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history student times
issue 1



Hi everyone,

'A riot is at the bottom a language of the unheard' said Martin Luther King in his 1967 speech 'Where do we go from here?' October is Black History Month, and in its first issue, the History Student Times remembers and re-evaluates it. As we question who emerged as the key figure of the civil rights movement, we also debate whether Britain should apologise for its colonial past.

Furthermore, we will try to discover contemporary parallels - considering whether at the roots of the August riots, there was a call by the unheard, to be heard. On a brighter note, but in the same spirit of recognition, we've got a brand new IHP section for you all to peruse. We've also introduced a travel and a games section, to keep you amused and far from the library (in spirit at least). And speaking of travel, I'm pleased to introduce Lena and her time travelling Longboat - our cartoon Viking who has travelled through time to wind up right here at the University of Leeds.

So please, browse our contents list and pick out the articles you'll most enjoy. I sincerely hope you do enjoy what myself, and my fantastic team, have tried to make an engaging experience for all of your history geeks out there.

After all, we're making old new, big news!

Katy

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What if Trotsky had succeeded Lenin?

We would probably all be looking at red flags!



When Lenin died in January 1924 there were several candidates that could have taken his place as leader of the Soviet Union, but by far the most obvious choice was Leon Trotsky.

In fact, as he lay dying, Lenin wrote a damning testament of Stalin in the hope that it would remove him from office all together. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, he described as "the most capable man in the present communist party". So why didn't Trotsky succeed Lenin? Primarily because of Stalin's cunning. In one of the more farcical episodes, Trotsky didn't attend Lenin's funeral because Stalin had deliberately told him the wrong date.

Trotsky was a brilliant revolutionary, an outstanding general in the Russian civil war and considered far to the left even by those within the Party. He stood against the bureaucratic degeneration that occurred under Stalin and for world revolution by the proletarian masses. During the 1920s and 30s in Europe there was a strong

feeling that revolution was close or even inevitable and in many ways, it was Stalin who jeopardised this revolution with his divisive, short sighted policies and his theory of "socialism in one country".

In Germany, had the KPD had done as Trotsky advised and presented a united front with the SPD, who were branded 'fascist' by Stalin, it would have been Wilhelm Marx not Hindenburg that won the 1925 election with anti-right votes. Without Hindenburg's anti-Weimar meddling I believe quite strongly that Hitler and the Nazi party would never have gained power.

With no Nazi party in Germany and no Stalinist delusions the Spanish Civil War would almost certainly have been won by the left. This would have created an ally for the Soviet Union and given a boost to proletarian revolutionary consciousness in other countries, particularly after the Wall Street Crash.

This gives us an interesting historical landscape. Firstly, the Second World War would never have occurred, millions of lives would have been saved and there would have been quite amazing geo-political ramifications for the entire world. With allies in Europe to trade with, especially industrialised Germany, the growth rate of the Soviet Union in the 1930s would have been even more spectacular than what occurred. No war would mean no ravaging of the Soviet economy, infrastructure and population, with

more money to spare to improve living standards. Also, the American economy would have remained in depression, not doubled in a size during the war, and the associated demand-driven post-war boom wouldn't have occurred either. As such, the world's economic powerhouse would have been the USSR, not the USA.

During the 1950s and 60s America was the key agent fighting global communism via a combination of military and economic measures. Many in Europe might have gone over to USSR if it wasn't for the Marshall Plan. In this alternative history, the USA would not have had the resources to invest globally in its fight against communism. Instead, a less militaristic, wealthier and developed Soviet Union, created under Trotsky, could easily have financed communist groups and their fledgling economies.

So, there would have been some monumental changes in history had Trotsky, not Stalin, succeeded Lenin in 1924. We might not be living in a country we would refer to as England; rather we might be referring to a federated republic as part of a global soviet state. There might even be a red flag flying from the Parkinson building! As to whether such a society would be a workers' paradise or an Orwellian nightmare, I'll leave you to decide.

- Rob Allen



Our film reviewers dig into the past

Rob Allen reviews *Salt of the Earth*

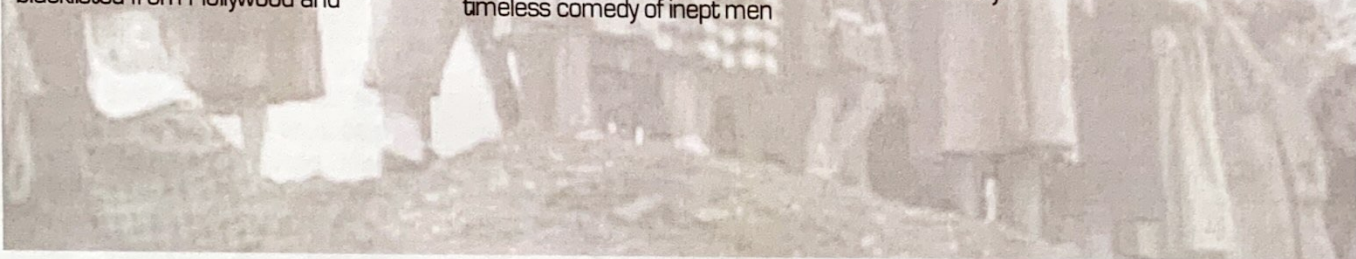
Salt of the Earth (1954), being among the first films to have a strong feminist plot and use real miners and their families as actors, is brilliantly original in its approach to cinema and very socially progressive for the time. Despite its age it delivers a heart-warming story that is surprisingly accessible to a modern audience.

It's not Hollywood churned out, this film is 'something special'. In fact, it was created by film-makers blacklisted from Hollywood and

funded by the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The film centres on a real-life strike against a mining company in New Mexico. The key focus is on the relations between the Anglo and Mexican workers, who (sometimes) stand in solidarity against their bosses, and the miners wives. Here the film takes on its feminist plot line; when the men are banned from picketing it is the women who 'man' the picket lines. In turn, the men must take up the domestic responsibilities of their wives. What ensues is the timeless comedy of inept men

attempting household chores and failing miserably. The film has its emotional highs and lows, as the long strike takes its toll on the families, and its ending will not disappoint.

There remains little more to be said other than to urge you to give this little known film a go, and, with the whole thing on YouTube there really are no excuses. If this isn't enough, *Salt of the Earth* comes with the strong recommendation of the most cited living academics in the world, Noam Chomsky.



Hannah Woodhead reviews *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy*

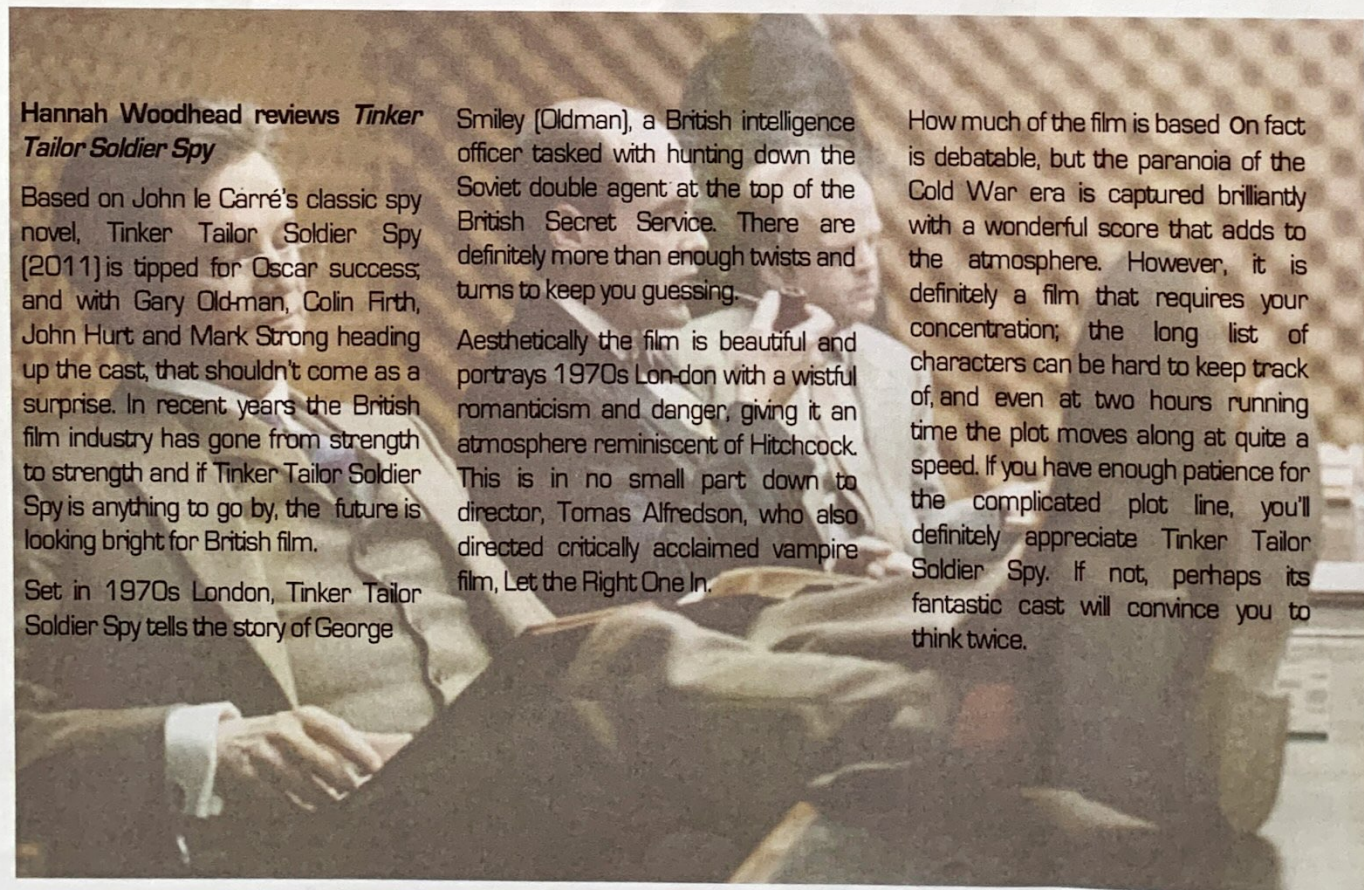
Based on John le Carré's classic spy novel, *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* (2011) is tipped for Oscar success; and with Gary Oldman, Colin Firth, John Hurt and Mark Strong heading up the cast, that shouldn't come as a surprise. In recent years the British film industry has gone from strength to strength and if *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* is anything to go by, the future is looking bright for British film.

Set in 1970s London, *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* tells the story of George

Smiley (Oldman), a British intelligence officer tasked with hunting down the Soviet double agent at the top of the British Secret Service. There are definitely more than enough twists and turns to keep you guessing.

Aesthetically the film is beautiful and portrays 1970s London with a wistful romanticism and danger, giving it an atmosphere reminiscent of Hitchcock. This is in no small part down to director, Tomas Alfredson, who also directed critically acclaimed vampire film, *Let the Right One In*.

How much of the film is based on fact is debatable, but the paranoia of the Cold War era is captured brilliantly with a wonderful score that adds to the atmosphere. However, it is definitely a film that requires your concentration; the long list of characters can be hard to keep track of, and even at two hours running time the plot moves along at quite a speed. If you have enough patience for the complicated plot line, you'll definitely appreciate *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy*. If not, perhaps its fantastic cast will convince you to think twice.





Sightseeing In Berlin

During the Easter break I went to Berlin and - aside from the occasional rain and gusty wind it turned out to be a great holiday.

Berlin's sights are quite close to one another. In fact, a number of them - the Reichstag, the Brandenburg Gate, the Holocaust Memorial and the remains of the Berlin Wall - are all literally within walking distance. Of these the Holocaust Memorial was particularly striking: personally, I have never experienced anything like it. The design is such that within a few minutes huge grey blocks (interpretive of tombs) tower over you in the narrow avenues. It's quite a different and eerily effective way of bringing across some idea of the sheer numbers that were killed. To emphasise the point, just a minute's walk away was a small Room of Silence. On the wall was a prayer which spoke of peace and unity

between men. Its intensity is exacerbated by the remnants of division which surround it, and had we not seen these *before* we went in it would not have been nearly as powerful. We were both surprised by the Berlin Wall. The image in my head was of a thick, sturdy, impenetrable wall. But the sections still standing were incredibly thin. There were of course the armed guards and wire fences which strengthened the barrier, but it was still surprising: sometimes it was no bigger than my foot (and I'm a size 6!)

Following this, a 20-minute ride on a two-decker train took us to Potsdam, the archetypal Prussian city. We were both struck by Potsdam. The Prussian palaces and the scenic lakes were amazing - and that was in the rain! The impression continued with the Cecilienhof Palace, site of the Potsdam Conference (1945), where

Churchill, Stalin and Truman had stayed. (Stalin apparently gave Churchill the front entrance, Truman the side, courteously taking the back for himself... but not before planting a red flower bed in the shape of the Soviet star just under Churchill's window to show who was really in charge!)

If you ever have the chance to visit Berlin and Potsdam I'd thoroughly recommend them both. And remember: when in Berlin, do as the Berliners do. For example, don't cross the road unless the hat-wearing green man pops up - *even* if it's safe - or you will be stared down. They're crazy about him - he even has his very own shop which sells sweets, plates and bags in his image.

Only in Berlin...

Postcard from my Year Abroad

Dear HST,

Being British in America is like being Justin Bieber in a girls secondary school. people love you! And they all assume Harry Potter is your favourite film. After a few days of orientation after we arrived we picked up a couple of salient facts. 1) it's totally cool to walk around the dorms with not all of your clothes on. 2) it's totally not cool to have sleeves in America. 3) the murder alarm is a real thing, but it probably only means someone escaped from the maximum security prison down the road.

I've found it best to speak in a Waitrose accent, it doesn't matter who you are, just that you're British. But if you go to Huntingdon, make sure to find a friend with a car. There's one train a day. The whole day. Plus you'll need a car to go get some mozzarella sticks, clearly the best food ever devised by man. You'll eat so much your arteries will clog and you'll die. But it'll be totally worth it!

Love Megg Hogg xx



Huntingdon, USA



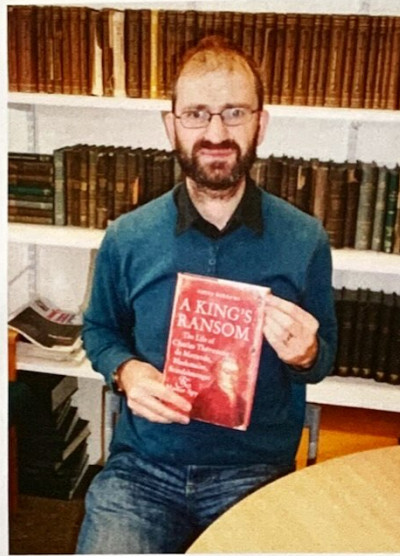
Pippa Case talks to Simon Burrows: Professor of Modern History, adopted Kiwi and Author of a thrilling new book

Firstly, Congratulations on your book Simon! Could you describe for us the character of Charles Théveneau de Morande and his scandalous career, which you write about?

Charles Théveneau de Morande was a minor criminal and pimp in France who blackmailed the King in the 1770s and made a great deal of money from doing so. He threatened to publish a biography of the King's mistress and having succeeded in blackmailing the monarchy, he became a secret agent in London before spying for the French foreign ministry. He then became a journalist and moved back to Paris during the revolution to defend the monarchy. Amazingly, despite all the bad things he'd done, he survived The Terror during the French revolution and died peacefully in bed!

Do you think the story of Morande is important for students to look at when studying the French revolution?

I think because he's got his fingers in so many pies he is a very interesting case study. One could study the revolution without ever chancing upon him. But if you want a page-turner of a book that deals with the importance of the public sphere to the revolution to the seedy sides of the enlightenment and royal court, it's for you! Most of all, I think it's a very valuable case study and I've tried to write the book in an accessible way so that you don't need to be a serious historian to read it.



How did writing this book differ to others you've worked on before? What did you learn from your previous work?

Each of my works has been very different. This was the first time I've attempted a biography so I wanted to write a rather different book - a continuous narrative. I talked long and hard with a literary agent to make it a page-turner and potentially attractive to film makers. I'm yet to chase the filmmakers.

Watch this space! how long did it take to complete the research and writing?

Darnton's lecture inspired me in 1989, so technically 21 years! Many of the things I've done in that time have been connected to my work so it was quite a slow process.

You described Morande as a mixture of James Bond, Dr Moriarty and Figaro, if your book was made into a film, what actor would you cast to play his role?

There is only one actor who can play Charles Théveneau de Morande and that's Gérard Depardieu!

Along with Morande, what historical figures would you like to compete with in an episode of 'Come Dine with Me'?

I'd have to have the cross-dresser Chevalier D'on. I think I'd stick with my own area and have Madame Du Barry (the King's mistress) round the table as well.

What will be your next project? Do you have any more books planned for the future?

I'm coming to the end of a very big project on the French book trade in enlightenment Europe which connects to all my other work. [The project uses data-base technology to map the French book trade]. It's taken 4 ½ years to complete but will be available next month for students to use. I'm also hoping to get a series of articles out on it before the end of the year and to start work on a book based on the project after Christmas.

Thank you for the insight into your work Simon and good luck with your future projects!



On this day in history... 27th October

On this day 1699 years ago it is accounted that Constantine the Great experienced his conversion to Christianity. The event was chronicled by two writers of the time: Eusebius and Lactantius. Lactantius' version of events suggests that Constantine was marching with his army towards the battle of Milvian bridge when he looked up into the sun and saw a cross of light, above it were the words "Εν Τούτῳ Νίκα", *En toutō nika* - which mean "In this sign, [you shall] conquer". This vision was the supposed cause of his conversion, although modern day historians have argued that his 'vision' was really just sunspots. Eusebius suggested that the night before the battle Constantine had a dream in which Christ explained Christianity and said that the sign should be used against his enemies. Many historians contest both accounts; however, it seems unimportant what actually caused his conversion, because his interpretation of events have shaped the way in which more than 2.1 billion people live their lives today. The importance of this event cannot be understated; this day in history represents the beginning of Christianity: the world's most widely-practiced religion'

- Imogen Naylor-Higgs

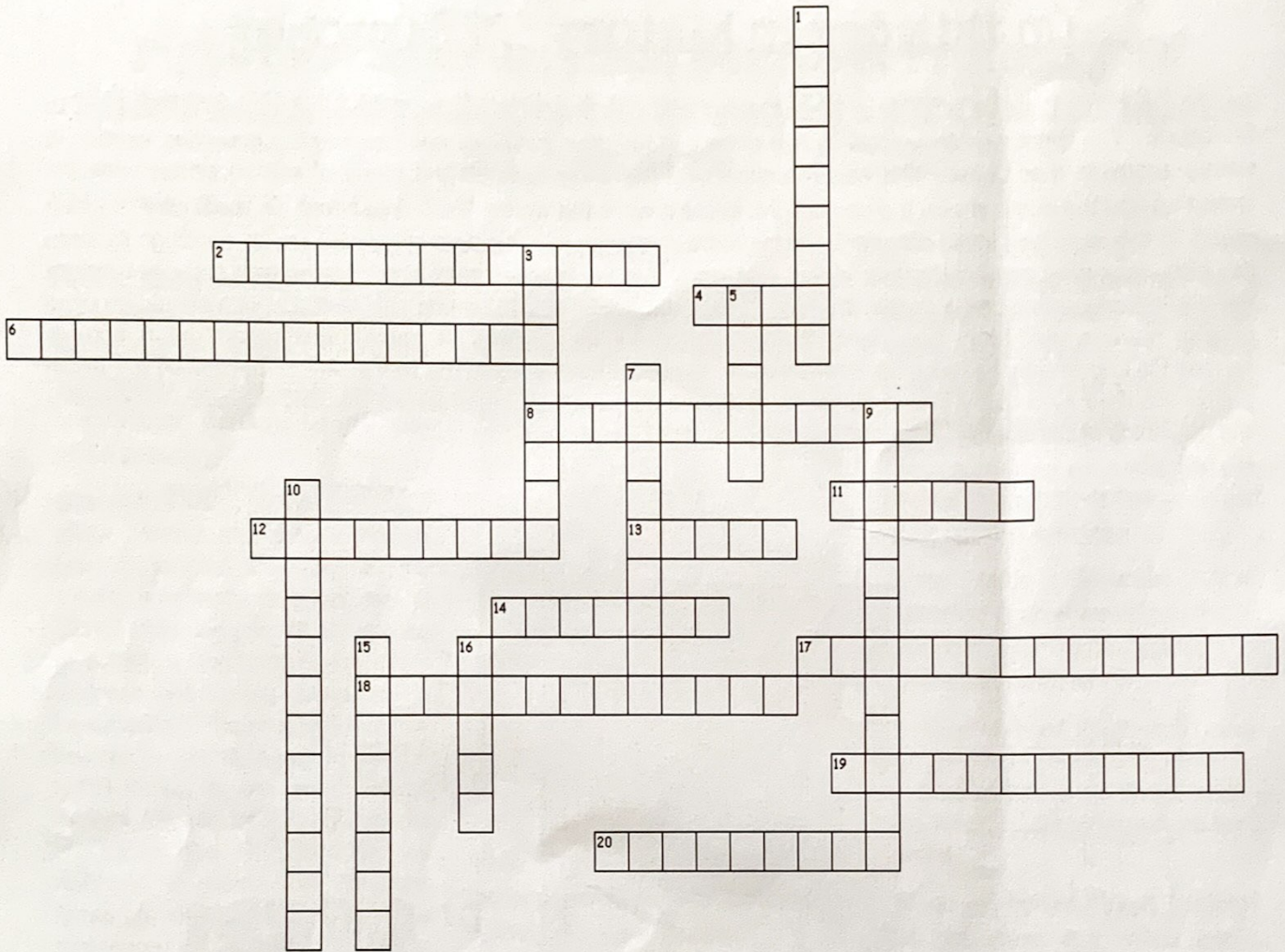
Lena's
Longboat
travels
in time to
Leeds 2011



A
NORDIC
NEWBIE
@ **LEEDS**
Uni



Drawn by Hannah Borverman
Coloured by Ric Crossley



Across:

- 2. Surviving wife of Henry VIII (9, 4)
- 4. First trademarked product (4)
- 6. Civil rights leader stabbed with a letter opener (6, 6, 4)
- 8. Study of humanity (12)
- 11. Invented instant coffee (6)
- 12. Organization founded by Lord Baden Powell (3, 6)
- 13. Island where the Ancient Greeks originated (5)
- 14. Civil war fought between 1936 and 1939 (7)
- 17. Creator of Black History month (6, 1, 7)
- 18. First and longest serving Prime Minister (6, 7)
- 19. Shortest reigning British monarch (4, 4, 5)
- 20. Secularised festival, Samhain (9)

Down:

- 1. Battle between the English and French in 1415 (9)
- 3. Hair style banned in China in 1911 (8)
- 5. Memphis, first capital of Ancient... (5)
- 7. Prime Minister who shared breakfast in bed with a parrot (8)
- 9. First country to issue postage stamps (5, 7)
- 10. Designer of the Crystal Palace (6, 6)
- 15. Country to have first Female Prime Minister (3, 5)
- 16. University founded in 1904 (5)

Across: 2. Catherine Parr, 4. Beer, 6. Martin Luther King, 8. Anthropology, 11. Nestle, 12. Boy Scouts, 13. Crete, 14. Spanish, 1. Carter G. Woodson, 18. Robert Walpole, 19. Lady Jane Grey, 20. Halloween
 Down: 1. Agincourt, 2. Pigeons, 5. Egypt, 7. Churchill, 9. Great Britain, 10. Joseph Paxton, 15. Sri Lanka, 16. Leeds



Hello from HistSoc

Thank you to everyone who has signed up this year - we've had a huge number of people joining online which is excellent, and we're hoping to build up a really good rapport and get everyone along to as many socials and events as possible so you can get to know as many people on the course as possible!

A big thing to look out for in our annual trip, This year we're going to AMSTERDAM! It's on the first weekend in December (Friday 2nd - Sunday 4th) and you can book online through the link on our Facebook page! The trip costs £118 which is a pretty fantastic deal as it includes travel, accommodation and club entry for the weekend. Places are filling up fast so make sure you sign up - it's going to be a big one!

Shortly after we get back we will be holding the infamous HistSoc Christmas Ball. It usually includes a three-course Christmas dinner, with drinks, a band, and a dancefloor where we can all get merry and throw some shapes in our gladrags! Tickets will be released nearer the time and we will hopefully be able to keep prices as low as possible.

Lastly, if anyone is interested in helping organize a social or an event, or thinks they might like to be on the Committee next year, please get in contact with us via Facebook or email us on historysociety@leeds.ac.uk and we will let you know how you can help.

*Love from,
The History Society x*

Meet the Interns

History's career interns...

...are here to: help, advise and let you know about opportunities in their field. If you're interested in a prospective career in teaching, law, politics, business or journalism, then check out their groups on the Portal and Facebook. They'll also be holding a career event in the near future, targeted specifically at history students.

Your School Rep

Who? Third year IHP student Jade Clark.

Why? I'm passionate about the wonderful history department at Leeds but there's always things to improve.

What? Better integration between History and IHP students, more personal tutor meetings and more active involvement for all students within their department. I am also here to be a source of advice and support

When? Weekly drop-in sessions

What now? Join 'School of History Representative 2011-12' on Facebook



The second came not much after, Mick Endsor's searching through ball split the ICS defence allowing John Hall to exquisitely chip the opposition keeper and give History a deserved 2-0 lead at half time. The second half saw more of the same; the History defence weathered early ICS pressure before substitutes Lewis Mackinnon and Harry Dodridge combined, with Harry nodding home a great cross from Lewis. The game was sealed soon after, Lewis again the provider, this time for Jamie Dickenson to head his cross into the top corner.

The second match was altogether different, History never found the same fluency in a game that was scrappy and dominated by a number of physical challenges. Soft defending from History allowed goals to be scored by Fobsoc either side of half time; but credit must go to History for their determination. Ten minutes from time, Ant Panayi's corner was met by Joe Delafield who leapt tallest to head into the top corner of the Fobsoc net. Ant again was involved in the second, his cross controlled by Owen Bradley who side-stepped a challenge and placed his shot past the keeper into the back of the net.

Match Reports

History FC made an unbeaten start to this season's Intra Mural 11-a-side football courtesy of a convincing 4-0 victory against ICS and a hard-fought 2-2 draw against Fobsoc. In the first game of the season History showed their class on the ball and were rewarded half-way through the first half when Joe Delafield pounced on a rebound from a spilt Jamie Dickinson free kick and tapped home with ease.

History dominated the final stages of the game and could have snatched a late winner but for some resolute and somewhat physical ICS defence, but a draw remained a good result and reflected a good comeback when past History sides would have capitulated. With three tough games coming up in succession, History must look to find the form of the first week and of last season which saw them reach both semi-finals last year -Mick Endsor



Graduate 22 and...

The Nokia tones sounds. "No, it can't be." It can't be 9am already. And it isn't. The alarm blinks 6:30am. Rise and shine, bright and early and all that jazz nowadays!

Ironed shirt. Check. Heels. Check. Specs. Check. Keys. Check. Pass. Check. Or - what one might term - reality. Check. I however prefer to call it déjà-vu. University being equivalent to the pause button on some kind of remote control convention, graduation marks a finger manoeuvre to the rewind key. Three years? I pull up into the car park checking my rear mirror one last time. Baffled.

The promise of a ticket to a stimulating, prosperous, and exciting career lost down the gutter along with the rain as it crashes off the windscreen. No more can the letters 'B.A' be mistaken for the 'ff' key providing a fast-track to 'the good bits'. But now placing the initials 'B' and 'A' after ones name presents nothing more than a hindrance - and a laughable one at that!

Experience...experience...experien-ce. Alas, I return to my desk surrounded by old faces and - with my old identity card back around my neck - resume exactly where I left life three years ago. Back to the 6am starts, the jammed motorway, and caffeine infused mornings - as opposed to the caffeine infused nights in front of the books! What a let-down you say? I beg to differ.

Despite all the unfulfilled promises 'graduation' did mark of a turning point. The only catch being the direction. For a moment the hands appeared to jerk forward. From the gown one day to the suit the next - waiting for the 19:08 National Express to London Kings Cross held the promise of change. The sweet smell of freedom was soon replaced by



claustrophobic palpitations that intensified with every signalling issue and tube closure. With every drop of excitement draining as the hands of my watch edged closer to the nine, realisation hit. This was just the beginning of a long line of train chases, missed buses, and bumps against the pavement. Needless to say a week later the dreaded message arrived in my inbox entitled 'Application Update', closely followed by the words 'we regret to tell you...'

My inbox has been spammed with words to those effects ever since! Thirty-seven applications, five interviews, and even two second-interviews later my feet are stuck firmly between the covers of *Catch-22*. Cliché or no cliché this has become reality.

While Sean Coughlan of the *BBC* reported a 'recovery' in the graduate job outlook earlier this year - with 200 UK employers revealing an 8.9% annual increase in graduate jobs - the competition for these positions is still intense. No longer does the acquisition of letters after ones name set one apart from the crowd. In fact, waving them in front of a potential employers face it's likely you'd be met with the "so what?" response... "so does every other Tom, Dick, & Harry."

I do not here wish to insinuate that holding a degree has already proved useless, pointless, or even worthless - especially a degree in History from *The University of Leeds*. I would now argue quite the contrary. The letters 'B.A' followed by the name 'Leeds' provides the all-important boarding pass to the interview room. However, harking on about your degree to the panel will not set you apart from every other candidate being interviewed. Each interviewer has appeared more interested in my previous work experience, positions of responsibility, and any voluntary work undertaken. None of my interviews have focused on my degree itself, but instead have encouraged the demonstration of skills developed - the so-called "transferable skills" - as a result.

Whilst it is difficult to maintain positivity and optimism in the graduate battle for jobs, I refuse to admit defeat. I do not believe that my university career was a waste of time by any means. But as a graduate - or a soon to be graduate - joining this battle, it is important to remember why you embarked on your university career in the first place. It has to be about passion. Nowadays, in the current graduate climate, this has to be your reason. And to this day I believe that there is no better place to do this than at *The University of Leeds*. Just make sure you take advantage of the opportunities Leeds opens to you (not just academic). Get involved!

I may be woken by the alarm bright and early tomorrow morning for yet another day in that all-too-familiar office: a desk covered in post-it notes and an inbox flooded with mundane requests; but at least it pays the bills; lends experience; and bides time till the next chapter of catch-22's

- Rachael Steer



Days of Infamy: the USA in World Affairs from Pearl Harbour to 9/11

This year sees two major anniversaries in the history of the United States. The first, that of the passing of a whole decade since the terrorist atrocities of September 11th 2001 was marked with utmost sombreness by a country still in mourning. Yet we should not allow what is surely the 21st century's greatest western tragedy to overshadow the anniversary of another horrific but momentous day in US history, for December 7th will mark the 70th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. These two days should not be viewed as discrete occurrences but as bookends of a period of US supremacy in world affairs: an era facilitated by one great outrage and closed by another.

As over 300 Imperial Japanese Naval aircraft set out to ambush the mighty US Pacific fleet at its base of Pearl Harbour, America was forced out of the elongated period of hibernation in world affairs it had endured since the presidency of Republican isolationist Harding. Thus the US that entered the most catastrophic global conflict of all time in 1941 was fresh-faced and able to assume its place as global hegemon in a time of political uncertainty. In this respect, America benefited greatly from the Second World War. As all corners of Europe were ravished by the seemingly unyielding Nazi war machine, the North American continent emerged comparatively socio-economically unscathed.

With the unconditional surrender of German forces in the early hours of 7th May 1945, the USA was perfectly placed to retain its wartime position as the leading defender of global liberty, as well as that of the foremost military power. Thereafter the Marshall Plan and NATO ensured the continuing loyalty of a war-torn continent to its transatlantic neighbor, such that even the disastrous events in Vietnam did little to mar America's front-line position in global affairs.

Yet such an era of American hegemony has now drawn abruptly to an end. The events of 9/11 and the ensuing war on terror have witnessed the transformation of the international system away from the stable bipolarity of the latter half of the twentieth century. In a time of global recession, and with having spent more than \$2,000bn on various counter-terrorist measures - including the unsanctioned invasion of Iraq in 2003 which harmed the US's reputation far more than the conflict in Vietnam - America can no longer hope to compete with the emerging military powers of China, North Korea and possibly Iran. The contemporary international system is one of multipolarity and there can be no place for an ideologically hypocritical world chairman.

Desert Island Discs - With Chairman Mao

HST: So, Chairman Mao imagine that you are marooned on a desert island, oceans away from global capitalism. If you could only take one song to play for eternity, what would it be, and why?

Mao: Katie Melua's "Nine Million Bicycles", as it echoes of the magnificent socio-cultural advancements made during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

HST: And if you only had room in your suitcase for one book to read, what would you choose?

Mao: Here in China, we believe there is only one great classic that can provide true enlightenment: "Quotations from Chairman Mao." All other literature is an outlet of bourgeois oppression, although I must admit to a partiality for "Pride and Prejudice"; you simply cannot beat a whimsical romantic ending.

HST: Finally, if you could invite any one person from history to accompany you on your enforced exile, just who exactly would it be? Karl Marx? Friedrich Engels?

Mao: No, I would summon the presence of Liu Shaoqui, my treacherous former Vice-Chairman. Marooned for eternity, we would have ample opportunity for that Capitalist-Roader to account for his counter-revolutionary ideals. And if we run out of food...

Colonel Gadaffi-Duck



Words by Alex Shaw
Cartoon by Ollie Buxton

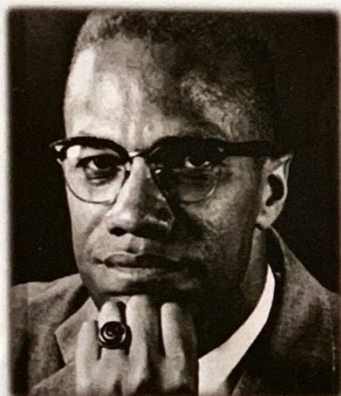


Black HISTORY MONTH

The Key Figures of the Civil Rights Movement

But Who Was the most influential?

Malcolm X



"I don't even call it violence when it's in self defense; I call it intelligence". Malcolm X was branded both radical and racist by contemporaries, and even now polarises popular opinion. Nonetheless, he remains a radical revolutionary of enormous significance, whose ideas powerfully articulated the frustration of urban African Americans. Indeed, Malcolm X's radicalism was vastly more appealing to the disillusioned black community than the concession-ridden policies of Washington and King who gave 'too much in return for too little'. Their misplaced reliance on the white political machine meant economic independence and self defence were fatally overlooked. More than anyone else, Malcolm X recognized the potential to reform a system that had hitherto frustrated any attempt at de facto black equality. The US press demonised

Malcolm X after his murder, but this obscures the reality: the personal tributes that were sent to him from around the world are far more representative of his huge achievement. Although too controversial for mass leadership the longevity and global resonance of Malcolm X's ideas are the real measure of his success.

-Patrick Allen

W.E.B. Dubois

Du-Bois is often criticised for being a man of words not action, but where does action come from if not words? Action does not instantly appear from nowhere, it needs ideas, arguments and reasoning. Du-Bois provided these for the civil rights movement and is thus its most important figure. It was Du-Bois works that lifted black hopes for equal rights. While Booker T. Washington was merely advocating submission and equality in some distant future, Du-Bois was the fiery soul and inspiration of the civil rights movement and without his works protests that led to real-life gains would almost certainly never have occurred.

- Rob Allen



Booker T. Washington



Booker T. Washington was an influential African American leader, particularly in terms of advancing social and economic rights. He founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881, in an attempt to improve levels of education amongst the black community, as he believed this would, in turn, increase levels of self-respect and self-belief. However, he was perhaps most famously remembered for making the Atlanta Speech, which catapulted him to leadership of the black community. This speech had an instant impact, leading to the Atlanta Compromise - which suggested that African Americans should reach an acceptable social, economic and political compromise with the South.

- Rachael Gillibrand



Marcus Garvey

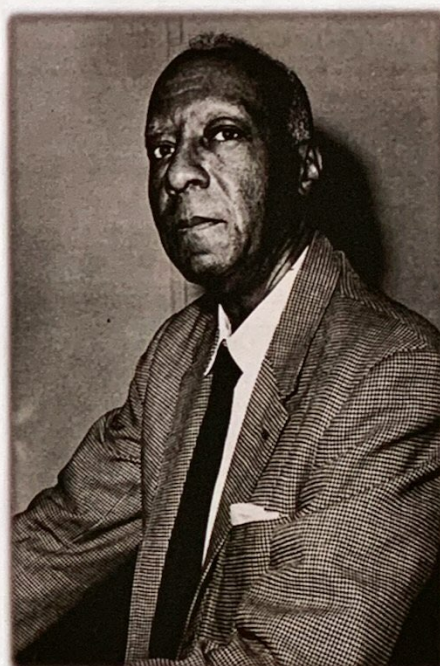
I believe Garvey should be given the title of 'Most Influential Black Historical Figure' because he promoted the return of Africans to their ancestral lands through the 'Back-to-Africa' campaign showing his love and dedication for both his homeland and his black origins. He was a publisher, journalist and entrepreneur with a strong influence in the Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanism movements. Garvey was highly important as he took a unique approach, working tirelessly to advance mass movement and economic empowerment in Africa. This approach became known as Garveyism - surely a term named after his methodology shows how important he really was?

-Bridget McClean

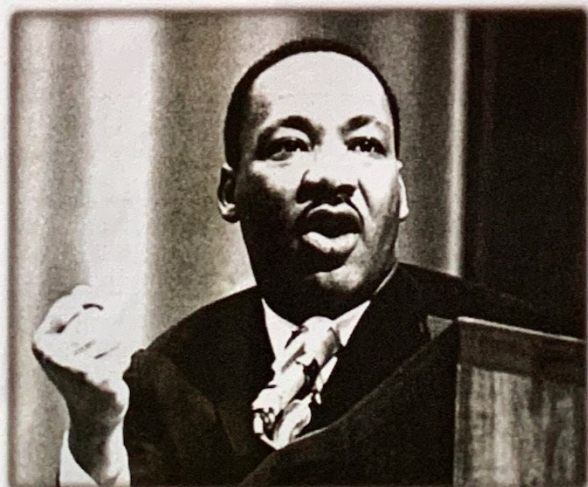
Philip Randolph

No figure can rival the contribution Philip Randolph made to the civil rights movement. From the creation of the magazine 'The Messenger,' to setting up the first predominantly black trade union, to leading the early march on Washington movement. These actions led to the concrete gains of the fair employment act and the banning of discrimination in armed forces. He was also a key figure in organizing the march on Washington for jobs and freedom, which helped to bring about the 1964 Civil Rights Act. His work in mobilizing the unions for this event was paramount to its success.

- Rob Allen



Dr Martin Luther King Jr.



Dr Martin Luther King Jr. is a figure of almost mythical renown, synonymous with the Civil Rights movement and crucial to its success. King's inspirational oratory and the 1963 March on Washington gave Civil Rights the national and international attention it needed to effect fundamental change. Unlike Garvey whose pageantry and ceremony were ridiculed, King's peaceful and respectful challenges to discrimination were credible and able to work alongside white power structures. The Civil Rights movement made progress in ways that Black Nationalism never could, gaining fundamental rights for African Americans and dealing a hammer blow to Jim Crow. King's leadership and the SCLC were valuable in the fight for equality, but it is his incredible power to inspire that separates King from other black leaders.

- Patrick Allen



"I do enthuse about this bloke"

Dr. Malcolm Chase on William Cuffay

As part of a series of colonial talks running during Black History Month Dr. Malcolm Chase enthuses and Katy Roscoe reports...

How could the odds be anymore stacked against someone? Born a disabled son of a former slave in eighteenth century industrial England. I'll tell you how - by becoming a staunch radical in favour of Chartism, a movement that threatened the very basis of political power by calling for enfranchisement of the non-propertied classes

According to the *Northern Star* Cuffay did not strike one as the usual radical leader: having 'a somewhat singular appearance, eccentricities of manner, and a habit of unregulated speech.' This made him the subject of much ridicule among the popular press; *The Times* called him 'a hunchbacked monkey.' But I'd suggest this reflects less a fear of the unconventional person and more the fear of unconventional ideas. Fear which ran so deeply it could only be expressed by mocking the physical person.

After being involved in, and usually secretary for, a number of trade unions and similar working rights organisations, Cuffay became a delegate for Chartism's national convention in April 1848 - the year that saw revolutions plague Europe left Britain trembling in the face of what was seen to be a revolutionary assembly in waiting. Chartism's support

among the general populace was so strong that the hinges of parliament had to be removed to get the bulk of paper of their mass petition into the House of Commons. But rather than let this petition be accompanied by a crowd of supporters, regiments of soldiers manoeuvred them away to the South Bank. This is the first time in history that the right to petition parliament in person had not been honoured - so strong was the fear of Chartism's influence. That night, Cuffay suffered a personal crisis on top of his professional one - having previously lost his job as a tailor, his wife now lost hers for being married to the famous Chartist William Cuffay.

As the government started a series of reforms, including restricting the right to assemble, and further emboldened by his personal losses, Cuffay lost his characteristically 'quiet manner.' The confederate of Chartists, of which he became secretary in August that year, planned a conspiracy by which they would cause enough unrest on the streets that the government would be forced to resign and reconsider the petition. This step to clandestine violence must have been made with a heavy heart, and it was a unwisely taken. There was a traitor in their midst and soon enough Cuffay had been accused of treason. On trail, the mole that had infiltrated their group, gave evidence that Cuffay and his wife taught him

how to cast bullets from typewriters and how to fill ginger beer bottles with nails so they could be thrown from windows. He later admitted that it was him that had taught Cuffay such tricks.

From his arrest through to his punishment Cuffay remained defiant. When he was arrested he interrupted the policeman reading him his rights, impatiently exclaiming, 'that's quite sufficient. I am a chartist, I understand.' During his trail he repeatedly demanded to have a jury of his peers - instead he was stuck with a jury of landowners, unsympathetic to his cause and prejudiced against him by overseeing previous guilty convictions. Sentenced to transportation to life he was sent to modern-day Tasmania. But this is not where this remarkable man's revolutionary vision ceased. Within one year he was chair at public meetings [despite his sentence banning such roles] and after being pardoned by the queen in 1856 he began campaigning for Tasmanian workers right to strike against the influx of criminal 'slave' labour from Britain. In 1876 he died in a workhouse in Tasmania. On his deathbed he said: 'I am old, I am poor, I am unemployed, I am in debt. Therefore I have a right to complain.' And so this extraordinary man fulfilled his tragic vow, one had made all the way back in 1842, "I will stand like a man to the last and die like a martyr

The Debate:

Should we apologise for our colonial past?

Yes, we should, says Josh Vugler

Why should we have to apologise? In recent years, the trend of political leaders apologising for the past sins of their countries has led to increasing criticism, particularly from right-wing commentators. In the Daily Telegraph, Nile Gardiner has argued that David Cameron's apology this April in Pakistan, where he accepted that Britain was responsible for many of the world's problems, particularly the situation in Kashmir, was a "highly regrettable mistake" that "humiliate[s] Britain on the world stage" and "diminishes her standing as a great nation".

Some would argue there is truth in these criticisms.

Certainly, an apology can only go so far to correcting a historical wrong. The conflict between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir region will hardly be solved by the words of a British prime minister. Many would further argue that such apologies are irrelevant and insincere, given the time that has progressed since the era of colonialism.

Jane Muthoni Mara would disagree. She is one of four elderly Kenyans, mostly in their eighties, who claim they were tortured by British colonial soldiers and officials during the Mau Mau insurgency in the 1950s. In July this year they won the right in court to sue the

British government for compensation. Their case continues to be disputed by the Foreign Office, which argues liability shifted to the Kenyan government upon independence in 1963. When they and others with first-hand experience of colonialism pass away, the link with this dark past will seem even further away – the same problem facing those that teach the Holocaust. Yet the legacy of colonialism should never be forgotten and can never be brushed aside. From the Americas to the Middle East, Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, its legacy lives on – and it is only right we apologise for what we have done.

No, we should not, argues Tom Sutcliffe

"Stop apologising for the things you've never done." So sang Paul Weller in The Jam's 'Town Called Malice'. Now, I'm not suggesting this was about the British Empire (it definitely wasn't) but it does get to the heart of the issue pretty well. Politics is the only area of life where people apologise for the actions of the long dead, largely because it makes for a good PR stunt. But apologies can't be meaningful unless they come from the perpetrator. The people at the top of the British Government today had about as much to do with colonialism as Weller himself. So any apology from them does nothing but show that they agree that imperialism

had its faults. Does this change anything? No. Instead they should concentrate on what they *can* do to improve things. Namely, by ensuring that people know the full truth about the empire and by continuing to give aid to the former colonies that need it.

More fundamentally apologising simplifies the issue. The average British person at the time suffered at the hands of the same elite who ran the empire. So are the descendants of the lower classes also entitled to an apology? Furthermore, there were some natives in the colonies who benefited from collaborating with the British. Even the average

inhabitant of colony did not *only* suffer at the hands of imperial Europe. European empires greatly improved the infrastructure of many nations by implementing strong civil services, railways and modern technology. That is not to say this 'makes up' for exploitation but it shouldn't be forgotten.

More than anything, it is simply impossible to apologise for everything that has happened all through history. If you go far back enough, every nation would probably end up apologising to everyone else, rather than learning from the past and moving on from it! Let's stop living in the past, and look to the future.



I Predict a Riot

I lived in London for five and a half years. In that time, I was mugged and had my phone stolen. But I never felt afraid the way I did on the night of Monday 8th August this year. London, for all that is said about it, is generally a safe place. That was the only time I have ever felt that it was not.

And it wasn't just me. All you had to do was to look at Facebook to see usually even-tempered friends calling for martial law and water cannons. As the Daily Mash put it, "people who own tagines found themselves calling for the deployment of the Parachute Regiment". But what's surprised me since the riots has been how fast they have faded from consciousness. Look at the recent party conference scene, and you could be forgiven for thinking that the riots were a minor inconvenience, a hiatus in the real business of bashing the opposition.

Why has this been so? My suspicion is that it's incomprehension. Politicos on both left and right fell back into their comfort zones when trying to explain the sudden breakdown of law and order. Ken Livingstone blamed "cuts [for] creat[ing] social division." David Cameron fell back into blaming moral decline, calling the riots "criminality pure and simple".

But none of these explanations addressed this question: how was it that no more than a few thousand kids managed to run rings around the police for two days? For all the draconian solutions proposed, it wasn't for lack of police firepower. In order to answer this, we rather need to ask not why some people did loot, but why didn't we all?



If someone asked me this I'd first answer, "You just don't, do you?" But this statement contains a load of assumptions. It's not socially acceptable in my peer group to do so; I have plenty to lose if I'm caught; and I have sufficient respect for the way society is ordered not to break the social contract that upholds it.

The riots were caused because enough people decided that this social contract wasn't in their interests, overstressing the resources we devote to catching the very small numbers of people who normally make this decision. The frightening thing about the riots was that they demonstrated just how few people need to decide that society isn't working for them for the thin barriers that hold it together to be breached. This didn't articulate itself as a protest-the shops smashed up and burnt were the ones near which most rioters lived, not the boutiques of Bond Street. The riots are better characterised as a mass outbreak of shoplifting than as a riot against someone or something.

As one of the rioters said: "[we've] got nothing to lose, so just go for it..." Do the rioters have individual responsibility for their actions? Of course they do. But blaming the riots solely on this is vastly oversimplistic. For thousands of people, at the same time, to feel that they have not enough to gain from sticking to the rules, there has to

be a culture of feeling that way and to create that takes years.

To look at how this culture was created, we have to look at the slow degradation of opportunity in London's poorer areas, the flipside of the rush of wealth to the top 10% that has been going on for the last 30 years. Since the early 1980s, 95% of the extra wealth generated has gone to just 5% of the population. Of itself, this wouldn't necessarily create a problem, except that the chances of someone from a similar background to most rioters- young, poor and unemployed - reaching this top 5% are next to zero. The UK has the second-worst social mobility, as defined by correlation between wealth of the parents and wealth of the children, in the western world. So, when you combine this with a culture which paradoxically says that you can and should have large amounts of disposable wealth to spend on luxury goods, you get a build up of frustration. Up until now this has been mostly directed internally- into feuds over control of the drug trade, for example. What happened in the riots was that this violence, this frustration was directed outwards.

So until something is done to reverse this polarisation of wealth and opportunity, to demonstrate that enough potential looters can get somewhere by playing by society's rules, the underlying culture which allowed to riots to happen will continue. This is not easy: this culture has taken years to take root, and will take just as long to correct. But if we allow this culture to continue, as I fear we will, then we'll see a lot more branches of JD Sports burning in the years to come. - John Latham

Amsterdam - a model for toleration?

Tracing and quantifying 'toleration' between groups and individuals has been a rather tricky conundrum throughout history. Indeed, toleration is the silent creeping figure compared to the entirely visible persecution; division and conflict has dominated historical documentation. It would be no overstatement to suggest that our history books are brimming with human division along religious, political, cultural, gender and countless other lines. But such a sweeping statement begs the question, what about so-called 'normal' life? What about the tolerant folk who put differences aside to simply 'get on' with their day-to-day lives?

Scholars define 'toleration' variously as an ideology, attitude, government policy or pattern of social behaviour. Could toleration merely be an absence of persecution? As, in the very act of tolerating, a dominant group defines its own beliefs as 'normal' and the tolerated as 'deviant'. Bearing in mind that the term's definition is by no means fixed, we can begin to see the flexibility of the concept, and how it has evolved in the European bastion of toleration, Amsterdam

The Dutch Republic (1581-1795) in contemporary writings, and historically to an extent, has been portrayed almost innately as a haven for toleration. The republic called itself Calvinist monoconfessional whilst organising itself along the lines of religious toleration, allowing Protestants, Catholics and Jews to reside within their territories. In Amsterdam, there was a quite reasonable economic rationale for this. One cloth manufacturer summed it up by saying it was highly necessary to attract foreigners as the republic was not self-sufficient and must draw new inhabitants or



be ruined. However, it would be rather inadequate to attribute such a peculiarly high level of toleration to mere economic convenience

Andrew Pettegree has advanced the argument that toleration was a weapon, which could be as ruthlessly and cynically deployed as a means to arbitrate religious and political power. For Pettegree, magistrates discovered that the defence of religious minorities was one way of challenging the orthodox ministers' claim to set the tone for the religious life of the nation. Whilst this argument certainly has its merits, it seems questionable that the forces of tolerance were *always* ruthless and cynical, as many of those who displayed tolerant behaviour never served in government. Moreover, the loudest and most insistent voices in favour of toleration came from those who held it as one of their core principles; like the Protestant Remonstrants, who did not benefit in the way Pettegree suggests. It seems Pettegree's rather over-ardent revisionism would take us from one extreme to the other; from an acceptance of genuine toleration to a dismissal of it altogether. Arguably, we must find a middle ground between these two extremes

The view that the Dutch, as a people, were innately tolerant needs debunking. It seems that the defining feature of the Dutch

solution was precisely a *generalised* picture of toleration, which had nothing to do with legislation. Unlegislated ambivalence with an impulse towards consensus (but not extreme of uncompromising unity), was deemed not merely necessary, but desirable in order to hold the still young, and rather fragile, republic together.

Walking the streets and along the canals of Amsterdam today, you are reminded of this heritage of toleration. Whilst religion and culture dominated in the early modern period, it has evolved into freedom and non-discrimination in the social, cultural and sexual spheres. Legalized cannabis smoking in the world famous 'coffee shops' are a key component to the general atmosphere of freedom the city exudes. The potential move to limit this practice to Dutch citizens will in all probability not come to fruition, as the policy is widely unpopular and faces stiff opposition from Amsterdam's mayor, Eberhard van der Laan, and the Maastricht city council. In terms of sexual freedom, the red light district and the openness with which prostitution is policed, makes it safer and is beneficial for all those involved.

It seems then that the almost sub-conscious toleration that was fostered during the birth of the Republic, has evolved over the centuries into our modern understanding of freedom in a multitude of contexts. As briefly discussed here, the model of Amsterdam should be one to aspire to. States around the globe; from the remaining islamo-fascist theocracies, to the 'civilised' West both need to take heed of the tolerant and egalitarian principles that the city embodies and advocates.

By Greg Clowes



Is Haworth History?

Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, published in 1847, will forever be an outstanding work of literature. Brontë's vivid and passionate depiction of the rough Yorkshire landscape immerses the reader in the story and its characters. The description of the stormy and unpredictable Yorkshire moors perfectly embodies the relationship between Cathy, the protagonist, and the troubled hero Heathcliff. Visiting the town of Haworth, where Emily Brontë wrote *Wuthering Heights*, I experienced for myself a town where literary history is still very much alive.

Pitched upon the craggy Yorkshire moors, Haworth is situated just a few miles outside of Leeds.

Even the journey to Haworth reminds me that there is life outside of the university campus. Once arriving in Keighley, I take the steam train to Haworth. It is fantastic that this mode of travel is still running, and I feel like I am in the nineteenth century, experiencing steam-powered rail travel for the first time, experiencing the ultimate Victorian symbol of democracy and improvement.

West Yorkshire was rapidly changing in the 19th century with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, and remnants of this time remain in both lively Leeds and sleepy Haworth. In the architecture of Leeds, epitomised in its town hall, Victorian pride resonates. Likewise in Haworth,

standing at the bottom of the steep main street, I could easily be standing in 2011 or 1811..

It is the literary and historical interest of Haworth which has, above all, preserved its charm, and the Brontë parsonage is preserved as a fascinating museum, in a perfect example of the way local initiative keeps history alive. The novel, whilst providing an illuminating historical insight into 19th century society, has powerful contemporary relevance in its social message; that love can be destructive and class precarious. This legacy survives in the landscape, architecture and most importantly, the literature.

- Charlotte Mashoudy

Glastonbury, Reading,... Jerusalem?

Festival season has now come to an end for another year; the irresistible combination of music, the great outdoors and plenty of alcohol. Oh, and camping in an ill-maintained field, with, shall we say, *interesting* sanitary arrangements and lots of mud. Eight hundred years ago the experience of the medieval crusader making war in the Holy Land was not too different. Exactly how similar are they?

Firstly, food and drink. The festival-goer, like the crusader, has to basically rely on what they can take with them or forage from the surrounding area. Foraging has come on from the days when crusaders had to pick up carob beans from the ground to supplement their basic diets; the festival-goer now has their pick of burger vans. Then, as now, the situation was better if

you had money. The crusader leaders, the celebrity 'glampers' of yesteryear in their own VIP encampments, were not short of wine

Next, let's consider sanitary arrangements. Portacabins are disgusting but they have got to be better than siege camps right? Well yes, probably. Next time you gingerly take a step into the blue box just consider the crusader who when trying to attend to some private business at some distance from the camp at Acre was surprised by a Muslim cavalry soldier. Luckily the crusader managed to grab his weapons and kill his foe, then presumably returned to his business. Never mind the risk of attack while your guard is down. The sanitary conditions in camp meant that rates of death from disease were just as high, if not higher, than deaths in combat.

If you did become ill or were

injured in a crusader camp you didn't have much chance of survival. As a twenty-first century festival-goer you have an arsenal of protection at your disposal; antibacterial gel, plasters and the help of St John's ambulance (continuing the work of its namesake the crusader order of St John of the Hospital, founded the eleventh century to care for sick pilgrims).

Even though the appeal of the crusade was religious, that doesn't mean that life in camp was without its pleasures. Parties and prostitutes were never scarce. It seems the sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll attitude wasn't just a product of the '60s!

So if you spent last summer, like I did, covered in mud and eating cold beans, recall fondly that you were a damn sight better off than the crusaders of yesteryear.

- Joanna Philips

Teddy Who?

Bryony Lawless wonders if the 'Age of the 'Student' is nearing its end.

Once again, Hyde Park's nostalgic terraced streets and ramshackle shop rows have wearily enveloped another rabble of 'practice' people. I am one of them. Somewhere amidst the cattle drive walk to uni, or the September-summer inspired carnival at Woodhouse Moor, the singularity and weirdness of student existence dawned upon me.

Much to the distaste of a few, Hyde Park and many other areas have become training grounds for youth only flirting with independence. We dabble in recycling, fret about finding the williest of deals, and nip out to buy forgotten milk. Yet this tentative step towards adulthood is tempered with the mild mayhem of student living; the house parties, the pre-night-out cashpoint queues, the abundance of takeaways, and cafés with cosmopolitan aspirations. It's a holiday park for overgrown children, complete with bike traffic, dressing up and sweetshops. Hyde Park fully exposes the mongrel of student: part teenager, part learner adult. Where the 1950's truly ushered in the 'teenager', I feel it is our generation which will be looked back upon as the shapers of the 'student'.



Our extended youth is both a hurrah to increased social mobility and access to education, and a matter of necessity. Jobs, if not dizzyingly competitive, are scarce. The property ladder a distant dream. Traditionally the childhood and teenage years ended when work has begun, and as this horizon becomes more elusive, so the boundary between adulthood and childhood becomes increasingly blurred.

Victorian child protection laws (which minimized child working hours) were the first definitive step to a reconceptualization of the child-adult. For many working class children these restrictions encouraged Oliver Twist style gangs and petty crime. Many sociologists cite this as the birth of the teenager as inherently anti-social, and anti-establishment. However it was the pioneer Teddy Boys of the fifties, who, with their general caddishness, rejection of their parents' beliefs and casual loitering, truly invented 'teenagers' as we know them.

The Mods and Rockers soon followed loudly (and occasionally rowdily) protesting their own independence. Yet while these popular youth icons may have been the inventors of teenage, we diverge from them in one crucial aspect: we live on borrowed money.

So sadly for our self-image: we are as much the descendent of the public school boy, whose parent-funded education grooms him for an upstanding life, as we are terrible imitators of retro teenagers. Most likely our 'enjoy it while you can' student life on steroids is a response to the silliness of our position. Because if we are paying for over-education with the certainty of debt and the likelihood of joblessness, at least we remember that time we.... Alas, just as the Teddy boys succumbed to marriage and 9-5s, we will head further into the city and the rat race, and fondly recall raucous midnight singsongs. This is no surprise to us, no one expects infinite student days, but few suspect that the modern day gang of Hyde Park's years may too be numbered. With legislation in motion to restrict anymore Houses of Multiple Occupancy being built, it appears that the student is not only youth culture's latest torchbearer, but also its latest victim to anti-youth sentiment.

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