classic, *The Secret Garden*, captured these positive perceptions of empire.

The Secret Garden, published in 1911, features Mary Lennox as the heroine. With a female protagonist, Burnett aimed her work at middle and upper class girls. By the turn of the century "books for girls" were commonplace. Achieving limited improvement in their political and economic position, ladies increasingly found roles outside the domestic sphere; the empire was a far cry from the parlour and new modes of behaviour needed to be taught. Thus, the empire became a suitable setting for instruction for girls, as well as boys.

An intensified view of European superiority was central to the idea of empire. Until the 1930s there was a pessimistic outlook towards India's impact on children. India's climate and prolonged exposure to intense sunlight, it was feared, weakened the blood and disrupted the nervous system. Moreover, it was believed that a child should not remain in India over the age of eight, otherwise their racial identity and cultural development would be compromised. The opening paragraph of *The Secret Garden* emphasises how "yellow" Mary's hair and face was and her vulnerability to disease. Burnett repeatedly describes Mary as "thin, sallow [and] ugly", directly contrasting her appearance with that of "rosy" Martha, born and raised on the Yorkshire moors.

> 'Empire became a popular literary motif during the nineteenth century'

Racial mutation, it was feared, might occur if children were raised for long periods of time in colonial lands. Martha is initially disappointed that Mary is not "a black", suggesting that Mary's racial identity may have been jeopardised if she had remained in India.

The motherland, on the other hand, held the transformative power to heal colonial children upon their return – British food and weather being most beneficial. India's climate, contact with natives (particularly her Ayah) and the lack of mothering made Mary disagreeable. She is cured of these afflictions and healed by the gardens of England. The "fresh, strong, pure air from the moor" aided her transformation; it had "stirred her blood [and] her mind". Thus, the English weather held physical and spiritual healing powers and "whipped some red colour into her cheeks". The garden, symbolising the gentle English countryside, is the primary site of Mary's recovery. Descriptions of pale colonial children who regained their rosy colour once returned to Britain were common in children's literature.

Burnett does not dispute the imperialist matrix of a dominant ideology that pervaded all areas of British culture. Mary reflects imperial values by viewing Colin as a "young rajah" and as they explore the house, their games reflect the actions of colonisers finding new territory whilst conscious of the presence of "other people". By incorporating the ideology of empire into playtime, Burnett implicitly implies to her readers that imperialism is an acceptable, even beneficial, source of amusement for their imaginative play.

However, the young rajah is a problematic figure and may be interpreted as an implicit critique of empire. Colin rules over his people, answering to a higher authority, his father: Indian rajahs were answerable to the British. He is a despotic prince, commanding to be obeyed during his father's prolonged absences, throwing tantrums and ruling through fear. A parallel is drawn between the failure of parental rule and imperial rule – both leading to disruptive behaviour amongst natives.

Nevertheless, these interpretations require great inference; the text was not intended as an overt critique of empire. True to fairytale form, the young rajah is reunited with his father because of the garden that he has colonised. Positive, conservative connotations of empire are upheld.

What was propagated in children's literature was a generally accepted ethos that pervaded almost every sense of British culture. It inculcated a social outlook that would develop girls into the keepers and transmitters of moral values. Thus, empire was rarely criticised and British authors projected an innate superiority over the savage "natives" that they sought to acculturate. Children's literature played a key role in maintaining conservative, imperial modes of behaviour and ensuring that future generations would lead the empire to further glory.

AcademiC

Blood and Treasure

Ruiko Asaba looks back to a time when Europe ruled the high seas

"WHOEVER COMMANDS the ocean, commands the trade of the world, and whoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and whoever is master of that, commands the world itself." So wrote the seventeenth-century English writer, John Evelyn, in his book, *Navigation and Commerce, their Origin and Progress* in 1674. The vacant ownership of the ocean at that time as asserted in Evelyn's quotation encapsulated the escalation of European power rivalries on the sea from the late sixteenth-century to early eighteenth-century. Ultimately, the sea provided a site for the interplay, friction and the clash of national interests. England (later Britain), France, the Netherlands, and partially Spain, all competed, negotiated and waged their fortunes to defend and to map the sea with the atlas of their own national interests.

In the race for conquest and the expansion of empires, whoever rowed a boat successfully over the vicissitudes of international power relationships could claim the ownership of the sea. The transformation in naval architecture, tactics, gunnery and navigation in the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth-century wrought by a technological innovation of heavy artillery rendered an arms race in Europe that escalated in a power struggle to expand empire. By the 1500s, all the Mediterranean galley fleets were armed with heavy gunneries that became unbeatable, since they were far superior against carracks and carvels. A carrack was developed and used for crossing the Atlantic Ocean by the Portuguese during the Age of Sails in the fifteenth-century.

However, the Portuguese were quick to realize the need for installing heavy gunneries to protect their interests and their ships against intruders. Consequently, they developed an innovation for housing a heavy gunnery in a galley. As a galley armed with heavy artillery was unbeatable, carracks and carvels were quickly displaced from Mediterranean war fleets. When the French Mediterranean galley sank one of Henry VIII's ships in the latter's disastrous campaign of 1513 in Brittany, the galley came to represent the modern naval weapon system for Englishmen. The galley was the example that had to be imitated. It not only comprised of the threat England had to counter, but constituted at the same time, the only solution to mounting heavy gunnery at sea.

During the reign of Henry VIII, various types of oared vessels were experimented with and the English navy developed a "sailing-galley" or "galleon". Even though it could be attested as being an English development, it may well have been borrowed: the Portuguese had been carrying heavy guns to sea for longer than the English; the Spanish and others also built and had galleons, and during the period of 1563-70, the Danish and Swedish engaged in several artillery battles. However, it is certain that by the time of Queen Elizabeth's war with Spain, most English warships and armed merchantmen were built in this style.

> 'The dynastic tension was inexorbly linked with the interests of land, trade and empires'

Nevertheless, the problem of providing victuals (food supplies) prevented Queen Elizabeth's navy from being an instrument of colonial conquest in contrast to the Spanish navy, even though the former was equipped with more numbers of heavy artillery installed in the galley than the latter. The Spanish navy had the geographical advantage, which are the patterns of winds and currents that enabled the Spanish navy to explore the New World. The British management of victuals was revised from 1780 after the heavy defeat of the Royal Navy in the War of American Independence, thus enabling British fleets to embark on much longer expeditions to the far corners of the world.

By 1650s, however, the evolving naval architecture to comfortably station the heavy artillery forced apart the English warships and the merchantmen in their designs and thus the areas of operation, the latter being differentiated by the matter of geopolitics. Modern technological innovation went hand in hand with the expansion of empires in each European state. That, at the same time, caused each state to be alert to the movements of other states in defence of their own national interests. When the English defeated the Dutch during the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652 - 54) and captured Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655, the news greatly alarmed Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Paris as much as it did in Madrid since the events demonstrated England's emerging and exceptional capacity for maritime and colonial expansion.

Thus, when England and the Dutch Republic entered the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665 - 67), on the Dutch side, the aim of the war did not only remain within the confines of waging a war for the empire outside of Europe. It was not, at the same time, either to halt or to reverse English maritime and colonial expansion as such. Rather, the War was the means and ends to provide a sufficient deterrent to compel the English to cease their interference with Dutch shipping and fisheries, and to defend those colonies which the English were trying to seize. On the French side, however, the course leading up to the War did not pose so simplistic a matter of deterrence or defence. The young Louis XIV had been eager to enhance French territories overseas, by advancing her commerce and colonisation.

He invested substantial resources both in extending and strengthening the French navy. His minister in charge of finance and economic affairs, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, was tireless in his efforts to promote French industry and overseas commerce. Emigration to the French colonies was greatly encouraged to foster population in New France and to increase the number of colonists on Saint-Domingue. Meanwhile, in want of the Spanish Netherlands, French foreign policy was not marked with antagonism towards the English, but towards the Dutch and the Spanish.

Nevertheless, when the prospect of the second war between England and the Netherlands arose, France found itself caught in a strategic dilemma that concerned her interest. Whilst Louis wished to put the Dutch in their place, he did not wish to see England emerge as the main maritime power. This would not further French interest either in the Indies or in Europe. As a result, Louis signed a defensive treaty with the Dutch in 1662 to give them just enough assistance to combat the English. Once the English defeat was in sight, Louis diverted his attention to projecting French power.

After the Battle of Nevis in May 1667, in which a combined Franco-Dutch fleet of 18 ships fought a smaller English fleet, Franco-Dutch strategic collaboration ceased. Louis ceased to reinforce his garrisons in the Caribbean, and the French army made its entry into the Spanish Netherlands. The entry not only initiated the War of Devolution from 1667 - 68 between France and Spain, but rendered the immediate conclusion of the War necessary for the Dutch in order to concentrate on curbing French expansionism in Europe. The Dutch suspicion of France for the latter's expansionist scheme in Europe transformed the

strategic situation throughout the continent.

Just as the Netherlands and France were modernising and professionalizing their navies from the early seventeenth century for the further enhancement as well as the protection of their interests, the Royal Navy in England too came to represent the interest of the nation, by bridging the agendas of the Parliament and the public. As the navy became more prominent in the determination of the life of the country, from the 1660s Parliament grew accustomed to voting large sums in direct taxation specifically for the navy. The revenue came to hold the state and the Admiralty accountable for delivering the outcome that compensated the value of money for the public. The reciprocity of "tax and spend" policy is the proof that trade and the empire was seen as a matter of national importance.

As the Dutch suspicion of France intensified, England ceased to regard the Netherlands as an imperial competitor. English suspicion of France, on the other hand, was very different. England could not sit back with the comfort of knowing Louis's priorities were always dynastic and continental; the naval might France had obtained under the scheme developed by Colbert superseded the former assurance. The strategic consequence of the Glorious Revolution rendered the English and Dutch naval alliance possible in William III's continental coalition against France in 1689 - 97.

The European power struggle came to a head during the clash in the War of Spanish Succession (1702 - 13). The dynastic tension was inexorably linked with the interests of land, trade and empires. When England and the United Provinces declared war on France and the new Bourbon king of Spain, it was from the conviction that they must not allow the Spanish Indies, the Spanish trade, and the southern Netherlands to fall into the hands of the French. When France turned to Britain for a peace negotiation after failing to come to a compromise with the Dutch, Britain expressed its willingness to make a separate deal with France.

Britain asserted her willingness to keep Philip on the throne of Spain and Spanish America, provided Louis granted sweeping maritime and colonial concessions to Britain. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 allocated Gibraltar, Minorca, as well as Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay under the British colonial possession. In regards to the European balance of power, and her own security, Britain was satisfied with the guarantee that the French and Spanish thrones should never be united, with the transfer of the southern Netherlands to Austria, along with Naples and Milan.

As with any other periods of history, the late sixteenth to early eighteenth century sea provided the site for national interests to converge as well as to clash. The sea in the latter centuries was, most specifically, mapped by substantial trade and imperialistic interests. However, it is important as Aylmer asserts not to be nostalgic about empire. This applies to Britain and the rest of Europe. Alymer says, "Between the 1680s and the 1720s it is not fanciful to see the emergence of a naval tradition. At its best this spelt innovation, heroism, and victories, but it could all too easily degenerate into a complacent and dangerously obscurantist mystique; even at its most successful, the connection of seapower with trade and Empire was only partial, and intermittent, if none the less sometimes decisive. Therefore, only with the advantage of hindsight can we identify this period as a turning point."

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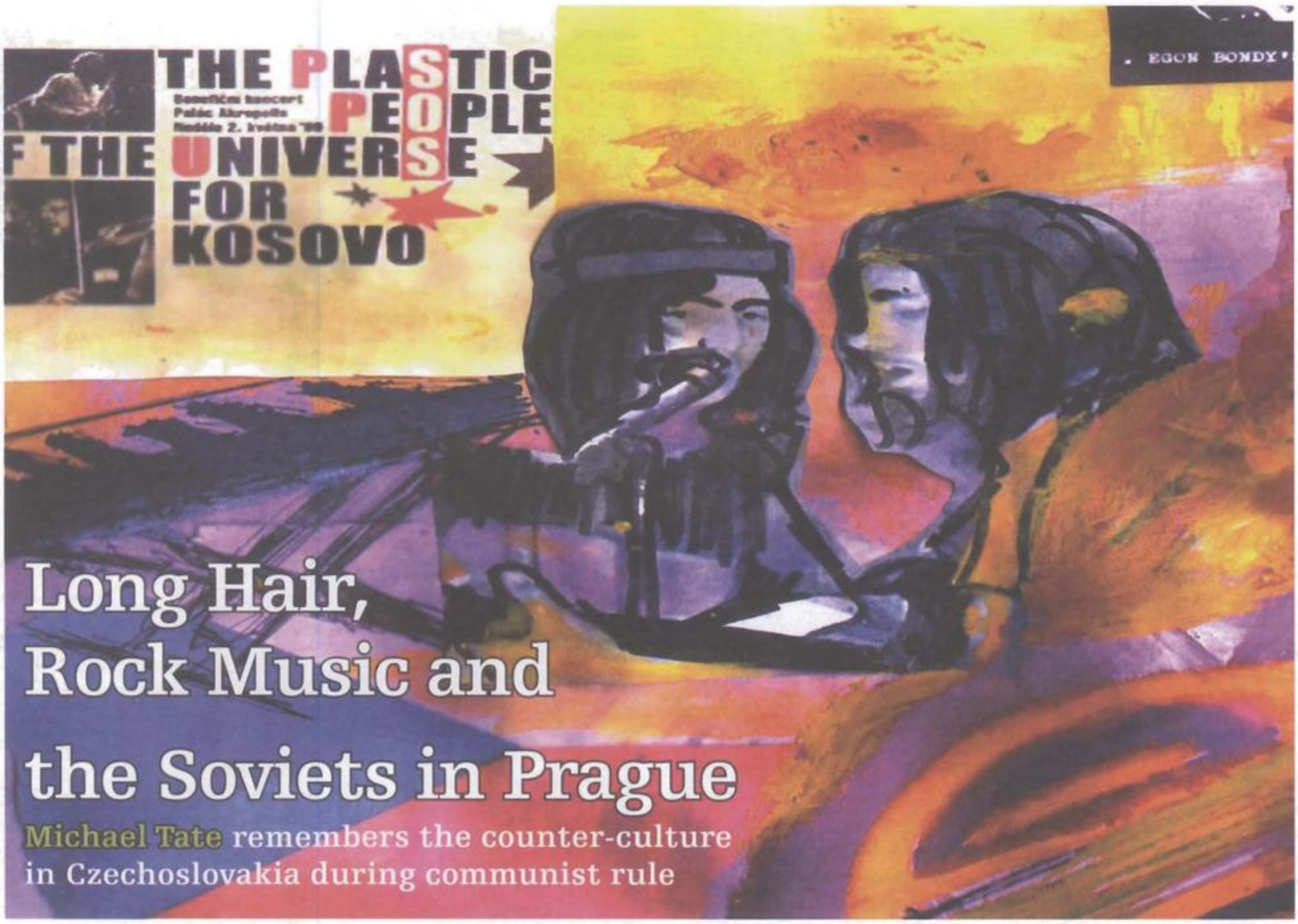

Long Hair, Rock Music and the Soviets in Prague

Michael Tate remembers the counter-culture in Czechoslovakia during communist rule

THE PLASTIC People of The Universe (PPU) is a rock band formed by Mejla Hlavsa in the autumn of 1968, shortly after Soviet tanks rolled into Prague. This "fraternal assistance" from the Soviets arrived after what has been termed "The Prague Spring" which, depending on how you measure it, began as early as 1958 but certainly ended in late August 1968, though even this is disputed. What is not disputed, however, is Mejla Hlavsa was a rock musician involved with many bands at that time as indeed were many of the musicians in the PPU during that period. Quite how he and his friends became a threat to the Czechoslovak state in the 1970s, and; by implication, a threat to what has been termed the Soviet Empire, is a farce explored by many.

However, the ignorance displayed by the Czech authorities in the Soviet satellite state is one I wish to explore here. I intend also, to leave aside the re-working of meaning when an invasion like the one in 1968 involving fire fights, deaths, arrests and the terrorization of a population was termed "fraternal assistance". Instead, let us begin considering the founding political philosophy of the Soviet Union and ask the question, "was the Soviet Union ignorant of its founding principles by 1968?" The answer to this question could involve a lot of tortuous reading of tracts by Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and others.

Nevertheless, one could take a simpler route and look at how the Soviets acted to consolidate their power and interpret that as some of the founding principles of what later became the "Soviet Bloc", "Empire of Evil" or "Soviet Empire". It would not be too difficult to conclude that the Soviet Union effectively took control of what was formerly the "Tsarist" Russian Empire in 1922 and that the Soviet Union extended itself by ruthlessly exploiting state infrastructures in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary made fragile by the 1939-45 war in Europe. Clearly, the Soviet Empire won the Second World War on its own terms and by 1948, most of Eastern Europe, was in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Let us not quibble about the intricacies of Lenin's political philosophy. By 1948, Stalin continued with his own version. His political philosophy was brutal involving the suppression of opposition, terrorizing of entire communities and nations' populations and the imposition of a tightly controlled, centralised bureaucracy on the people living under Soviet control. One could easily conclude that the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was planned and conducted on such a philosophical model. Where resistance appeared, resistance was crushed. This worked well in Poland and Hungary before 1968.

Mejla Hlavsa and his friends became known as revolutionaries but they were distant from the anti-communist stereotype. They were young men who grew up in the relatively liberal Prague Spring regime of Czechoslovakia, played guitars, grew long hair, smoked and drank a lot and played a few gigs in front of small groups of friends. These young men in the PPU didn't want regular jobs and liked the lifestyle associated with rock 'n' roll. Even after the Soviet Empire had "assisted" with the "normalisation" of Czechoslovakia in the early 1970's, all that could be said about the philosophy of the PPU was that it involved growing hair longer and shaving less. In effect, the PPU were behaving as if the Soviet Empire did not exist and the normalisation of Czechoslovakia didn't apply to them.

> 'All that could be said about the philosophy of the PPU was that it involved growing hair longer'

As the 1970s went on, this failure to participate in the regime seemed to make them a threat. So much so that their performing license was taken away and with it, their equipment. However, the PPU continued and instead of performing at "official" venues, they performed in friends' flats and in barns in the Czech countryside. Band members and their friends were easily identifiable by their long hair and the secret and normal police in and around Prague routinely harassed them. However, if anything, the band had become even less of a threat to the regime. They no longer performed songs in English, which was frowned upon by that time. Now, their repertoire consisted of poems by leading Czech poets set to less than catchy arrangements which have been described as "free-jazz" or "psychedelic" by their fans or "an organized disturbance of the peace" by the less-than-impressed Czechoslovak authorities.

By 1976, wearing your hair long, pretending the Soviet Empire didn't exist and singing about peace being like toilet paper was more than making a juvenile noise, it was a criminal offence. Putting this into some context, the "normalised" Czechoslovak authorities were able

to devote resources to watching the PPU and their friends because all opposition was, though not quite absent, effectively meaningless. Members of the Communist Party, Catholic clergy, some Protestant churches, some academics and some luvvies from the theatre, notably one Václav Havel, plus those friends brave enough to continue associating with them. This was a disparate group of individuals noted more for arguing amongst themselves than for constituting a credible threat to the state.

However, what made the PPU and their friends a threat was they managed to gather crowds of sometimes over 100 people. Václav Havel would have struggled to get more than five people into his flat. In short, what opposition that existed in early 1976, was a joke, a dark comedy of hot air and bad manners described in one novel published in those times. Whatever the merits of the case against them, the PPU and some of their friends were arrested in March. Then tried and jailed in September 1976: guilty of an, "organized disturbance of the peace."

Quite what the Czechoslovak authorities thought they would achieve by this action is the topic of much debate; if they imagined the trial would pass without comment from a divided opposition, they were wrong. During the trials (and there were two), what was the comedy opposition hardened and unified. This opposition became very serious "dissidents", though they retained their sense of humor. Furthermore, this opposition produced a document outlining the Czechoslovak state's failure to comply with its own obligations under the UN Human Rights Charter, a new international treaty singed by the Czechoslovak government in Helsinki.

These new dissidents produced their own document, called "Charter 77", collected their own signatures and became a very organized thorn in the side of Czechoslovakia and a very persistent international embarrassment to the Soviet Empire. Overzealous judicial state officials are one thing; there is every reason to think that they had nothing better to do with their time.

Further, these officials had to demonstrate they did something to continue collecting on their privileged status. However, a tightly controlled state being totally ignorant of the risks associated with contravening the UN Charter on Human Rights, a document signed with great fanfare, displays many levels of ignorance beyond the power of description. This UN Charter protects longhaired hippies from state harassment and positively encourages them to play loud music in front of an audience. By jailing the PPU and their friends, the Soviet Empire's puppets were responsible for creating their own opposition and worse, legitimizing them under the UN Charter of Human Rights, which they, of course, had recently signed. One can describe a rock concert as an "organized disturbance of the peace" but a state cannot comply with its obligations under the UN Charter and jail a bunch of hippies.

The story does not end there of course. Even up to 1989, no more than 1500 people signed Charter 77. The Soviet Empire may have been humiliated in Afghanistan in similar ways to the British a hundred years earlier but their Czechoslovak officials still managed to terrify the Czechoslovak population; so much so that they intimidated many more into signing the "Anti-charter" displayed in the National Theatre in Prague. A document and location that in many ways symbolizes the Czech national psyche during the 1970s and 1980s: defeated, scared, occupied, complying with the wishes of the Soviet Empire and ignoring an international treaty obligation.

'The UN Charter protects hippies from state harassment'

The PPU and their friends were released, but continued to be interrogated up to three times a day, found it difficult for logistical as well as "cultural" reasons, to keep jobs. Some were jailed again; others emigrated. The Soviet Empire did not forget that these "plastic people" assisted with the foundation of its local Czechoslovak opposition and did its best to disintegrate the PPU and the so-called "Chartists" or "dissidents".

However, the Empire disintegrated first and despite Mejla Hlava's early death from lung cancer, The Plastic People of The Universe continue. Even though most of the band are well into their sixties, they continue composing and performing songs as they always have done: choosing the best contemporary Czech poetry and setting it to original music. Their latest CD release "Maska za Masky/ The Mask Behind The Mask" even contains a poem by the Russian poet Daniil Kharms, another victim of the Soviet Empire.

Nevertheless the ignorance of Empire does not stop with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its satellites, it continues with the aura sounding the Plastic People of The Universe. Vratislav Brabenec, the band's saxophonist and one of those jailed in 1976 may regularly joke that the communists gave them huge PR by jailing them. However, the band members were never dissidents. They were and remain a rock band, not a political grouping. "Politicians still tell lies and we still play our music, nothing has changed", is another regular quote from press interviews. This is not to be interpreted as an opposition policy statement but a statement of the facts as Brabenec sees them.

Tom Stoppard, the British playwright has written about those times in his play *Rock 'n' Roll*. It chronicles the lives of the PPU and those friends who acted as the opposition to the Soviet Empire in the 1970s and 1980s. Stoppard interviewed two band members for *The Times* in December 2009. He gave the piece the title "Did Plastic People of the Universe topple communism?" In it, he quotes one of his own characters, "Journalists never mention the music," complains Jan, "only about being symbols of resistance." "Yeah," the reporter says, "that's the story, I'm afraid." Stoppard continues, "Twenty years after the fall of communism, Vratislav Brabenec, the Plastic People's saxophone player since 1972, was in London to promote an album and a concert, and it's still the story, I'm afraid."

Now, the ignorance extends to lazy journalists who continue to swallow the old Soviet Empire's branding of the band as dissidents. That fact remains, they never were. Stoppard's play, *Rock 'n' Roll* is still performed in Prague's National Theatre, the same venue which hosted the "Anti-charter". The building remains a powerful symbol of Czech culture, a culture still emerging from the shadow of the Soviet Empire, the sloppiness of journalists and the ignorance about the meaning of Czech history.

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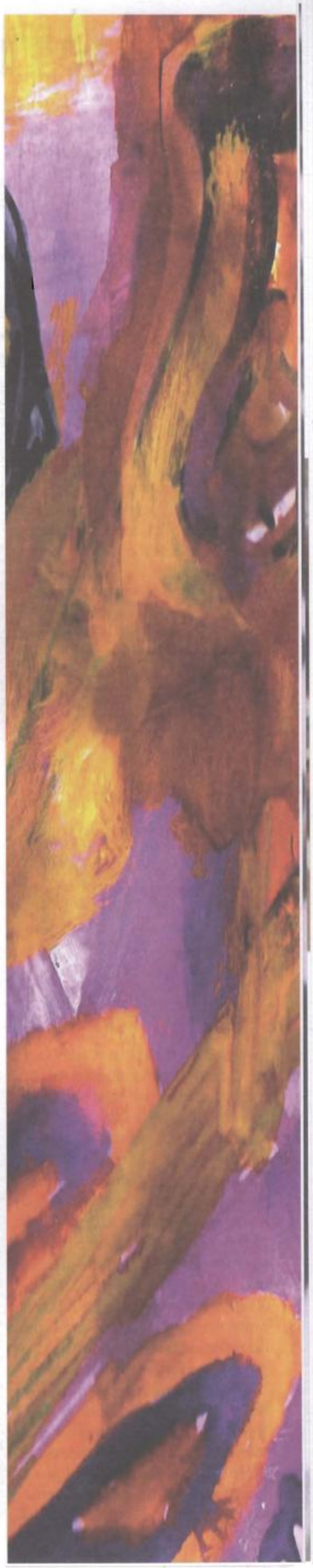


Science Turned Evil?

Francesca Zaffora Blando examines the manipulation of science through politics

"AN OBJECTIVE account is one which attempts to capture the nature of the object studied in a way that does not depend on any features of the particular subject who studies it. An objective account is, in this sense, impartial, one which could ideally be accepted by any subject, because it does not draw on any assumptions, prejudices, or values of particular subjects.

This quotation from Gaukroger's 'History of Objectivity' seems to express our orthodox, and yet rather naïve, notion of science, which presumes that scientific practice is one of our most objective tools to unveil and master the natural world. Science provides us with everyday comforts and unbiased knowledge of how the universe works, for experiments are seen as a matter of measurement, and testability is independent from individual scientists' biases.

'Einstein's ideas used to be strongly opposed...German physicists under the Nazi regime never regarded him as aproper scientist'

Unfortunately, this account of science snubs a few complications: scientists, although having being trained to follow specific procedures, are still bound to make some important decisions, e.g. which objects are to be measured or which research path is to be pursued. In fact, several times governments, especially coercive ones, and ideologies have ended up heavily fettering scientific choices, often precluding some important developments in certain branches of science for some time.

In this article, I shall focus on two twentieth-century empires, the Third Reich and the USSR, and shall illustrate how the development of physics and biology was affected by authoritarian and chauvinistic decisions, rather than unprejudiced technical one.

In 1905 Albert Einstein published a paper entitled 'On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies', where he introduced the concept of special relativity, namely, the idea that the speed of light in free space is equal for all observers, regardless of their motion relative to the light source. A few years later, Einstein also came up with the notion of general relativity, which basically holds that space-time is not flat, but gets curved because of the presence of matter. These discoveries are now regarded as having totally revolutionised modern physics.

However, Einstein's ideas used to be strongly opposed by his contemporaries in his homeland, Germany. This hostility was not due to scientific concerns about the soundness of the theory, but rather to the racist ideology of National Socialism. The arguments against Einstein's discoveries were, in fact, ad personam. German physicists under the Nazi regime claimed they would have never regarded him as a proper scientist because he was a Jew. This led to the rejection of his theory of relativity as a "Jewish world-bluff" for almost half a century in Germany.

"Deutsche Physik" (German Physics), as this nationalistic movement was labelled, actually started off during World War I as a "war of minds", whose contenders were the German and the British scientists. The Germans claimed, for example, that it was absolutely unnecessary to use the English language to label and divulgate scientific discoveries, while the English held that the German army had proved to be disrespectful of the cultural heritage of other countries, for it had set on fire the famous library of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in 1914, during the German invasion of Belgium.

During World War II the situation further worsened. Extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism began to run high both among German civilians and scientists. The most influential advocates of the so-called "German Physics" movement were two Nobel-Prize physicists, Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark. They called themselves and their entourage "national researchers" and their main aim was to develop an Aryan physics under the wing of the "German Empire".

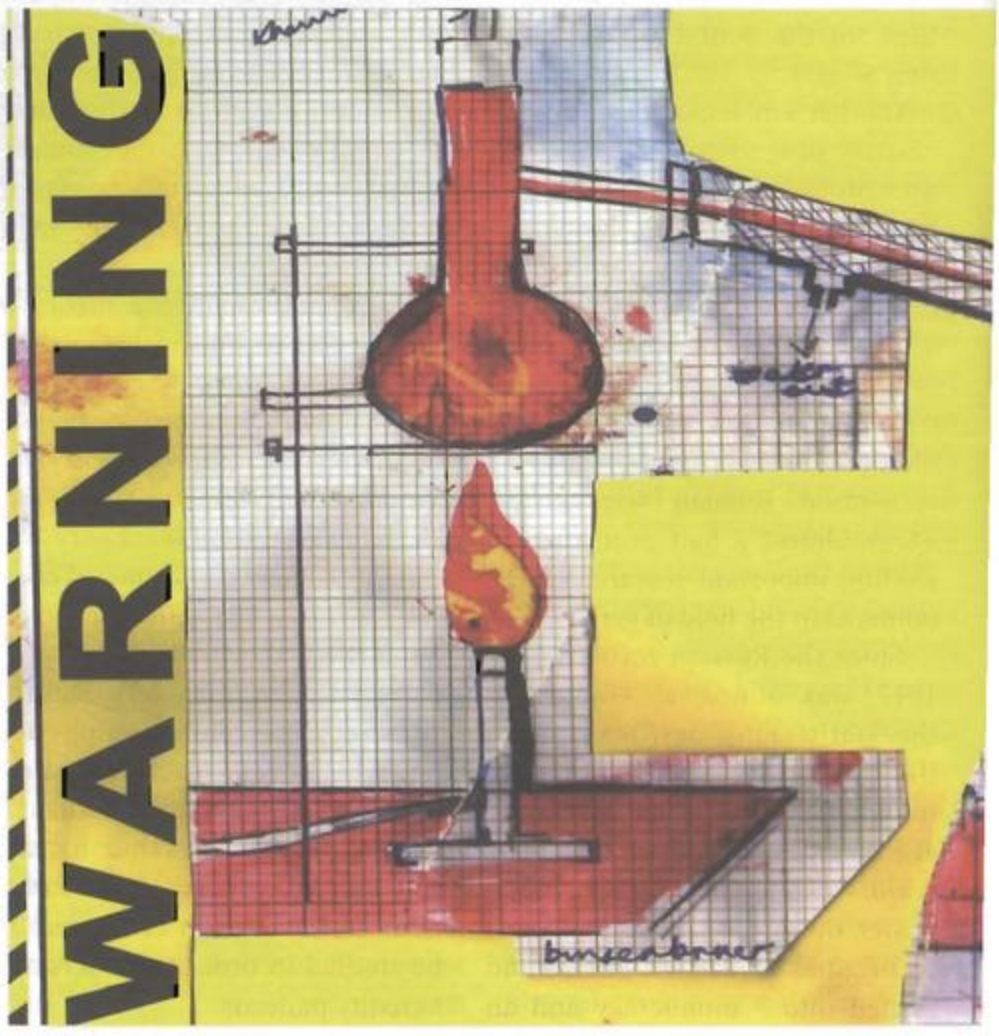
As a young scientist in the 1890s, Philipp Lenard had worked under the supervision of Heinrich Hertz, who enhanced the electromagnetic theory of light put forth by Maxwell, and proved the existence of electromagnetic waves. Although having initially strongly supported his mentor's discoveries, later on Lenard utterly dismissed them, for he discovered that Hertz's father's family was Jewish. Lenard also maintained that British scientists were culpable of persistent plagiarism, e.g. he thought Sir Joseph John Thompson, a Cambridge scholar, had stolen his own discoveries on cathode rays. Lenard was also one of the most ardent detractors of Einsteinian physics.

Einstein had dismissed the notion of luminiferous aether, viz. the imaginary medium which, since the late nineteenth century, was thought to serve as the propagator of light, and which was still widely accepted within the scientific community. Moreover, his relativity theory involved very complicated mathematical computations, which Lenard, as an experimental physicist, probably could not understand.

Hence, in his 1937-book *Deutsche Physik* Lenard declared his own xenophobic scientific programme, "'German physics?" one will ask – I could have said Aryan physics or physics of the Nordic man, physics of the reality explorers, of the truth seekers, the physics of those who have founded natural science. 'Science is and remains international!' someone will reply to me. He, however, is in error. In reality science, like everything man produces, is racially determined, determined by blood."

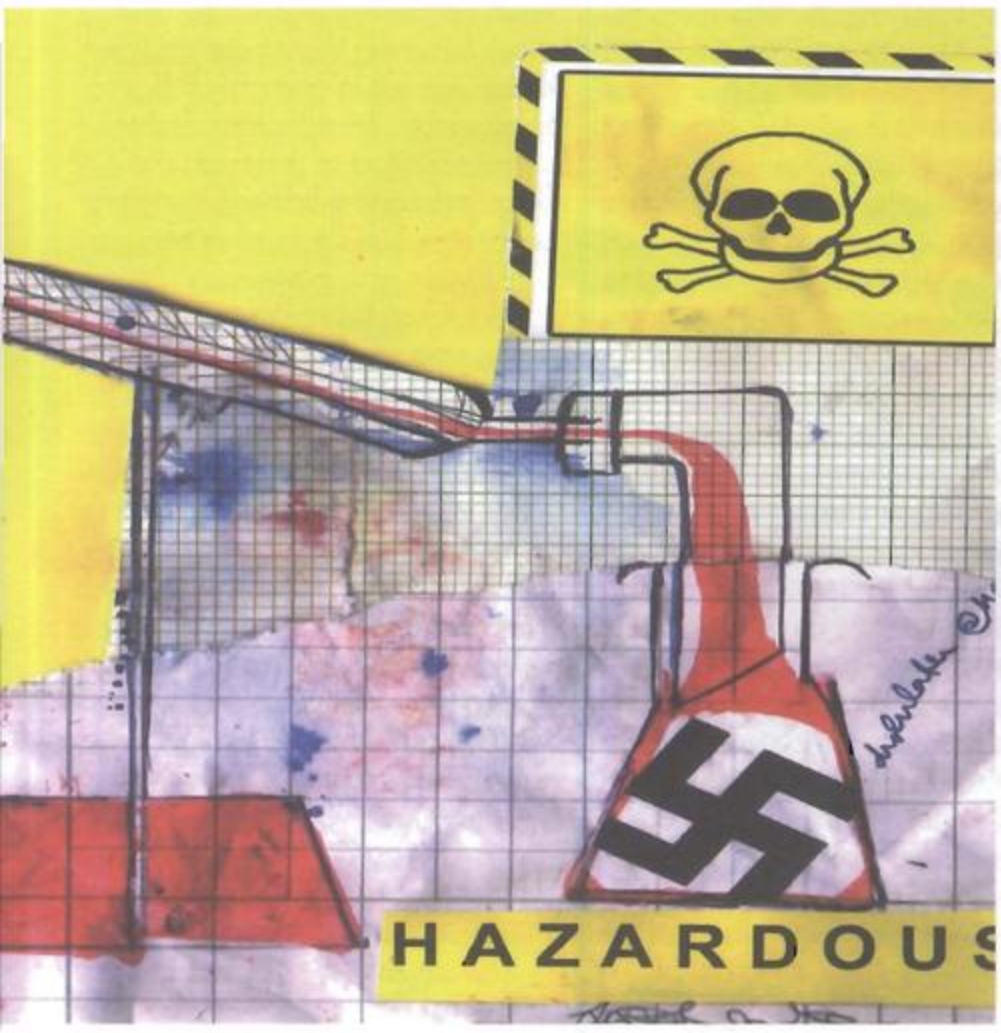
Obviously, Hitler's regime highly appreciated Lenard's work. In 1933, the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service was passed. This allowed the removal from their offices of Jewish civil servants and political opponents, which also led to the ejection of 25 per cent of the physicists holding academic positions. In 1935, then, the Nuremberg Laws outlawed the presence of Jewish professors in German universities.

The second leader of the Aryan physics movement, Johannes Stark, even tried to recreate a hierarchical structure similar to the one of the Third Reich within the scientific community. He had a grandiose plan: becoming the new Führer of physics.However, even the Nazi regime had to recognise, at last, that the postulates of the Deutsche Physik were indefensible, no matter how advantageous they might have seemed from a political and propagandistic perspective. Relativity theory and quantum mechanics - which was also regarded as hav-



ing taints of Jewishness because, among its founders, there were also Heisenberg and Einstein - had to be finally accepted, since they were clearly crucial to the progress of scientific knowledge.

The historian Mark Walker affirmed, "Despite his best efforts, in the end his [Stark's] science was not accepted, supported, or used by the Third Reich. Stark spent a great deal of his time during the Third Reich fighting with bureaucrats within the National Socialist



state. Most of the National Socialist leadership either never supported Lenard and Stark, or abandoned them in the course of the Third Reich."

Another emblematic example of how the progress of science can be dreadfully influenced and delayed by the empire and the ambitions for personal power, rather than for dispassionate knowledge, is represented by the case of biology in the Soviet Union, where Trofim Denisovich Lysenko, a Ukrainian pseudo biologist, as he is now considered, tyrannised Russian science for, again, almost a half century, precluding important research developments in the field of genetics.

Since the Russian revolution in 1917 was aimed at eradicating the Tsarist autocracy, referring to the USSR with the term "empire" might seem inappropriate. However, many would agree that, after Lenin's death and Stalin's rise to power, the Soviet Union totally lost its original solidaristic intents and turned into a monocracy and an imperialistic nation.

Nonetheless, Stalin and his associates tried to keep the communist façade alive and used it to justify most of their repressive deeds. The same underhand technique was applied to science during Lysenkoism, so that in the late 1930s most dissenters, even if they were eminent and knowledgeable scientists, ended up being labelled as political traitors, bourgeois or supporters of the western capitalistic science, and being sent to concentration camps in Siberia.

Lysenko started his career as an agronomist, and gained his reputation thanks to his self-advertising skills and his alleged discovery of vernalisation, which was actually the traditional practice of subjecting seeds to low temperatures in order to hasten plant development and flowering.

He also developed a theory of heredity based on this idea, which challenged Mendelian genetics and supported the speculations of the Russian horticulturist Ivan Vladimirovich Michurin. The basic tenet of Lysenko's theory was the inheritability of acquired characteristics, i.e. the belief (originally put forth by the nineteenth century French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck) that changes in physiology, which organisms had acquired over their lives, could be transmitted to their offspring. Thus, his idea was that whole organisms, rather than genes in germ cells, were to be studied in order to understand heredity patterns.

Lysenko says, "Contrary to Mendelism-Morganism, with its assertion that the causes of variation in the nature of organisms are unknowable and its denial of the possibility of directed changes in the nature of plants and animals, Michurin's motto was: 'We must not wait for favours from Nature; our task is to wrest them from her. [...] It is possible, with man's intervention, to force any form of animal or plant to change more quickly and in a direction desirable to man.' [...] The Michurin teaching flatly rejects the fundamental principle of Mendelism-Morganism that heredity is completely independent of the plants' or animals' conditions of life.

"The Michurin teaching does not recognise the existence in the organism of a separate hereditary substance which is independent of the body. Changes in the heredity of an organism or in the heredity of any part of its body are the result of changes in the living body itself. And changes of the living body occur as the result of departure from the normal in the type of assimilation and dissimilation, of departure from the normal in the type of metabolism. [...] Changes in heredity, acquisition of new characters and their augmentation and accumulation in successive generations are always determined by the organism's conditions of life."

As shown by Lysenko's words, his critique of Mendelian genetics was primarily based on non-scientific and vague reasons. He thought it offered a passive account of heredity, because men seemed not to have any possibility to directly affect plants and animals, and was, therefore, regarded as a "barren" theory. On the contrary, his own one was depicted as being more practical and as being able to bring about a significant increase in the Soviet Union agricultural productivity, which obviously did not occur.

So Lysenko's theory of heredity was defined as the correct one not because of proper scientific grounds, but for it seemed the most ideologically correct. It was materialistic, whereas Mendelian genetics was described as idealistic, reactionary and somehow dangerously related to the practice of eugenics (namely, the alleged science of selective breeding in order to improve the human race) in Nazi Germany. Thanks to Stalin's support, Lysenko managed to create a "reign of terror" within the Soviet scientific community. He succeeded in silencing anyone who dared criticising the dogma of Lysenkoism from a scientific perspective by appealing to their loyalty to Communism, therefore mixing two spheres, politics and science, which would do better to be kept as distant as possible. When Lysenko's dictatorship finally ended in 1964, Russian genetics was half a century behind the rest of the western world.

> 'The notion of science as neutral is ficticious... it has long been openly influenced by imperialistic policies'

The relationship between science and political power, especially a coercive one, has been shown to be highly problematic, for it almost always affects science in a very detrimental way. Relatively recent empires such as the Third Reich and the USSR in the twentieth century are examples of how severely a despotic leadership can damage the progress of science. These examples also show that the notion of science as completely neutral and detached from whatever source of bias is rather fictitious. Science was extensively and openly influenced by imperialistic policies in the past, so we might suspect that, even now, better disguised empires play a decisive role when it has to be decided which directions our best science should take.

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Reforming an Empire

Michael Klimes asseses the significance of Deng Xiaoping for China

AFTER MAO Zedong died in 1976, Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues were forced to confront the legacy of their predecessor and the empire he had erected. My essay is about how Deng Xiaoping and the pragmatists he led in Chinese Communist Party wrestled with the complexities of Mao's legacy. Xiaoping had a different vision of what China should be compared to Mao and he made important reforms. These reforms were targeted in the area of economics and they were initiated to achieve two different yet connected objectives; firstly to erode what were considered as the weaker aspects of Mao's legacy and secondly to modernise the Chinese empire. However, there were parts of Mao's legacy he maintained and there was a fundamental paradox running through Xiaoping's reforms. They strove to be liberal economically but were conservative politically.

Before the pragmatists could undertake any reforms, they had to fight for power. By 1978 Deng Xiaoping had not yet succeeded Mao as the leader of China. His most pressing priority was to deal with the Gang of Four led by Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing. The Gang of Four had played a key role in the Cultural Revolution and came into existence due to Mao's patronage. Preventing them from gaining power was not only a question of acquiring control of the China but also a symbolic one since indicting the Gang of Four would pass as a value judgement on Mao's legacy.

Xiaoping forged an alliance with Mao's appointed successor, Hua Kuo-feng to thwart the Gang of Four. They were arrested in October 1976 and their trial took place from November 1980-January 1981. Xiaoping's regime was striving to adopt a judicial system in direct contrast to the arbitrary power Mao wielded during the Cultural Revolution, where any opposition to him was crushed. Following the trial the official stance towards Mao's legacy was enshrined at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee held from June 27-29 1981. A 35,000 word document called, "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic" was written which detailed the party's accomplishments of the past 60 years.

> 'Before the pragmatists could undertake any reforms, they had to fight for power'

The most important part of this document was its criticism of Mao and his responsibility for the Cultural Revolution. Hsü identifies the four major components of Mao's legacy which the meeting in 1981 sought to clarify as wrong so the new leadership could press forward with reforms. Mao's first major mistake was his encouragement of excessive population growth. The population soared from 500 million in the early 1950s to over a billion by the 1980s. Exacerbating the dilemma of the population explosion was Mao's importation of the Soviet model of socialism in the 1950s, which emphasised investment in heavy industry, not agriculture.

In a country with so many people, such a policy was a considerable misjudgement. Secondly, Mao was convinced China had to be self-reliant and therefore he blocked China to the outside world. Thirdly, Mao had a fondness for setting short-term goals without thinking about long-term ones. Fourthly and most significantly, Mao destroyed party democracy through his style of leadership.

The first result of these particular set of reforms was the resignation of Hua Kuo-feng in November 1980 at a meeting of the Politburo. Hua resigned because of his complicity in the Cultural Revolution. He was replaced by one of Xiaoping's protégés, Hu Yao-pang who became General Secretary of the Central Committee at the plenum of June 27-29 1981. Xiaoping's other protégé Chao Tzu-yang became Premier. Together, Xiaoping, Chao and Hu formed the triumvirate which defined China's political landscape of the 1980s. They proceeded to implement the Four Modernisations of industry, agriculture, national defence and science combined with technology.

These were written into the party constitution in August 1977 and the state constitution in March 1978. The aim of the Four Modernisations was to quadruple GNP from $250 million to $1 trillion. These reforms and their alignment or lack of with Mao's legacy will now be explored.

In 1981, Xiaoping planted the seeds for China's famous one-child policy by establishing the State Planning Commission "with the aim of restricting the population to 1.2 billion by the turn of the century". Similarly, in line with empowering individual people and reducing the power of the government, the revised state constitution of 1982 "emphasised the duty of citizens to practice family planning". It is also worth mentioning that no nationwide initiative was drawn up to introduce the one-child policy, it was the provinces that implemented it. This reflected the desire of Xiaoping to strengthen collective responsibility that he perceived had been damaged during the Maoist era.

When it came to agriculture, Xiaoping pursued a policy which emphasised individual entrepreneurship. These reforms took place from 1979-1983. Perkins identifies two key elements of reform in the agricultural sector. The first "freed up market forces in rural areas gave farmers the opportunity to make profits by producing for the market…over time rural products were bought on the market". Secondly, the next phase of reform began in 1981 where there was a return to household farming and the taking apart of production teams. In Mao's

time, a group of farms was run under a system called collectivisation where a commune leader would be responsible for production.

The commune leader would respond as much to higher-level government officials as concerns for making his project profitable and efficient. Xiaoping aimed to eradicate such a mentality and he hoped the change would help solve China's population crisis. It was difficult to completely root out the Maoist ideal of collectivisation as it constituted a large part of the mindset of many farmers, especially in the rural villages where "egalitarian pressures" were the norm and there "were notions about social peace and stability" that were part of the communist ideology. According to Perkins, grain output increased from 3.5 per cent a year to 5 per cent a year but this did not last long as it tailed off around 1984.

Another dimension to these agricultural reforms was to give farmers the incentive to move their efforts into higher cash crops and even out of agriculture all together and into services. Those in non-farming occupations rose from 117.8 million people in 1978 to 210.6 million in 1987, a rise of 6.7 per cent a year. The modernisation in agriculture was connected to other parts of Xiaoping's broader strategy to raise living standards. By 1987, the percentage of those working in agriculture had fallen from 71 per cent to 60 per cent.

Furthermore, the drive to industrialise China was astounding. China's urban population rose from 172.5 million in 1978 to 503.6 million by 1987. Also, throughout the 1980s an average of nearly 900 million square metres of new housing was built each year. The emphasis on improving people's standard of living led to raising aspirations and in turn to heavy materialism and consumption; something Maoist elders in the party saw as a flagrant breech of classical Maoism. For instance, in 1975 China was only manufacturing 170,000 televisions annually; by 1987 it was producing a 20 million a year.

A vital element of Xiaoping's rejection of Maoism was opening China to the West. The first major step he took was to expand Mao's legacy of détente, albeit to a point where it went against Mao's policy of self-reliance. Between January-February 1979, Xiaoping went on his first state visit to the U.S. and it was the first state visit by a senior official from the People's Republic of China for thirty years. He held talks with President Jimmy Carter. Xiaoping, being the pragmatist that he was, weighed the possibilities. He decided that the relationship with the U.S should be one of mutual co-operation rather than hostility.

Both sides established full diplomatic relations. Xiaoping's first goal was to increase foreign trade. In 1972, Sino-American trade was only $92 million but by 1986 it had shot up to $13.5 billion. The foreign trade was meant to generate enough foreign exchange to finance modernisation. A second target of the agreement was to help the Chinese advance themselves in the fields of technology and science. Xiaoping believed that openness to the West would allow China to modernise without importing foreign values or perspectives. He was gravely mistaken. From 1978-1988, 60,000 students and visiting scholars went abroad. By December 1986, many of these people formed the bedrock for the wide activism against the Chinese Communist Party, which culminated in the showdown between the protestors and establishment at T'ien-an-men Square in June 1989.

Although Xiaoping made reforms and was liberal in economics, he was fundamentally a centrist. He had been very successful at implementing his reform program until December 1986 when the forces he unleashed started to cause problems. Xiaoping's desire for political and social conservatism was in direct conflict with the economic liberalism he preached. He did not realise that by raising people's standard of living, it also raised other aspirations. Steadily, Xiaoping grew resistant to these aspirations which forced him to make decisions that continued the darker side of Mao's imperial legacy.

Xiaoping's restructuring of China's political system is worth analysing as it was both strangely Maoist but un-Maoist. Xiaoping retained the Leninist structure of government with the three core elements including the nomenklatura personnel system, interlocking directorate between the party, army and state and control of the mass media. However, Xiaoping did decentralise power and tried to make the bureaucracy more efficient. For instance, in 1982 the State Council saw a reduction of ministers and vice ministers from 505 to 167. Another facet of reform Xiaoping was conscious of the need to tackle corruption. He revived the National People's Congress created in 1954 to help scrutinise what the government was doing.

Nevertheless, problems continued. Nepotism was a considerable problem that hurt trust in the Chinese Communist Party. It was hypocritical that Xiaoping and his allies had condemned Mao's patronage, which had brought the Gang of Four into existence in the first place but then indulged in patronage themselves.

Nothing highlighted the arbitrary nature of Xiaoping's use of power more than his response to the student protesters and Maoists who challenged his leadership through the late 1980s. Xiaoping took the most pragmatic route and sided with the hardliners. He sacked his two protégés that served him loyally and competently for many years. In January 1987, Hu lost his position as General Secretary of the party and Chao replaced him only to be removed in June 1989. The massacre on June 3-4 in T'ien-an-men Square did irreversible damage to Xiaoping's reputation. A decade of originality in policy reform had been brought to an end Xiaoping's reaction showed his trust in his conservative instincts remained paramount to determining his thinking.

In conclusion, Xiaoping turned away from the purist ideology of Maoism which crippled China during the Cultural Revolution. Xiaoping's pragmatism placed the emphasis on economics rather than ideology. It did raise the standard of living but it also raised people's aspirations. Xiaoping's influence has been more positive economically as opposed to socially and politically. Xiaoping dismantled Mao's complex legacy in order to create his own which is just as complex and paradoxical as his predecessor that is, in a sense, a continuation of Mao's legacy and the empire he established.

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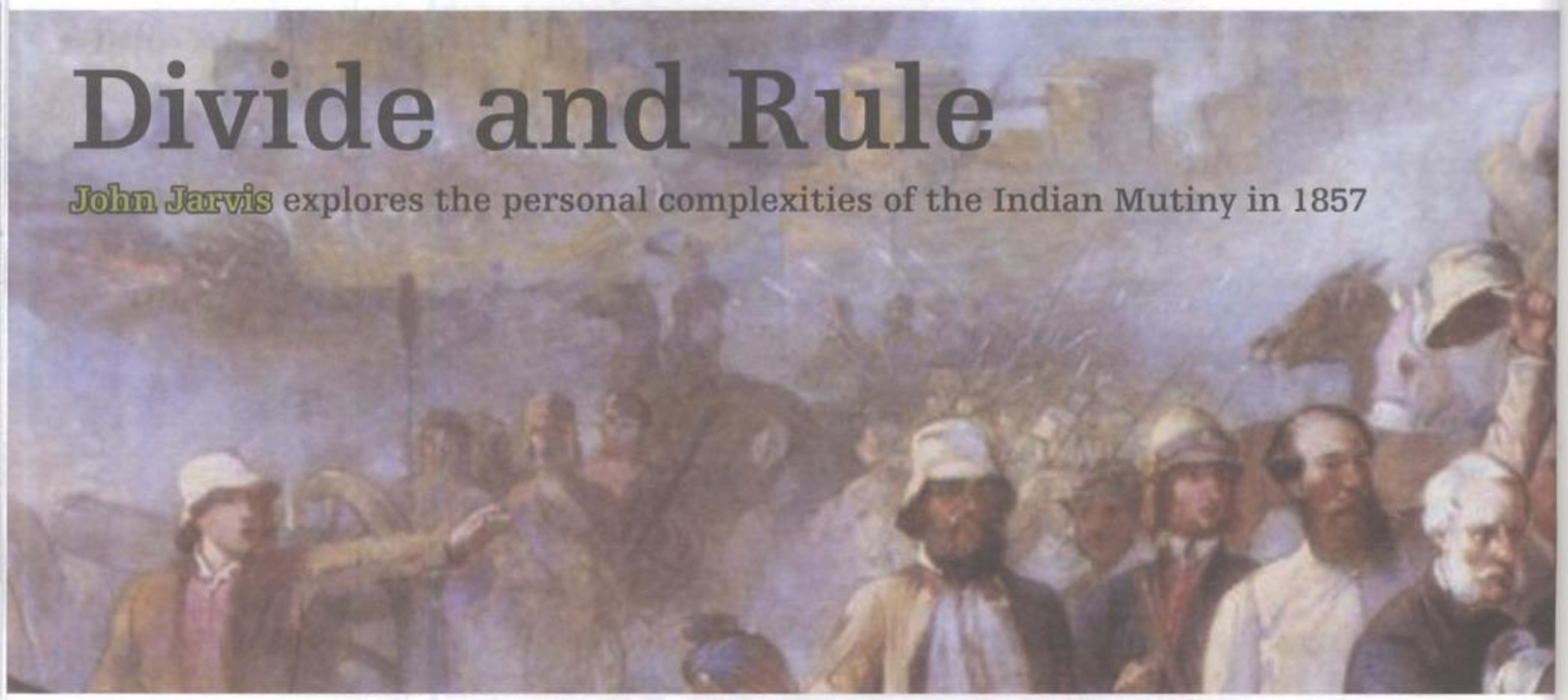
Divide and Rule

John Jarvis explores the personal complexities of the Indian Mutiny in 1857



THE SEPOYS (Indian soldiers fighting for the English East India Company or for the Crown) who mutinied at Meerut and then marched on Delhi in 1857 unleashed spectacular violence against British rule in India. Widespread rumours that the sepoys raped British women and children were false, but the sepoys killed women and children when they had the opportunity. In July, the British garrison at Kanpur, including dozens of women and children, surrendered when the sepoys laying siege to the garrison promised them safe passage.

When the British emerged, the sepoys killed all of the men, except for five who managed to escape. The sepoys imprisoned the women and children, and eventually killed them, too. Rudrangshu Mukherjee argues that violence was a fundamental characteristic of British rule in India. The existence of individual clemency does not, to his mind, refute the general argument that brutality was "a major thrust of policy". Soldiers and sepoys alike committed atrocities within the context of a violent confrontation between rulers and ruled. It is worth considering how British soldiers understood the suppression of the uprising.

Three questions come to mind: Why were they willing to commit acts of such violence? Were there times when their human decency overcame the desire for revenge? What did they think should be done in the future? There were times when individual British soldiers and officers exercised restraint. This article begins by considering an instance of this sort, a time when, as Michael Walzer puts it, "the alienation [was] temporary, the humanity imminent."

Lieutenant Frederic Roberts wrote letters to his family throughout the Uprising. His exercise of restraint in taking a particular village must be contrasted with the violence typical of his conduct in suppressing the Uprising. By 22 May, eleven days after the mutiny at Meerut, Roberts was accusing the sepoys of abusing and killing women and children. He describes the British reaction: they hunted down and killed four hundred sepoys. Even the Sikhs and Afghans, who were renowned for their cruelty, exercised more restraint.

In general, his troop "gives no quarter, every single man we find is killed". With each passing month his determination to kill the sepoys grew stronger. He enjoyed "helping to exterminate every native" and was willing to "undergo any privation" to avenge the deaths of his friends. He reaches a climax just before the fall of Delhi, when he claims "no one ever died in a better cause", a startling shift from his statement four months earlier that he wished the cause he was fighting for were a better one. Roberts's claim that he would go to any extremity to protect British women and children, to avenge his friends, and to uphold British rule in India accords with Rudrangshu Mukherjee's presentation of British violence in India.

> 'Roberts claims that he would go to any extremity...to uphold British rule'

However, Roberts's purported desire to kill every native is somewhat misleading. We must weigh his invective against the disquiet he occasionally showed about British violence in suppressing the Uprising. His uncertainty is important evidence that he was not, in fact, willing to go to any end to uphold British rule in India. After reducing the garrison of rebels in a walled village north of Lucknow, Roberts's troops destroyed the village. Roberts begins his letter about the battle by clarifying to his sister that he is just as willing to kill rebels as any other British officer. But when he is burning down the village's houses, he meets a "very old man", two of whose sons are missing. He is moved by the man's story, believes it to be true, and "had not the heart to burn his house."

Later, he meets a group of widows grieving over the bodies of their husbands, "none of them Sepoys I believe," and is "quite unhappy" and wishes "most sincerely this horrid war was at an end." These feelings are obviously limited. He did not have the heart to burn the old man's house down, but felt he should have done so anyway. Roberts does not blame the soldiers, who "cannot be expected to distinguish between the guilty and innocent in the heat of the moment", but he continues: "such scenes make one wish that all was settled." It is important not to read too much into this incident. Roberts had no compunction about killing rebels.

Still, his statements reflect uncertainty about whether suppressing the rebellion was worth, or required, destroying peasants' houses. Moreover, the people in the region were involved in rebelling; they were not "civilians" in a straightforward way, though the widows' dead husbands were apparently not sepoys. Simply put, upholding British suzeiranty did not outweigh Roberts's moral sentiments. Of course, not every soldier exercised such restraint, nor does every soldier discuss restraint. Unlike Roberts, Roland Richardson, a Scottish Lieutenant who also served during the Uprising, does not discuss why he kills. It is his duty to fight, and he fights when he is ordered to.

Richardson reports the rumours about massacres (which were true), but he does not claim women and children were abused (they were not). It is possible that Richardson either did not hear, or did not believe, the widespread reports that sepoys were raping European women. His matter-of-fact reporting is attributable to this as well as to his being ten years older than Roberts. He does refer to "that horrible massacre at Cawnpore", where some of his friends died, but he seems oddly dispassionate. When Roberts writes that everyone he knew had lost friends, he focuses on the universal desire for revenge.

In October, Richardson's troop was still marching around Awadh, rather than halting at Delhi or Lucknow, looking for bands of rebel sepoys.

Instead of focusing on his desire for revenge, however, he is concerned about warm clothing, horses, guns, and books. The first three were naturally crucial for a winter campaign in a cold climate, but also suggest a cooler disposition.

> 'Upholding British imperial rule in India...rested on a denial of humanity'

He deplored the death of his comrades, but he wrote to his family about his creature comforts. (Indeed, a letter before the Uprising refers to his displeasure at the fact that he had not been able to get his cushions stuffed.) The fact that after months at war he was more concerned about books to read than the war he was fighting seems odd even for a devoted bibliophile. He did not write about the death of his friends at Kanpur with the same sadness as Roberts did, nor does he regret the violence inflicted on Indian civilians.

Why did Richardson and Roberts think the mutiny happened in the first place? Richardson claims the mutiny was the result of "foolish" government policy. While he does not countenance the mutiny, the sepoys had every right to object "quietly" to the cartridges, for "touching and biting such Cartridges entails to most of them a loss of caste with consequences worse than excommunication in days of old." Later, he implies that the proclivity to mutiny was partly the result of what "class" soldiers came from. Richardson's argument that the sepoys had a right to object to the cartridges is unusual, but it is by no means unique. Roberts, too, claims that the cartridges were "at the bottom of the whole affair". As Kim Wagner has argued, the assumption that the fear of losing one's caste due to cartridges was the primary cause of the Uprising was common among British soldiers and commentators.

Roberts and Richardson also offer suggestions for how British government in India should be reformed. Richardson believed that if commanders had been given more power to punish soldiers who misbehaved that the mutinies would not have happened. Richardson and Roberts both expressed concern about whether the Bombay and Madras armies could be trusted and suggested that the armies should be restructured. Along the same lines of discipline and distrust, Richardson called Canning's proclamation on clemency "absurd", although he disliked Canning in part because the prize money from Delhi had still not been distributed.

Roberts also criticises civil servants for how they handled the crisis: "our civilians have ruined India by not punishing natives sufficiently, and by allowing all the rascals in the country to hold high offices in their Kutcherries." For him, the broader problem was that the officers trusted the sepoys too much. He said, " I don't believe myself there is one single Native in the whole country who would not go against us, if they did not think they were better off by remaining on our side." These are not clear proposals for reform so much as they are analyses of what the problems are. Richardson and Roberts relied on interpretations circulating among the soldiers and printed in the English-language press. This is not surprising. As Roberts wrote in August, "our first business is to get out of the scrape, and find out the cause afterwards."

While the suppression of the Uprising was incredibly violent, there are significant indications that Roberts, and probably other officers, were occasionally appalled by the scale of violence. This article has sought to suggest the complexity of the violence that upheld British rule in India. Individual soldiers' attitudes provide a crucial corrective to the assumptions of monolithic violence. The soldiers' theories of the mutiny were based on a circumscribed set of tropes, but they still devoted some thought to the reasons for the uprising. They also recognised some of the shortcomings of British rule in India.

Nevertheless, their understanding of the problems with British rule was clearly limited. They did not venture to questioning the imperial project. Upholding British imperial rule in India by suppressing the Uprising, like imperial rule elsewhere and warfare in general, rested on a denial of humanity. Still, there was room for a British officer to show mercy. The British occasionally recognised Indian civilians as people with families who deserved mercy, but the vast majority of the time they did not. This is a bittersweet realisation, and it makes the atrocities committed by both sides all the more poignant.

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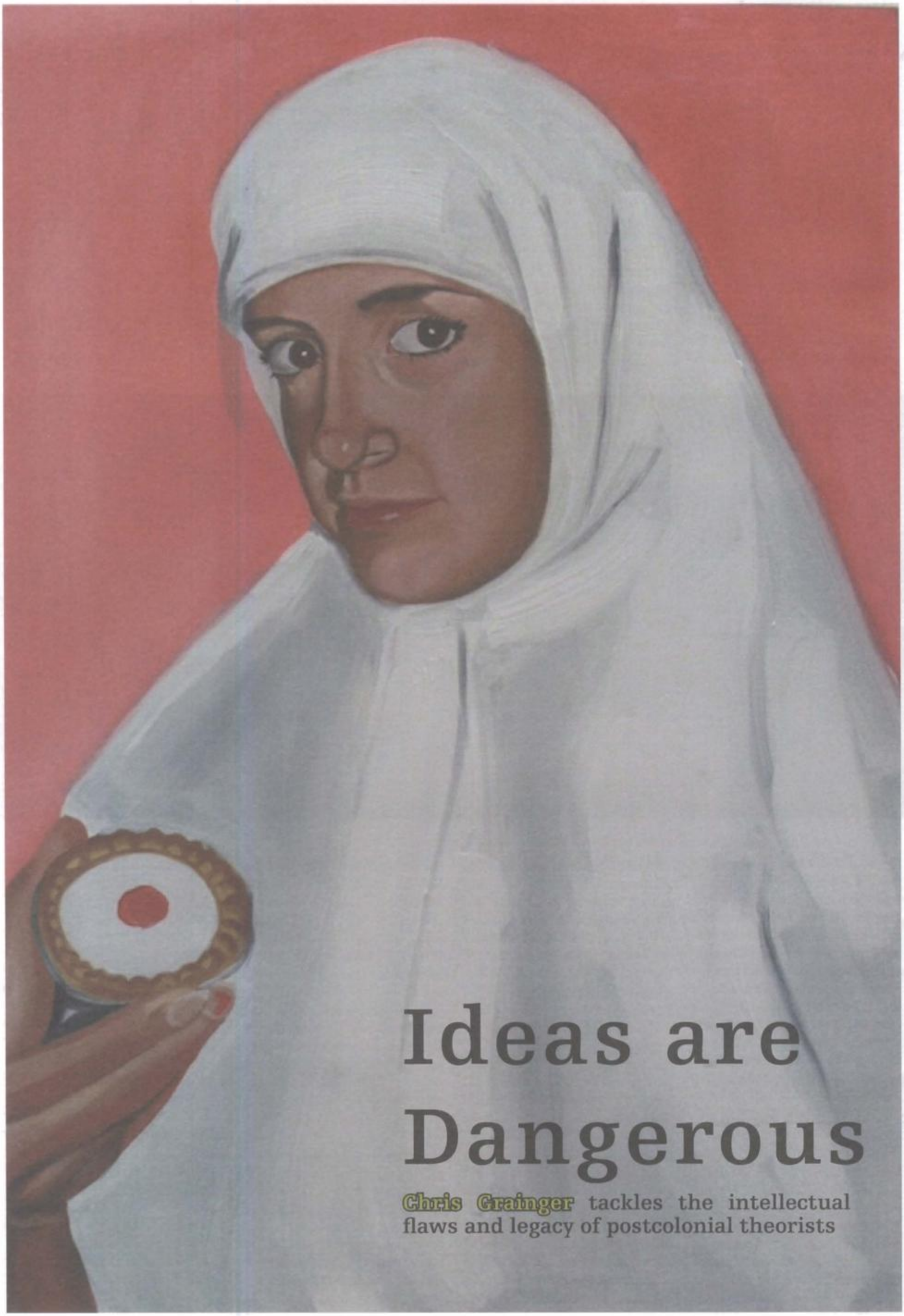

Ideas are Dangerous

Chris Grainger tackles the intellectual flaws and legacy of postcolonial theorists

POSTCOLONIAL THEORY is almost impossible to define conclusively. This is primarily because it places itself both in opposition to and supposedly beyond colonialism, and brings a moral imperative to bear. A working definition might refer to postcolonial theory as the intellectual outgrowth of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, drawing on "postmodern" and "post-structuralist" theorists to critique "colonial discourse". That is not to say that *Orientalism* is the only progenitor of postcolonial theory, but it was certainly the first complete framework of a "postcolonial" that questioned the actual epistemic basis for understanding the non-West. Postcolonial theory questions the validity of "Western" epistemology stemming from the Enlightenment as universal. On the other hand, postcolonial theory is inextricably linked with anti-colonial sentiment, with all the debts to Marxism that implies.

The postcolonial and the anti-colonial, then, are both deeply influenced by Marxist thought which, having been adopted as a particularly powerful framework for criticising capitalism, muddies the waters of the postcolonial rejection of supposedly Western foundations of knowledge. This highlights the ambiguity of postcolonial theory: is there a clear distinction between Western and non-Western ways of thinking? It is unlikely. The intellectual underpinnings of postcolonial theory are part of the post-Enlightenment philosophical tradition that supposedly constitutes mental colonialism, just as much as the postmodern and post-structuralist theory grew out of modernism and structuralism – criticism being simply the negative outgrowth of the same foundation.

When critically evaluated, it becomes clear that postcolonial theory is not a rigorous effort to reconstitute history; instead, postcolonial theory utilises the guise of a less exacting and more aesthetic literary critical theory to dismiss the project of developing a new basis for knowledge as less important than critiquing the "colonial" episteme. This is not to say that postcolonial theory has not provided a useful corrective in perspective for historians, but that taken as a complete framework it reaches untenable conclusions.

It is due to this lack of rigor that some postcolonial theory endangers the empowerment of the peoples it seeks to represent. Ironically, but unsurprisingly, heady theories of epistemology and post-structuralism exclude all but the most educated elites. Out-of-hand rejection of an essentialised Western thought not only makes postcolonial thinkers like Ashis Nandy and Dipesh Chakrabarty seem either sloppy or malicious, it dismisses the role that the colonised played in the thought of the coloniser. Many postcolonial theorists, like Said himself, fall into inverted versions of their own critiques: they maintain the West-Other paradigm by essentialising the West in many of the same ways they claim the West essentialised the Other.

> 'Postcolonial theorists reproduce orientalist perceptions of a "spiritual East" and a "rational West", the difference being to place the essentialised East above the essentialised West'

In doing so, they reify that distinction and ignore the historical evolution of Western thought, particularly the influence of the rest of the world on it and the similarities between Romanticism and their own rejection of the hegemony of Enlightenment thought. In rejecting post-Enlightenment thought, particularly the universality of science, out of hand, postcolonial theorists like Nandy reproduce orientalist perceptions of a "spiritual East" and "rational West" with the only difference being to place the essentialised East above the essentialised West.

This not only has political implications, empowering religious extremists who would seek to reject or co-opt science to push their own agendas, but blocks formerly colonised peoples from empowerment through their fair claim to the development of science. Postcolonial theorists conflate the poor implementation of science with the practice of science itself, judging the epistemic basis for scientific knowledge by the social damage it might produce; whether intentional ignorance or malicious intent, they seek to make science relative and make it no more "real" than nativist ideas.

Another way in which postcolonial theory endangers the empowerment of the people it seeks to represent is via the adoption of the Gramscian idea of the "subaltern". Utilised by the Subaltern Studies group, headed up by Ranajit Guha, "subaltern" came to be an ambiguous term applying to those groups formerly exclude from or misrepresented in the history of the formerly colonised world. It was devised as a means of empowering and representing the majority of Indians who had previously been written out of an elitist historiography in which the primary debate – whether or not the elites of India acted in the pursuit of power or as righteous ideologues in the move towards independence, crudely – was a dialectic that did not allow for the agency of the "masses".

Much like the European Marxist historians who influenced the Subaltern Studies collective, the "bottom up" approach to history had a profound corrective quality and inspired much new research; unlike the European Marxist historians, however, the Subaltern Studies group claimed to be subalterns themselves. This is where their Marxist roots met the problematic of postcolonial theory: as individuals who identified as previously colonised, they were "subaltern" not due to materialism, but in identity and culture. Postmodern ideas of identity have allowed these historians – a literate elite – to take the position of the subordinate.

This process of co-opting subalternity limits the empowerment of the subaltern by glossing over differentiations of material and social hierarchy within the broad group of "non-elite," which really only referred to political or intercultural non-elite. This argument, primarily espoused by Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, has been summarised in criticism by Nicholas Dirks as: "postcolonial critics such as Prakash ignore class so as to disguise their own position as victors rather than victims in a world capitalist system".

Dirks argues that foundational Marxism blends into the viewpoint of the Cambridge school of historians of India – the group who posited that Indian elites were conditioned into seeking independence for power's sake – and that Marxist critics of postcolonial theory use class analysis to deny the reality of colonialism. Although Dirks is defending Gyan Prakash's intriguing proposal of "post-foundational" histories, wherein foundational metanarratives would be abolished in the search for organic but formerly marginalised perspectives, he makes the same (perhaps inevitable) mistake as Prakash: they both deny all foundations but the non-foundation of postmodernism and colonial critique.

Prakash, O'Hanlon and Washbrook seem to be arguing past each other: Prakash not acknowledging his own placement of foundations, rejecting the essential category of material class in the metanarrative of world capitalism. A more fruitful approach might be to recognise the impossibility of abolishing all artificial foundations while recognising that they are methodological imperatives rather than objective realities.

Furthermore, those debating between Marxist and postmodern/post-structuralist perspectives on the problematic of the postcolonial, so deeply entrenched in polemic, have not acknowledged that the two are not mutually exclusive in theory, and that rather than their own neat and tidy dialectic between rich and poor or coloniser and colonised, for example, there are more varying strata of superiority and subordination.

A more empowering approach would be more sophisticated and recognise the heterogeneity of the "subaltern" and incorporate the material and the cultural, racial, and gender stratifications of identity and power. This acknowledgment of heterogeneity does not, however, necessitate the extreme emphasis on the individual "native informant" and de-emphasis on the author espoused by James Clifford and to which Prakash's approach logically leads. Gayatri Spivak has effectively argued that the subaltern cannot speak; if the subaltern could speak, they would cease to be the subaltern.

> 'This, much like the histories of the Atlantic slave trade depict a monolithic African victim'

She points out that to focus on the "native informant" does the same epistemic violence to subalterns that the colonial anthropologists did.

Indeed, Washbrook and O'Hanlon point out that the decontextualization of the individual "indigenous collaborator" is "a very old device of liberal ideology' and that '[t]he British colonial record is full of

[it]." This problem of the "native informant" goes even further, creating a nativist idea of postcolonial knowledge. Nandy has gone so far as to argue that history itself is a form of colonialism because it replaces the real history of peoples with that produced by "colonial" culture. This is tantamount to a modern nativist "reverse" racism by certain postcolonial theorists who would vest authority in "the people" themselves to represent their culture, barring outsiders from any knowledge of such.

This despite the likelihood that this would favor those educated elites within that culture to represent it and thus skew and possibly alter their own culture, much like the Brahmin "native informants" who had a major role in Sanskritization in India. Barring the obvious problems of reverse essentialism expressed from Said to Prakash, the idea of "self-representation" as a form of authority obliterates the possibility of empowerment for the vast majority of postcolonial subject peoples. "Occidentalism" as a reverse form of orientalism is another danger to the peoples postcolonial theorists seek to represent.

As posited earlier, essentialising a monolithic "post-Enlightenment" West maintains a paradigm of difference in almost the exact same ways as orientalism. A monolithic "coloniality" of an essentialised Europe does not only arbitrarily maintain the orientalist idea of the "non-West" in terms of what was "non-Western" when it is questionable as to whether this monolithic Europe ever attained the things that are attributed to it, but it writes out the centuries of interaction that affected this monolithic Europe just as much as they affected the colonised world.

'United States slave ownership made nascent Americans more protective of their own liberty'

This, much like histories of the Atlantic slave trade that depict a monolithic European exploiter and a monolithic African victim, denies the agency and heterogeneity of colonised peoples. Frederick Cooper points out, for example, the importance of the Haitian revolution in determining French ideas of citizenship. The colonial cultural exchange was not one of coloniser onto colonised, or even simply a reciprocal relationship; it was a process of creation. Many ideas attributed to "European" influence or ideological dominance were in fact created in the colonial experience, such as modern nationalism. problem of the "native informant" goes even further, creating a nativist idea of postcolonial knowledge. Nandy has gone so far as to argue that history itself is a form of colonialism because it replaces the real history of peoples with that produced by "colonial" culture. This is tantamount to a modern nativist "reverse" racism by certain postcolonial theorists who would vest authority in "the people" themselves to represent their culture, barring outsiders from any knowledge of such.

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Just as in the United States slave ownership made nascent Americans more protective of their liberty, the dominance of colonial holdings made European governments more protective of their sovereignty. History is not as simple as postcolonial theory suggests, but the process of historicising and contextualising has been challenged as parochially Western by postcolonial theorists. This simply reinforces the anti-historicism of postcolonial theorists, and means that, despite all the polemic, "colonial critique" will never empower the very groups it seeks to represent: they will continue to be denied a history until privileged postmodern navel-gazing yields to pragmatic histories that utilise the perspective shifted by postcolonial critics.

'They have perpetuated many of the very assumptions they...sought to break'

On the other hand, postcolonial theory and the debates that it has engendered have for the most part been fruitful endeavors that have shifted the perspective of many scholars from entrenched assumptions to new, critical and dynamic understandings of the non-West (and the West). The problem is that, despite an effort by Chakrabarty that ultimately fell victim to the exact problems his project sought to solve, the process of "provincialising Europe" is incomplete and as an idea is still laden with problems of essentialism.

Postcolonial theorists who hide behind ambiguous and "aesthetic" critical theories that lack the rigorous emphasis on evidence important in history continue to reify in new ways the very problems they claim to seek to end. In the process of criticising colonialism, they have foregone a rigorous reinvention of world history. To be fair, many historians informed by postcolonial theory, such as the Subaltern Studies group, did attempt a thorough reworking of Indian history that has provided a solid example for future projects. Rigorous, pragmatic, and nondogmatic applications of the perspective shift from postcolonial theory have been beneficial.

However, the theories themselves have endangered the empowerment of the peoples whom they seek to represent. They have perpetuated many of the very assumptions they have sought to break down while simultaneously co-opting the position of subalternity, rendering it less potent and unrepresentative. The ideas of "self-representation" and "post-foundationalism" have stymied attempts to make progress in giving history to, and thus empowering, postcolonial subjects. Fortunately, postcolonial theory is heterogeneous and dynamic; its benefits will not be erased if it shifts so that the endangerment to the empowerment of its subjects can be overcome.

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Review

A new book that explores the turbulent history of Czechoslovakia does not impress Michael Klimes

The State that Failed

THE HISTORY of Czechoslovakia in the twentieth-century is both tragic and complex. It has experienced a wide variety of political systems such as capitalist democracy, communist one party rule and Nazi fascism. The consequences of these totalitarian regimes have been occupation, revolution and war. *Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed* by Mary Heimann, a senior lecturer at the University of Strathclyde, covers the history of this troubled country. Her book has been marketed as the definitive account of Czechoslovakia and there are aspects of the work which warrant such acclaim as it is meticulously researched, densely footnoted, and erudite.

> 'Nationalism cultivated a mentality of victimhood'

She aims to produce an ambitious and iconoclastic interpretation of Czechoslovak history that looks to exorcise the caricature of the country as a victim of its imperialistic neighbours. She critiques Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Edvard Beneš, the two founders of the state, declaring they had been "brilliant propagandists" who manipulated the political opportunities opened up by the First World War and the subsequent Treaty of Versailles, to create an unstable Czechoslovakia living on borrowed time through an artificial and romantic nationalism.

According to Heimann, Masaryk's nationalism cultivated a mentality of victimhood among its citizens, making them believe they were victims of oppression, rather than perpetrators of it. She does not explore Masaryk's philosophy and humanism in the context of other competing ideologies at the time. Her general thesis is, "Czechoslovakia was not officially remembered as an aggressor but a victim country; not as a perpetrator but rather as a martyr of state-sponsored racism, ethnic intolerance and political repression." This interpretation does have an amount of truth to it.

For instance, one major difference between communist and Nazi rule in Czechoslovakia was that there were more indigenous supporters of communism: there were more Czechoslovak communists inside the country during the Stalinist era than there were Czechoslovak Nazis during the fascist era. Therefore, one could argue that communist influence did have an internal level of support that Nazism did not have. However, any merits of Heimann's revisionism evaporate with her polemical and vindictive tone which is stridently anti-Czech and anti Slovak.

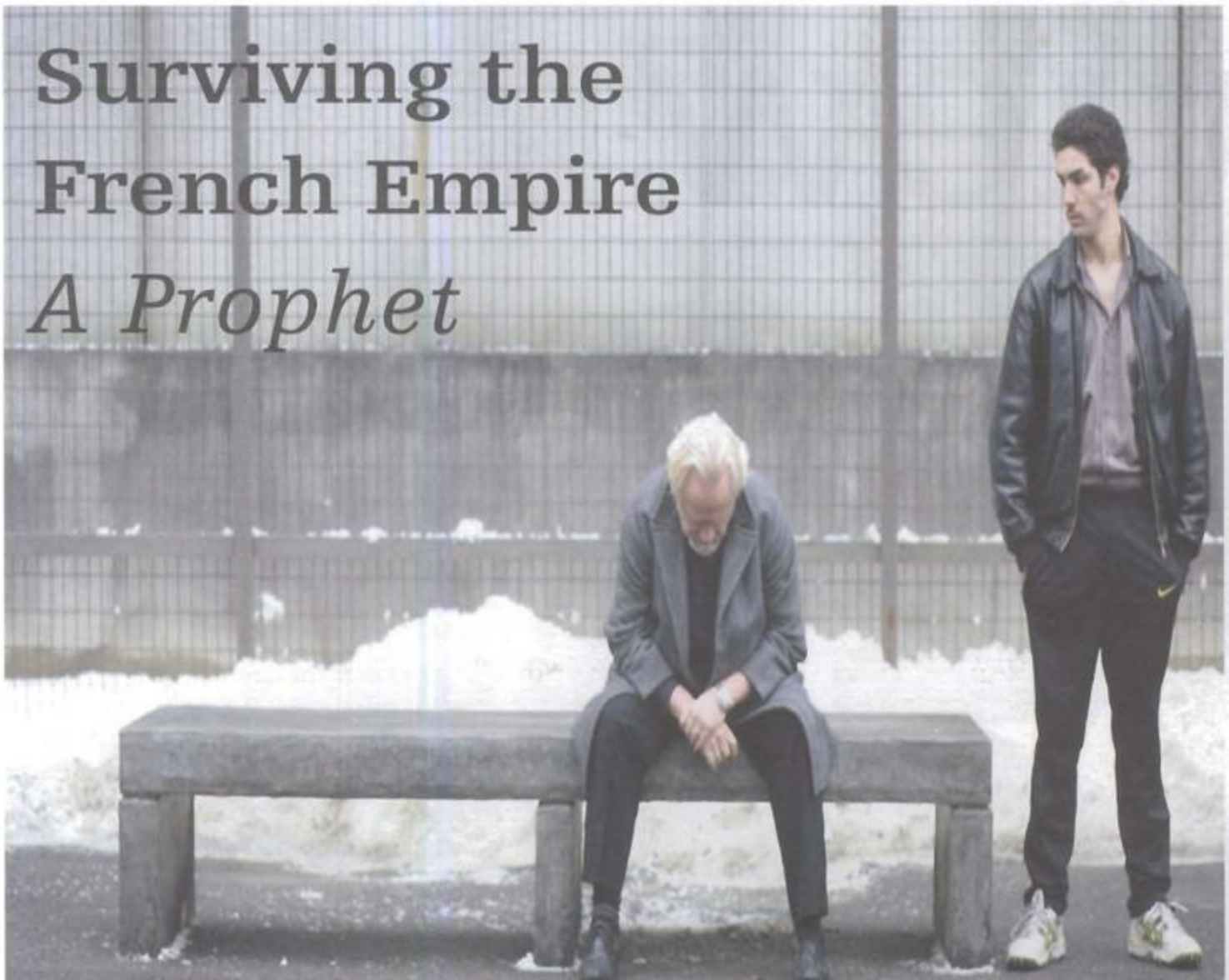
This book comes across as the work of a tabloid hack. Her perspective is grotesquely one-sided, poorly written, badly argued, snide, sarcastic and some judgements are disturbingly pathological. In a remarkable moral lapse she says, "The so-called 'May Crisis', turned out to have been caused by Czechoslovakia's unjustified military provocation." This makes one think that Adolf Hitler was a pacifist, is not to blame for causing the Second World War and that Czechoslovakians had no reason to feel intimidated by Nazi Germany.

Many more passages are saturated with frivolous cynicism, mechanical prose and irrelevant character vilification, one such example being her depiction of Antonín Dvořák, the great Czech composer, as second rate and as someone who, "might have otherwise been condemned forever to playing...in his village band." She does not mention that Dvořák was an internationally renowned musician even before the creation of Czechoslovakia.

> 'This makes one think that Adolf Hilter was a pacifist and is not to blame'

Even Vaclav Havel, the only figure of merit in the book who is not completely ravished, is used to cut down Czechoslovak dissidents: "His positions, admirable and humbling, as often as they were, were highly untypical of all but a tiny dissident Czech elite." There are so many mistakes in this book that it is puzzling how such a work was published by such a prestigious publisher.

Surviving the French Empire *A Prophet*



Sarah Norman learns how to survive the French prison system and come out on top

A PARTIAL view: that is how we are introduced to the prison at which Malik (Tahar Rahim) will spend the next years of his life, and that is how the film continues. Throughout *A Prophet* we only see the story through Malik's eyes and even then we are not privy to his thoughts. This technique illustrates the partial view that life affords prisoner, where they can only trust in themselves.

Malik is commanded by Ceasar, the emperor of the prison and leader of its toughest gang, to kill an inmate. The murder displays Malik's palpable vulnerability as he is cripples with nerves and feelings of guilt. In a typically French fashion, an element of surrealism is injected into the film when the murdered man continually appears as a ghost and at times, strange though it may seem, contributing to the funniest moments of the film.

You would expect that the rest of the film would be about Malik learning the ways of Ceasar's gang and his gradual ascension through the ranks, and first it seems as if this is what will happen. However, as the film progresses, it becomes clear that Malik is working for himself and only himself. The film documents Malik's carving out of his own empire which challenges and eventually topples that of Ceasar's. Ceasar does attempt to regain his grip on the prison and goes to extreme lengths to do so (enter horrific almost-eye-gouging scene).

'Yes, this is a film about becoming a man in a place where only the strongest survive'

However, Malik is relentless and emerges the more cunning and powerful, the culmination of his hard work being an intensely symbolic scene where he forces Ceasar to cross the yard to come to talk to him, only to have him kicked in the stomach. Yes this is a film about becoming a man in a place where only the strongest survive, where the man with the largest and most powerful empire is in control. Nonetheless, *A Prophet* is more than that. It is a no-holds-barred exposé of the side of French life the tourist board does not want you to see. The film vividly depicts the racial divides and hierarchies that permeate French society, the prison being a microcosm of the country as a whole.

The Parisian prison system is exposed as corrupt and as a training ground for violent criminals eager to become emperers on the outside. However, at the same time the film is gentle and touching. Malik forms one true fried in prison who then becoming ill, leaves Mailk to provide for his wife and child.

'The image of Malik falling asleep with a baby clutched to his chest is juxtaposed with that of him ripping open the throat of his victim'

The image of Malik falling asleep with a baby clutched to his chest is juxtaposed with that of him ripping open the throat of his first victim indicating that Malik is not a monster but just an ingenious man staying alive and becoming successful in the only way he knows how. One cannot help feeling that Malik has been let down by France as have the thousands of other prisoners: being swept to the side because they are not quintessentially French and therefore ruin the postcard picture of a French idyll.

Medical Marvel

The Royal Surgeons' Hall

TO THE museum going masses, The Royal Surgeons' Hall is nothing new. Sitting proudly on South Bridge, it is a cultural fixture for historians and medics alike, attracting visitors both from around the globe and a few streets away daily. It may seem odd then, to review an established fixture as great as this. It is here that the Royal Surgeons' Hall proves its diversity. It is not just an established museum, but a display of humanity and it's conquests, and like humanity itself, they are ever changing.

Wandering through the mixture of pickled parts and intrusive instruments, the vast empire that is modern medicine becomes extremely evident. Walking for half an hour through the twisiting aisles leads to twisted sights. Guests are treated to a pickled arm, mutilated testicles and a magnificently preserved moustache.

The Arthur Conan Doyle exhibit features work rarely shown to the public, and allows for an insight into the mind of a genius. Widely heralded as one of Scotland's greatest treasures, his opinion was greatly respected on all matters, from medicine to literature. The Hall displays some of his written advice to his contemporaries, arguably something that is valuable even today.

Visiting the museum means embarking on a tour of medical history, but one which questions the future of modern medicine. With such a wide range of topics, starting with mutilation and ending with preservation, we see everything about the human body - from foetus to faeces. It asks us to consider the empire of medicine, and what it has achieved since the beginning of man.

I left the exhibition stunned. Perhaps it was because I had spent far too long staring at a hundred year old moustache, or perhaps it was because I learnt why Conan Doyle killed Sherlock Holmes. Either way, a trip to the Royal Surgeons' Hall is always classic and comes extremely recommended.

Rebecca Monks

Colossus

Niall Ferguson is unashamedly controversial and incredibly imperialist says Rebecca Kellaway

WITH ITS relentlessly provocative exploration of U.S. dominance and American hegemony, *Colossus* packs a punch that barely allows the reader to draw breath. Niall Ferguson, never one to avoid controversy, sets his stall out from the start with his unabashedly imperialist stance. It is a call to America to recognize her imperialistic tendencies for the good of the world, showing that *Colossus* is no less provocative than his other works. For example, in his introduction, he asserts, "I am fundamentally in favour of empire. Indeed, I believe that empire is more necessary in the twenty-first century than ever before." From the man who argued that Britain should have allowed Germany to win the First World War, such a penchant for the controversial should come as a surprise.

'That America should find the label of imperialist nation difficult to bear can be traced back to her origins.'

As the war in Iraq limps on and the "Coca-colonisation" of commerce and culture continues apace, *Colossus* is certainly relevant. However, set against this backdrop, Ferguson's bemoaning of the American antipathy for Empire and his argument that an avowedly imperialistic America would be beneficial as a more affluent Third World would benefit the entire world economy will sit uncomfortably with many readers. The book's subtitle is "The Rise and Fall of the American Empire" yet Ferguson only succeeds in dealing with the "rise" and not the "fall". That is, he simply fails to deal with the murkier side to the American Empire; Guantanamo Bay and the mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners held in the Abu Ghraib prison are either skipped over or not mentioned at all.

That America should find the label of imperialist nation difficult to bear can be traced back to her origins. The founding fathers were determined that America would not get involved in the European wars and alliances which they themselves had fled. Many trumpet the fact that America never partook in the European scramble for Africa and instead made only relatively "local" acquisitions of Louisiana, California and Hawaii in comparison to the sprawling British Empire. In particular, the formal annexation of the Philippines in 1899 is a great example of a historical anomaly.

George Santayana once said that, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it," and it is precisely this sentiment that Ferguson is evoking. For example, the decision in 2003 to seek a second UN resolution gave the French the diplomatic initiative by allowing them to threaten to veto it.

Consequently, the Iraq war lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the world. Furthermore, if policy makers had looked back to 1920, then they might not have been so shocked that Anglophone occupation of Iraq could provoke such persistent resistance. If Ferguson gets his wish and America declares herself as an Empire - let's hope that she has learned from both her own and the mistakes of others, as Ferguson's argument is not a convincing one.

Macbeth

Ed Sheridan's direction could have been a damn spot finer says Rebecca Monks

IT IS a bold feat to perform the infamous 'Scottish play' in the nation's capital city; inevitably tempting the Gods of fate. Infamously associated with the phrase "break a leg", the notorious bad luck of the play was to be upon the head of those associated from the beginning. As one of the witches took ill, it seemed the curse of Macbeth was in Bedlam's very walls.

Hubble bubble toil and trouble seemed far away on opening night however. To the unknowing audience, the cast were well rehearsed and nothing if not professional. As far as the acting was concerned, no cast member appeared to be a damn spot waiting to be outed. Indeed, theatrically the performance was professional and polished.

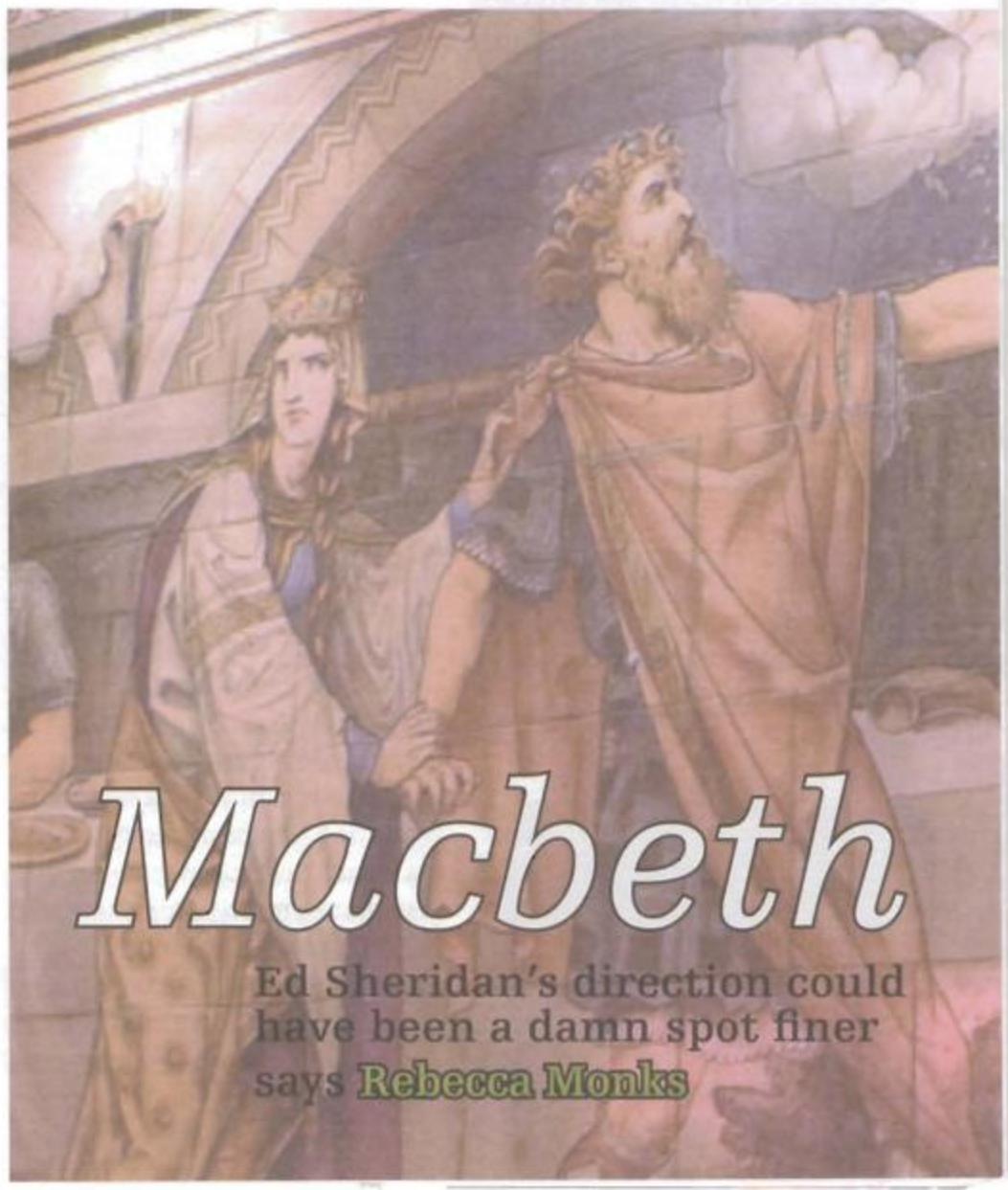
Amidst an awkwardly sexual atmosphere created by the newly reformed witches, Solomon Mousley depicted an easily lured and excellently executed Macbeth. An acute mix of hesitation and ambition proved to depict Shakespeare's hero excellently. As an audience member, the empire that Macbeth was pushed towards was in the very room. Mousley portrayed both a tormented character and an overwhelming presence of empire that has certainly been lacking in less professional productions.

Alice Bonafacio's portrayal of Lady Macbeth was nothing if not intense. Her physical realisation of the character so obsessed with the promise of an empire it consumes her was captivating to watch. She created tension physically and verbally, alerting the audience both to the power of the female and the of persuasion from the beginning.

'As a Shakesperean tragedy, the beauty of Macbeth lies in its delicate wordplay and action. Too often, however, was emphasis placed on words alone'

Where the acting excelled however, the direction seemed to lack. As a typical Shakespearean tragedy, the beauty of Macbeth lies in it's delicate blend of wordplay and action. Too often however was emphasis placed on words alone. Act 4, Scene 3 was seemingly ignored when planning action, leaving the intricacies of Shakespeare's characters to words alone. With such an exceptionally intelligent tragedy as Macbeth, the scope to explore this through the physical is too great to ignore.

Leaving the theatre, I felt exactly as I expected I would. Sorry for Macbeth, terrified of becoming Lady Macbeth, and yearning for something slightly more from the production. It was satisfactory but lacked the physical dedication that the play rightly deserves.



Precious

Sarah Sharp looks at what the film Precious tells us about empire

THERE IS obvious gasping and flinching amongst the audience. On the screen before us is the vast form of an overweight teenager tumbles down filthy concrete stairs, coming to rest in a foetal position around her own tiny newborn baby. Above her the termagant figure of her mother looms, holding aloft a television before dashing it down the stairwell narrowly missing daughter and baby. Welcome to this year's big Oscar hopeful, Precious, a film where the action is sometimes as painful to watch as the issues at its heart relate to modern day America.

Based on *Push: the Novel* by Sapphire (the alias of writer Ramona Lofton), Precious has made a recognisable face of young actress Gabourey Sidibe. The film has earned Sidibe multiple Oscar nominations including best actress, best supporting actress and best film, and has forced someone, somewhere to take Mariah Carey seriously. Dealing with issues of rape, disenfranchisement and incest, to name only three of the many weighty topics encountered within its 109 minutes of emotionally charged drama, Precious is the sort of cinematic work we might have expected from co-producer Oprah Winfrey in light of previous projects such as 'The Colour Purple'. Much like its predecessor, Precious has a great deal to say about the patterns of inclusion and exclusion which inform Western society.

Precious and her mother are presented within the narrative as members of a disenfranchised underclass, trapped in a netherworld of welfare cheques, day-time television, flock wallpaper and unimaginable violence. The first few scenes take us through an unsettling array of emotions whilst never leaving the claustrophobic confines of their box-like apartment. The setting is so confined that at times it feels like we are watching some subterranean world, outside of and unseen by the one we inhabit. Our world view only unfolds beyond this as Precious is increasingly liberated from the family home during the course of the film.

> 'An overweight teenager tumbles down stairs, coming down to rest in a foetal position around her own tiny newborn baby'

One of the most powerful elements of the film is the absence of Precious' abusive father. Although everything which occurs throughout Precious is a result of his actions, he is always an unseen presence. An almost uniformly female cast of characters (excluding Lenny Kravitz's fabulously lazy eyed Murse) attempt to make sense of the chaos this menacing figure has created. His presence rules the film but we never see more of him than his belt buckle or his back.

> 'It anticipates the possibility of progress and reminds America of the dangers of relapse'

Similarly the confrontations we witness between characters are often haunted by the ghosts of things unseen. Even the final confrontation between mother and daughter is characterised by silences and things which can only ever be partially explained or understood. Closure is rarely complete: instead we as an audience are forced to recognise that everything that has happened necessarily influences everything that will happen.

One of the most problematic aspects of Precious is perhaps its placement in a 'once upon a time' of the 1980s. We can leave the cinema cushioned by the idea that the poverty and suffering we have witnessed has gone the same way as The Sugarhill Gang and the Jheri Curl. But perhaps this approach is necessary. In a new presidency and an era which promises hope, 'Precious' must perhaps be an unavoidably veiled threat. Just as the figure of our heroine disappears into the crowd both hopeful and vulnerable, this is a film which perhaps both anticipates the possibility of progress and reminds America of the dangers of relapse. We have come a long way but there is much which still remains unsaid.

Toby Paterson

The Fruitmarket exhibits a bright artist with beautifully bleak work, says Tom Monaghan

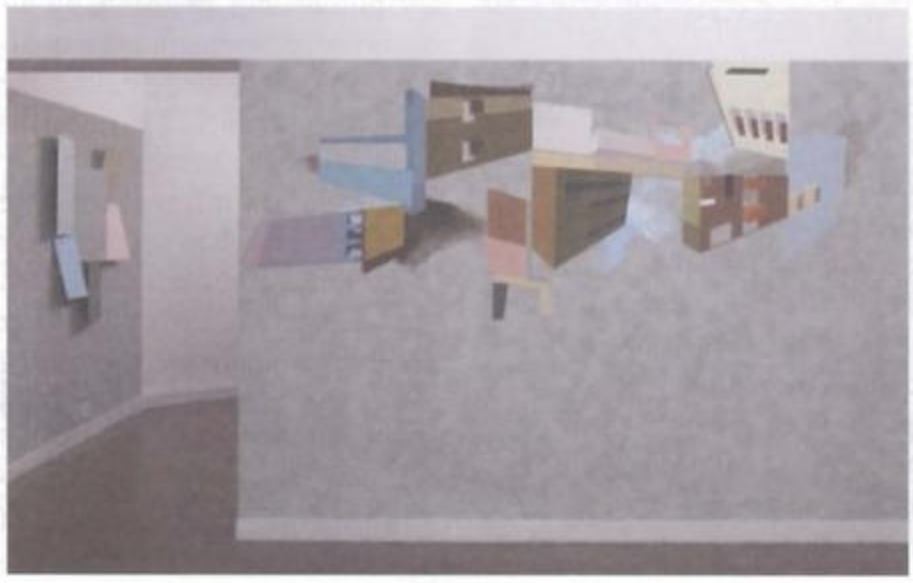
WE ALL have our opinions on modernist 1960's architecture. Most of them are unfavorable. I once heard someone describe the aesthetics of Appleton Tower as "Sarajevo circa 1995." It seems that every city and town large enough to have a featureless tower block, has several. The most functionalist designs have come to represent dysfunctional housing estates and depressing industrial parks. But for some people, such as the Glasgow-based artist Toby Paterson, the urban monotony of towns and cities is peculiarly interesting. Since he was a boy skateboarding through Glasgow's estates, he has been fascinated by images of neglected urban landscape, and the shapes and patterns which constitute them.

Paterson's current exhibition, 'Consensus and Collapse' at the Fruitmarket Gallery, lasts until the 28 March. As you enter the exhibition the information leaflet advises you to, "take time to orientate yourself in the space." Paterson's works, many of which are acrylic on transparent perspex, hang down from wooden frames dispersed throughout the room and guide you through a maze of colourful, geometric drawings. Paterson's intention was to make you feel as though you were wandering through a city, with images catching your eye through the gaps and as you turn around corners. His paintings range from compositions of abstract shapes to detailed designs of Eastern European apartment blocks, set in isolation on grey or transparent backgrounds.

They are his interpretations of photographs taken while traveling through cities from Rotterdam to Belgrade. The photographs, some of which can be seen in the second room, capture mostly ugly modern buildings or decaying urban landscapes.This exhibition is a brilliant, free opportunity to see one of Britain's major contemporary artists. His work is unpretentious, not necessarily making a strong point except to turn our attention to structures, images, patterns and scenes which we would otherwise neglect. Isolating the clean lines of a modern church design, or distilling into basic forms an interchange underpass, his depictions are oddly compelling in their plainness.

They remind us of the post-war utopian vision which architects and designers in the 1960s had in mind. Coping with the decline of the empire inspired designers in Britain, where evidence of 1960s modernism is widespread, to envision a utilitarian world. The vision contrasts almost comically with the derelict wastelands which often surround these structures. Our distaste for them is perhaps a reaction to the arrogance with which modernism tried to design society.

One thing which Paterson does by outlining certain designs in isolation and highlighting the geometry is restore them to their intended glory and convey the romantic vision of a perfect life which they were meant to herald. Paterson's art isn't for everyone. Some may find the subject matter a little bleak or plain. But if when you see a desolate, graffiti-strewn tower block you stare with intrigue at the forbidding design, or if you just want to see a respected contemporary artist following his unusual interest, then you would probably find this exhibition totally absorbing.



Lords, Lely and Gentlemen

Craig Clow says Lely's exhibit lacks lustre yet admits that the works speak for themselves

THE DESIRE of the National Gallery to show off its admittedly impressive collection of works is palpable the moment one enters their recent exhibit by the Dutch born artist Sir Peter Lely. The exhibition is meant to examine not just the talents of Lely as a leading artist of the seventeenth century restoration period, but also to encompass the massive collection of art he amassed in his lifetime and how this impacted on his tastes, works and life.

The range of pieces that can be viewed in the exhibit is notable: there are the chalk sketchings that Lely himself made on paper, beautifully rendered mezzotints of which he was so fond of and drawings from several Italian and Flemish old masters to name but a few. The exhibit is located in the lower section of the national gallery (perhaps strangely for an English court painter of Dutch origin) in the Scottish collection.

No criticism can be levelled at the quality of the works on display: everything on show, be it print, sketch or engraving is of an excellent standard and since some of the pieces are rarely open to the public the chance to see them here is a positive treat. Of particular interest is a mezzotint of Lely himself which takes up a commanding space in the centre of one of the walls. Lely's face is perfectly rendered and expressive to the point where the viewer can catch a glimpse of Lely's confidence and part of the ego that was presumably linked with his role as the pre-eminent artist of his court. This mezzotint would make a worthy centrepiece for any exhibition devoted to Lely .

Sadly though it is the lacklustre use of Lely himself as the theme for the exhibit that most lets it down. As a subject, the life of Sir Peter Lely is a fascinating tale spanning one of the most turbulent times in British history. Lely saw the fall and subsequent restoration of the British monarchy at the hands of Cromwell first hand and was one of the few people at the time whose high status was unaffected by the events.

Indeed, it was Lely who was responsible for the famous "warts and all" painting of Cromwell that is still so recognisable to students of history. Some reference to this fascinating background or to the relevance of Lely's work in establishing the mezzotint as a popular artistic method in Britain would have made for a more enlightening and relevant exhibit but annoyingly neither are touched upon here, meaning that Lely is treated less as a focal point for an exhibit of his own works and collection, and more of a convenient link that allows the gallery to show off some of its lesser seen works.

As much of a wasted opportunity as this seems, as a collection of individual works, it must be said that there are some truly impressive works to be seen here so it is still worth visiting, especially given the lack of an entrance fee.

Domestic Empire

CAROL SMILLIE, Julie Coombe and Shonagh Price star in the new comedy, *Hormonal Housewives*, which exhibits a series of comedic sketches and discussions between the women on stage. Laden with sexual innuendos and anti-men jokes, the performance is a playful assertion of female power and a slapstick look at the trials and tribulations women face throughout their lives.

Despite its silly nature, the performance reminds the audience of the struggle women endure whilst trying to maintain what could be deemed as their own empire. We see that juggling housework, childcare, and professional jobs requires organisation comparable to government administrations.

Their banter about the societal expectations on women, especially regarding their appearance, highlights the pressure women are under in today's society. Price relates that the problems women experience at work are frequently blamed on hormonal temperament referred to as the 'red mist'.

The 'red-mist' references and the difficulties Price has found in gaining promotions over men, highlights the persistence of sexism in the twenty-first century workplace. The play illustrates that although women may have control in their domestic empires, they are still subject to the authority of men.

Hormonal Housewives also touches on the topic of divorce, depicting one character in particular as vulnerable due to her recent divorce. This age-old assumption that women are dependant on men to survive appears reminiscent of the colonial rhetoric in which women were weak and in need of protection from the savage indigenous populations.

Overall this play is perfect for a fun girls' night out; however perhaps avoid taking along the opposite sex, as he probably will not appreciate the female-biased comedy.

Angharad Lewis


SPLENDOR