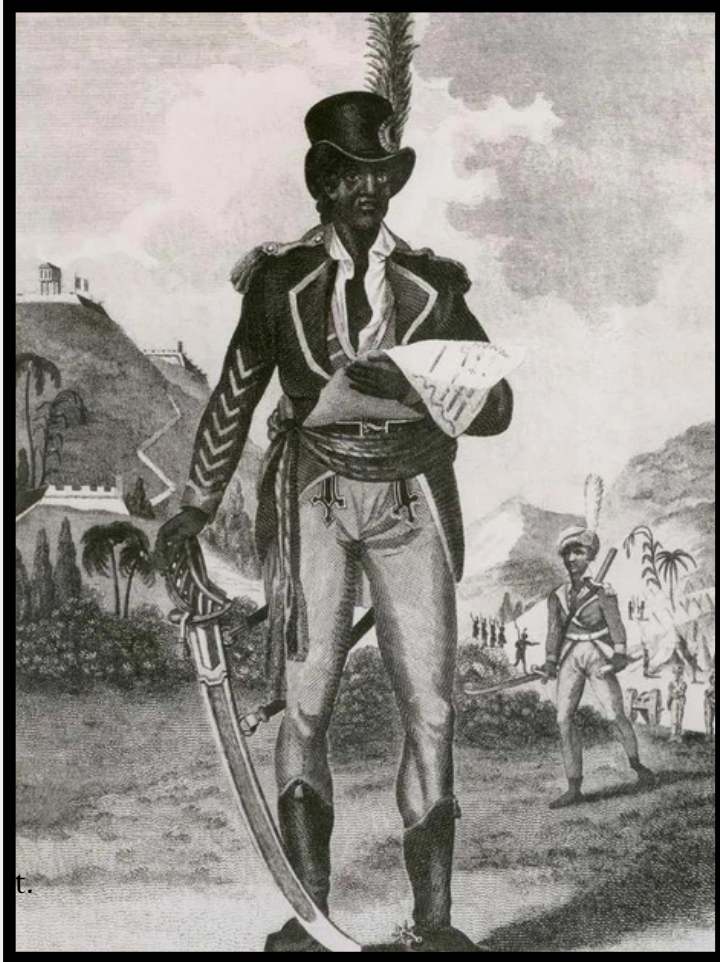


EMPIRE AND RACE



PREFACE

Since the 1990s, the ‘global turn’ in history represented a turning point in academia and society. Conferences, postgraduate programs and research centres began to approach the scale and narrative of history from a critical lens. This was termed ‘Global and Imperial history’, yet as Simon Potter argues, histories of empire may gain more by thinking in terms of a ‘connected history’.

By connected histories’, this grounds the history of empire and race into both global and local analytics. Imperial history can be traced by trade routes, financial flows and cultural impositions, as Jack Gallagher and Ronald Robinson had theorised in 1953. Yet it can also be analysed on the basis of a local idea in the periphery, a plant, a figure, or a ritual.

There is a need to maintain a critical eye to concepts such as ‘Empire’ and ‘Race’, despite the inflow of post-colonial and Global Historical studies in recent decades. Extending beyond economic domination, studies are focussing on the ‘scientific’ construction of race in the eighteenth-century, and how anatomy was seen to contain an inherent ‘blackness’ which categorises the global South. The mapping of colonial territories, ethnographic accounts and philosophical treatises on ‘modernity’, such as Montesquie’s *Spirit of the Laws*, reveals the history of the Empire and the emergence of racial theory as a complex, interdisciplinary phenomenon that has stretched across time and space. Historians can use these analyses to recover the voices of those who were suppressed, challenge the voices of colonial advocates, and reveal how these terms have shaped the national, cultural and political environment.

A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

DEAR READER,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the fourth issue of the UCL History Journal. This issue, in commemoration of African-American History month in the US, our articles discuss the issues of racial hierarchy, imperial domination, and racial resistance. In the United States, February is dedicated to African-American History Month, honouring the struggles of African-Americans throughout history.

The first half of the journal is dedicated to 'Race and Empire.' To begin with, Anouska Jha writes about natural history in colonial India, presenting a review of what constitutes 'natural history' as a discipline. Next, Yi Jie Teng provides a lengthy overview of the lasting impacts of Japanese imperialism in modern Japanese ultranationalism. Nishika Pishu Melwani also presents a memorable reflection on her personal recollections of 'empire' that she was taught in the education system.

Part 2 of the journal is a 'Writing Room' dedicated to voices from various writers of all years in UCL History. First, Jonas Lim presents a book review of the Russian writer Mikhail Bulgakov's 'Heart of a Dog', providing context on how the novel reflects the cultural policies of the early Soviet Union when Bulgakov wrote his book. Moreover, Euan Toh provides a detailed history of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, weaving a well-crafted narrative through his personal encounters with the martial art. Lastly, Lan Yao presents a review of Jewish Chess history in the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on how chess and star chess players played a role in shaping Jewish nationalism.

From serious tales of violence and oppression in the age of empires to personal stories that engage with our 21st-century memories of it, we hope this edition provokes you to challenge the way you thought about both 'empire' and 'race' before setting your eyes on these pages. Whether you're the type to enjoy a rigorously academic analysis of histories of the past or whether you prefer a keener engagement with present issues through a historical lens, or whether you're just stumbling upon this issue to find what our new first-years have got to say, I'm sure that you'll find something worth your time in this issue of the History Journal.

Anouska Jha & Jonas Lim, Editorial Officers

NATURAL HISTORY IN COLONIAL INDIA

Anouska Jha (Third year)

What you see in the painting below, created by James Fraser's 1814 'Views of Calcutta and Its Environs', is a serene depiction of the River Hugli tracing along the lower banks. The Hugli is significant as it was where the Portuguese in the 16th century navigated to connect Calcutta to the Indian Ocean trade. It was also the site of the commercial establishment of the East India Company. In the horizon lies the Platia of the city of Calcutta, the residence of European elites and Nawab Shah, who settled here after his removal from the throne in Lucknow. The foggy hue of the Calcutta sky overlooks the colonial vessels docked at the banks, and on the left lies the Calcutta Botanical Garden, established by Robert Kidd in 1786 with the aim of cultivating tea and cotton. If we had a panorama of this painting, we would also witness a beautiful marble building situated in the Garden, housing the superintendent William Roxberg from 1793. Roxburg initially had a posting in another garden on the east coast of India, to cultivate spices such as cloves and nutmegs, and it was the site of the EIC.



Yet the gardens in Calcutta were not a singular phenomenon. Further south of India in the region of Tranquebar, Danish settlements immersed themselves in Tamil texts to construct a garden that was both embedded in nature and exploitable for trade. What this reveals is the global heritage of British natural history, an argument which Pratik Chakrabarti makes as essential to understanding the wider inflections on the development of scientific knowledge.

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

The gardens had a dual purpose. They were grounds of natural cultivation, but also plantations. Often, the plantation of economic botany, and gardens, are inseparable. What may have begun as a georgic pursuit in the Calcutta Avenue of Palms expanded into plantation practice with the same specimens, across the West Indies. A closer analysis of the written and natural archival records reveal that in each colonial location, Englishmen encountered nature differently to their own gardening practices in Europe. Material, social and cultural factors shaped this geographic embodiment and extraction, suggesting that colonial natural history itself reveals insights into the political and intellectual power dynamics which shaped Britain's natural history heritage.

What is natural history? The answer is complex. Scholars have detailed the taxonomy of Indian and American natural history to determine the intricate classificatory systems that define them. The empiricism of natural philosophy in the seventeenth century, established by thinkers such as Rene Descartes and John Ray, shifted the discourse of nature largely from a teleological, philosophical description, to explanations based on methods of observation. Yet, the natural and the historical are closely interlinked. Whilst 'Natural' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially after the binomial taxonomic system established by Carl Linneaus in his 1735 *Systema Naturae*, implied an empirical and secular classification of nature, 'historical' suggests an evolutionary, non-impartial epistemology that shaped european encounters with nature. The collection of specific plants such as Maccary Bitter and Ipecacuanha (an emetic) in Brazil, reveal that collectors such as Carl Peter Thunberg generalised natural specimens that came from colonial regions. The Ipecacuanha was not only a South American emetic, but was now ascribed to Indian plants that displayed the same emetic properties. The fluid material culture that exists in the global empire conflicted with the observational impulse of natural history, losing various elements in the process.

This article began with a depiction of a singular garden, gradually focusing onto singular botanical specimens. Yet the message is reinforced through this particular lens of analysis. 'Nature' is not separate from 'History'. The natural worlds of colonial India and America were of one origin, subjected to the chords of scientific and political power of the East India Company. The emphasis on a secular, experimental natural philosophical method could not be applied wholly in colonial settings, where the global heritage of British natural history was shaped largely by these predetermined, ideological claims to the natural world.

THE ORIGINS OF JAPANESE ULTRANATIONALISM

Teng Yi Jie (Second Year)

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

CONTENT WARNING: This article contains sensitive content pertaining to atrocities committed by the Japanese Empire, though not at great length or detail.

The legacy of Japanese imperialism in East Asia remains a contentious issue to the present day. At its greatest extent, the Empire of Japan spanned across the Asian continent, from the tropical jungles of Burma to the frigid steppe of Northeast China. Although nationalists in Japan, Korea and China hold opposing attitudes towards the interpretation of Japan's imperialist history, it nevertheless occupies an important place in the histories and contemporary politics of each nation. Furthermore, its impact is complicated by the effect it had on fostering nationalist independent movements throughout Southeast Asia, much of which had fallen under Western colonial empires by the 20th Century. Virtually every nation in East and Southeast Asia was affected either directly or indirectly by Japanese military expansion. Why Japan sought to expand its territorial borders, and the ways in which it subsumed the European model of imperialism as a core aspect of its state ideology can be traced back to the inception of the modern Japanese state as a political entity.

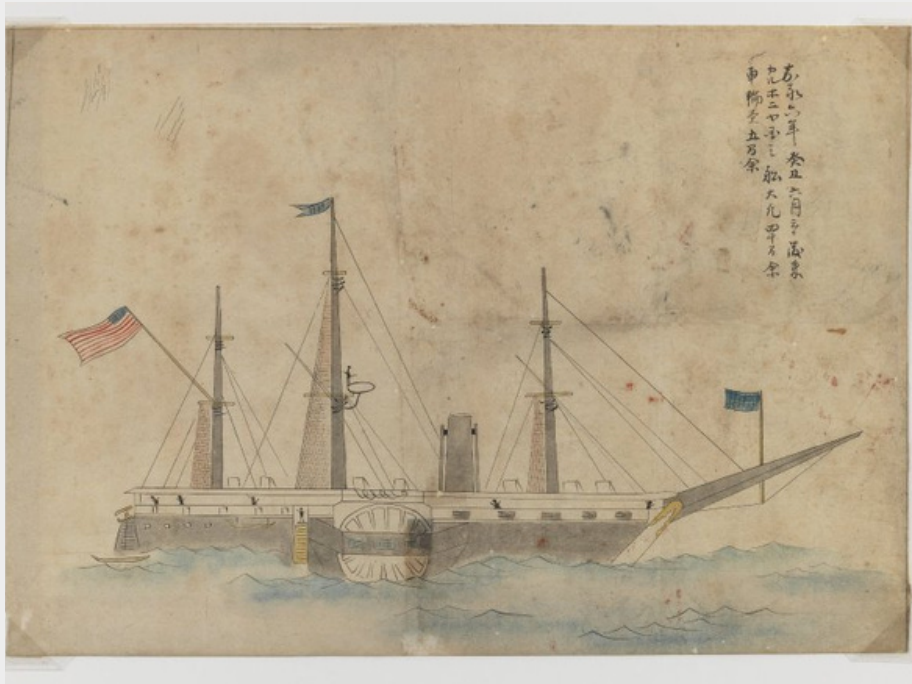
The Tokugawa Shogunate

Japan's late-19th century transition from the feudal government of the Tokugawa Shogunate to a European-inspired constitutional monarchy remains one of the most rapid and drastic transformations in the history of nation states. Amidst the backdrop of renewed European imperialism in Asia, Japanese nationalists foresaw the urgent need to industrialize and achieve social, military and economic modernity along western lines. However, within this process laid seeds which would eventually bear fruit to the militaristic and imperialistic tendencies that saw Japan, along with much of Asia, plunged into war and devastation. In order to comprehend the origins of the totalitarian military dictatorship which seized control of the Japanese state by the 1930s, the process of Japan's emergence from its centuries long isolation must be understood.

By 1854, Japan had been under the rule of the Tokugawa family for over two and half centuries. Centuries of civil war and a failed invasion of China through the Korean peninsula had culminated in the consolidation of the country in 1603 under the military junta known as the Tokugawa Shogunate. Although a military dictatorship in practice, the dictator, or Shogun, was de jure subordinate to the Japanese Emperor, whose name the Shogun officially ruled in. Under the leadership of the new Shogun, Japan as a whole would soon adopt the policy of 'Sakoku'. Save for limited trade at designated treaty ports, Japan would remain virtually isolated from all foreign relations for the next two centuries; subjects of the Shogunate were banned from leaving the country on pain of death, whilst foreigners who attempted to enter the country faced the same penalty.

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

Japan was in for a rude awakening on the 8th of July, 1853. A fleet of US Navy ships led by Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Edo Bay, the archaic name for modern-day Tokyo Bay, and refused orders by the Japanese to leave for the treaty ports. The technological superiority of the American ships and the threat of violence by Commodore Perry should he be refused eventually intimidated Japanese authorities into permitting a landing party to submit the fleet's demands to the Shogunate. The Americans put forth a simple ultimatum, yet it was one which threatened to upend a centuries-old order which had governed Japan. Within a year, Commodore Perry would return and expect the Shogun and his government to open Japan to commercial activity with the United States and establish diplomatic relations. At a glance, these demands may not have appeared excessive, but were significant in paving the way for subsequent unequal treaties to be forced upon Japan; extraterritorial rights for foreigners and a loss of autonomy over trade policy appeared almost as preludes to further incursions into the sovereignty of Japan. European powers soon followed suit, arriving en masse to sign treaties of commerce with the Shogun's government.



Commodore Matthew Perry's "Black Ship", Unknown Author, Between 1860 and 1900, Brooklyn Museum

For decades leading into the 19th century, the Tokugawa family's grip on power was becoming ever more tenuous. Social discontent amongst the peasantry and samurai classes, in addition to mounting debt crises threatened the legitimacy of the ruling establishment. Furthermore, Japan's economy was ill-equipped to deal with the sudden influx of foreign trade. Inexpensive foreign manufactures flooded into Japan's economy, overrunning domestic producers, whilst foreign traders exploited the price differential of gold between Japan and China for easy profit, causing a large outflow of the gold supply and wreaking havoc on the domestic currency.

Imperial Restoration

Amidst this instability, ambitious upstarts from the feudal domains of Choshu and Satsuma, motivated by nationalism and the perceived weakness of the Shogunate, plotted to overthrow the existing regime. In 1868, civil war began between the rebellious lords and the Shogunate's loyalists. Unlike prior spats between feuding lords, the rebels had this time managed to gain the direct and overt support of the emperor in Kyoto, promising to restore him to direct authority over the entire country in exchange for his blessing. Victory came quickly for the imperial faction, with the imperial rule restored to the country after just over a year of fighting.

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

From this point, the rebels were faced with the daunting task of constructing the new Japanese state. A new imperial government with Emperor Mutsuhito at its head was formed, and the start of the new era, Meiji, was proclaimed, which was to herald momentous change for the country. Imperial reformers went to great lengths to adopt what they perceived to be the best institutional practices available abroad. After all, how else could Japan hope to withstand the encroachment of a technologically and materially superior enemy, if it remained poor and unindustrialised? In 1871, a team of Japanese bureaucrats and scholars embarked upon what became dubbed the Iwakura Mission, which saw them travel the world to observe the political, economic, military, and educational systems which existed in the industrialised nations of the west. Simultaneously, thousands of foreign subject matter experts were hired by the Japanese government to aid as advisors in the modernisation drive. These European and North American experts would play a vital role in reshaping the public and private sectors of the Japanese economy, as well as imparting their knowledge in crafting effective state institutions. The rallying cry around which a new era would be built was 'Fukoku Kyohei', or a rich country and a strong military; the latter, desperately needed to fend off western encroachment, could not exist without the former.



The 'Choshu Five', 1863, Unknown Photographer

The Choshu Five were the first Japanese students to study abroad in the West. They were enrolled at the University College London, and would later be considered the 'founding fathers' of modern Japan.

Coinciding with the modernisation drive, a more insidious aspect of European modernity had also begun to take hold. Western models of nation-building had invariably imparted upon Japanese reformers a distinct perception of what constituted modernity. In particular, the impression that foreign expansion and the establishment of colonies abroad was of vital importance to achieving the status of 'modernity' became a major influence on Japanese strategic thinking. Although Japan's history had shown that it was no stranger to foreign entanglements and incursions into its neighbouring countries, the total economic, political, and cultural subjugation of a colonized periphery in order to fuel the economic and industrial development of the imperial metropole was a relatively novel concept. An 1885 article published in the newspaper *Jiji Shimpō*, commonly attributed to Keio University founder Fukuzawa Yukichi, argued that Japan needed to 'leave Asia' and embrace Europe. China and Korea were languishing and suffering in the face of foreign aggression due to their refusal to relinquish their traditions and outmoded ways of governance; only through embracing the customs and behaviours of the west could Japan save itself from being relegated to a semi-peripheral status as China had been.

The Empire Expands

The nascent Imperial Japanese military had by this point already undertaken tentative expeditions to the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan, annexing the former into its empire and gaining financial concessions from Qing China in exchange for its withdrawal from the latter. Such military adventurism abroad proved only the beginnings of a greater project by Japan to carve up a sphere of influence of its own within East Asia. Long coveting Korea as a foothold into the Asian mainland, Japan had been drawn into a power struggle with China to exert its influence over the peninsula. Tensions between the two Asian giants came to a head in 1894, when a dispute over troop deployment by Chinese troops to put down a peasant rebellion at the behest of the Korean government led to the eruption of hostilities.

By all metrics, the Chinese possessed the superior military force, and most western observers expected Japan to be crushed swiftly by the Qing Empire's newly modernised navy and army. In defiance of all expectations, the as-of-yet untested Imperial Japanese Navy inflicted a decisive defeat upon Chinese forces in the Battle of the Yalu River, sinking multiple Chinese ships and forcing the survivors to beat a hasty retreat. Chinese defeat at sea opened the way for an incursion on land; Japanese troops began simultaneous offensives onto Chinese soil, advancing north from Korea into Manchuria, while also landing forces in the Shandong peninsula. By early 1895, Japanese forces appeared poised for an attack on the Chinese capital of Beijing, forcing the Qing court to sue for peace. The subsequent peace treaty saw significant financial and territorial concessions from China. Qing China was to give financial reparations to Japan to cover the costs of the war, provide special commercial privileges to Japan, and cede the territories of Liaodong and Taiwan. For the first time in recent history, an Asian power was imposing unequal treaties upon another, and the role of China as the regional hegemon had been usurped.



Battle of the Yalu River, Kobayashi Kiyochika, October 1894, British Library Digital collections

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

The Imperial Japanese Army had taken significant casualties in their battles with Russian troops in Manchuria, and the cost of funding war had thrown placed severe strain on Japanese finances. At this point, though severely wounded, the Russia Empire had yet to call upon its military reserves, and was well positioned to fight out a land war of attrition with the Japanese, which would surely spell doom for the exhausted Japanese Army. This reality was conveniently concealed from the Japanese public, fostering a widespread perception that Japan had been cheated out of its rightful spoils.

What I have illustrated thus far was the emergence of a trend which would characterise much of Imperial Japan's later interactions with the western world. As a participant to the First World War on the side of the victorious Entente, Japan was afforded a seat at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, presiding over the formation of the League of Nations. Former German colonies in China were handed over the Japan, much to the fury of Chinese nationalists, who had expected their return to China in exchange for its assistance in the conflict. In spite of these apparent victories for the Japanese, several developments would further drive a wedge between Japan and the west. The Japanese delegation insisted that the new League of Nations include a racial equality clause, enshrining equality between all ethnicities of the world as one of its founding values. This proposal was vetoed by the Australian delegation, while the Americans, led by US president Woodrow Wilson, refused to intervene on Japan's behalf. In 1921, the Anglo-Japanese alliance signed in 1902 was due to be renewed, but Britain's newfound reliance on its erstwhile North American colony saw it hesitant to continue the alliance, fearing that such a move would damage relations with the United States. Instead, the Four-Power Treaty, alongside the Washington Naval Treaty would be signed that year, assigning limits to the construction of warships between the participating nations. The Japanese delegation would again leave negotiations with the other great powers with the perception of having been snubbed due to its racial differences with the west.

The 1920s would prove to be a tumultuous period for Japanese relations with the western powers. In 1924, the United States passed the National Origins Act in an attempt to stem immigration from non-white countries through the assignment of annual quotas on immigration from countries around the world. The treaty was particularly harsh in staunching the influx of migrants from Asia, and Japan was no exception to this. The move further antagonized relations with Japan, where it was seen it as a flagrant insult to the nation's international standing. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 saw further deterioration of relations with the west, and particularly the United States. In an attempt to insulate its struggling domestic industries from foreign competition, the US government passed the Smoot-Hawley tariff act of 1930. The ensuing trade war devastated Japanese exports, which had been heavily reliant on the sales of silk manufactures abroad prior to the Depression. The Great War had proven that modern wars were fought as much on the production line as they were on the battlefield; if Japan's economic life was at the mercy of foreign developments, militarists argued, then it might as well be hostage to the whims of the global economy, which was in turn dominated by the machinations of the west. If Japan was to survive in what was seen to be an inimically hostile world, it was necessary to seize the means to economic self-sufficiency, first from its neighbour China, and then from the Southeast Asian colonies.

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

Nevertheless, Japan would continue to face hurdles against its colonial ambitions. Anxious over the growing influence of Japan in what it hoped would be its future colonial frontier, Imperial Russia convinced Germany and France to mount a diplomatic intervention in April of 1895 to prevent the handover of the Liaodong peninsula to Japan. Wary of gaining the ire of three European empires simultaneously and short on diplomatic allies, Japan was forced to concede to their will. Shortly after forcing Japan out of the vicinity of Manchuria and Northern China, Russia moved in to occupy the Liaodong Peninsula, while Germany gained territorial and commercial concessions in nearby Shandong. To Japanese leaders, the intervention had been nothing more than a cynical attempt by the European powers to pre-empt the rise of Japan, utilizing the pretext of protecting Chinese sovereignty to advance their own colonial ambitions.

Resentment towards real and perceived western condescension would only continue to fester amongst the Japanese elite for decades to come. Although Japan would continue to forge alliances with western powers, signing a military alliance with Great Britain in 1902, and joining the First World War on the side of the Entente, the sense that Japan was barred from being treated as a first-rate nation would be a constant source of irritation and humiliation for Japanese nationalists. In 1904, existing tensions between Japan and Russia over influence in Manchuria escalated into full-scale war. Japan would once more shock the world by soundly defeating the Russian Empire, destroying both the Pacific and Baltic Fleets of the Imperial Russian Navy. For some pan-Asianists and anti-colonial resistance movements, this victory was seen as a blow to the perception of European invincibility and white superiority. Sun Yat-Sen, a leading Chinese revolutionary and future founder of the Republic of China, proclaimed the result of the war as a victory not merely for Japan but of all Asians.



Japan would once more encounter resistance to its aims at the negotiating table. Keen to avoid a total humiliation for the Russians, US President Theodore Roosevelt, who played the role of mediator between Russia and Japan, supported the Russians in their refusal to pay financial indemnities. This incensed the Japanese delegation, but they were eventually compelled to accept the terms of the treaty regardless, as Japan was in a more precarious position than would appear at a glance.

Imperial Japanese Navy attacks Russian warships at Port Arthur, Torajiro Kosai, 1904. Library of Congress

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

Ultrationalism, Militarism and the Demise of Empire

At this point, the civilian government, which had long existed under the auspices of the military, lost much of its credibility in the eyes of the Japanese public. Seen as having failed to stand up against the west's intimidation and associated with the corruption of large capitalist oligopolies, the government was unable to rein in the expansionary impulses of the military any longer. The subsequent years of the 1930s saw the increasing exertion of military influence on the civilian cabinet. Politicians who were seen as too weak to fight for Japan's interests on the international stage were often assassinated, most frequently by sympathizers of the radical 'Imperial Way' faction of the Imperial Japanese Army.



Given the autonomy to essentially execute a foreign policy independent of the government, the Imperial Japanese military saw itself embroiled in ever more frequent foreign excursions. Resentment against European and American global hegemony boiled over into a zealous hatred and a self-righteous conviction that Japan's destiny was to fight a holy war for against the western world. Japan seized Manchuria in 1931, starting a low intensity conflict with China which broke out into a full-scale invasion of China proper in 1937, finally declaring war on the United States its western allies in 1941.

Imperial Japanese Naval Infantry at the Battle of Shanghai, 1937

The consequences of Japanese militarism and ultrationalism were to be devastating not only for Japan itself, but for its East and Southeast Asian neighbours. Odd Arne Westad estimates that between 15 to 20 million Chinese died as a result of the Japanese invasion (Westad, 2003), while Andrew Gordon puts the Japanese death toll at approximately 2.5 million (Gordon, 2003). Numerous atrocities and war crimes were committed by Japanese forces, including but not limited to the mass rape and murder of civilians following the Battle of Nanking in 1937, torture, mistreatment, and execution of Prisoners of War, the industrial scale of sexual slavery inflicted upon women that came under Japanese rule throughout Asia, and the use of civilians as human shields against advancing Allied troops towards the war's end. The horrors inflicted by the Japanese military were so of such magnitude and cruelty that they continued to shape the collective memories of societies for generations to come.

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL

Imperial Legacy and Contemporary Perceptions

Why is the legacy of Japan's decades of imperialism so significant? Most crucially, the lack of a genuine attempt at reconciliation with its neighbours and wartime foes continues to be a source of friction in the international relations of Japan. Although a post-war purge of ultranationalists and militarists deemed guilty of perpetration wars of aggression was conducted by the occupying American authorities during the immediate aftermath of the war, the victory of Chinese Communists in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, as well as the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, heightened fears about the spread of Communism in East Asia put a quick stop to this process. Raising Japan as a bulwark against Communism took precedence as war criminals were given blanket pardons in exchange for their cooperation with the new American-backed regime, and infamous figures who played a direct role in the execution of atrocities throughout Japan's empire were given positions of governance. The late Japanese ex-prime minister, Abe Shinzo, was a particularly controversial figure outside of Japan for his ties to far-right Japanese groups who deny the perpetration of atrocities by the Japanese Empire, whilst his grandfather Kishi Nobusuke, dubbed the 'Monster of Manchuria', faced little repercussion for his crimes, returning to politics in the 1950s to serve as Japan's prime minister from 1957 to 1960.

Japanese memory of the war is not a positive one, but it nevertheless continues to be depicted from a position of victimhood; the firebombing of Tokyo and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were undoubtedly horrific atrocities committed by the Allied Forces, but in no way exonerate nor absolve Japanese nationalists of the barbarism committed in the name of imperial expansion. Similarly, Japan's gradual transition from the conservative nationalism of the Meiji era to the fanatical ultranationalism of the 1930s and 40s was in part driven by its perceived grievances with regard to the failure of western nations to treat it as an equal on the international stage. Whilst it is undoubtedly true that the treatment of Japan by European and North American countries was driven in large part by anti-Asian racism and notions of racial hierarchy, this was merely exploited as a convenient pretext for furthering the aims of the Japanese military and industrial elite to subjugate Asia in the interests of Japanese racial and economic supremacism. The Pacific War was and continues to be extolled by Japanese nationalists as a war of liberation for Asia against European colonialism; the grip of European colonial empires over Southeast Asia was indeed fatally crippled by the Second World War, but it had only accelerated what was an emerging trend of anti-colonial resistance movements in Southeast Asia (Loh Wei Leng, 2007). That there was a correlation between Japanese military involvement in the region and the demise of European empire must not be misconstrued for any altruistic motive on the part of the ultranationalist leaders in Japan

UCL HISTORY JOURNAL



On a more personal note, during a trip to Osaka in 2019, I happened to visit the Osaka International Peace Center, a museum dedicated to the remembrance and commiseration of the Second World War. As I toured the exhibits, I couldn't help but notice that there was no mention of the role played by the militaristic ideology in driving Japan towards total war. Instead, the bulk of the signboards were devoted to covering the extent in which the war had devastated the Japanese home islands, as well as the number of Japanese civilians and troops who had perished.

Osaka International Peace Center, 2011

A quick search of the museum's controversial history online would reveal that it was embroiled in criticism from right-wing nationalists who saw the original exhibits' depiction of Japanese aggression as a fabrication meant to smear Japan's national reputation. Under pressure from nationalist political groups, the museum was forced to remove the offending elements in favour of a narrative which was deemed to be more palatable. Although Japan has since the war's end seemingly embraced a diplomatic outlook based upon liberal internationalism and peaceful cooperation, persistent undercurrents of ultranationalist proclivities in Japanese politics nevertheless continue to be troubling. The potential for the fomenting of misunderstandings and conflict remains, and the multigenerational trauma arising from its wartime acts will remain unresolved without an earnest drive from Japanese political elites to confront this history with a genuine desire for reconciliation with its neighbours.

Sources:

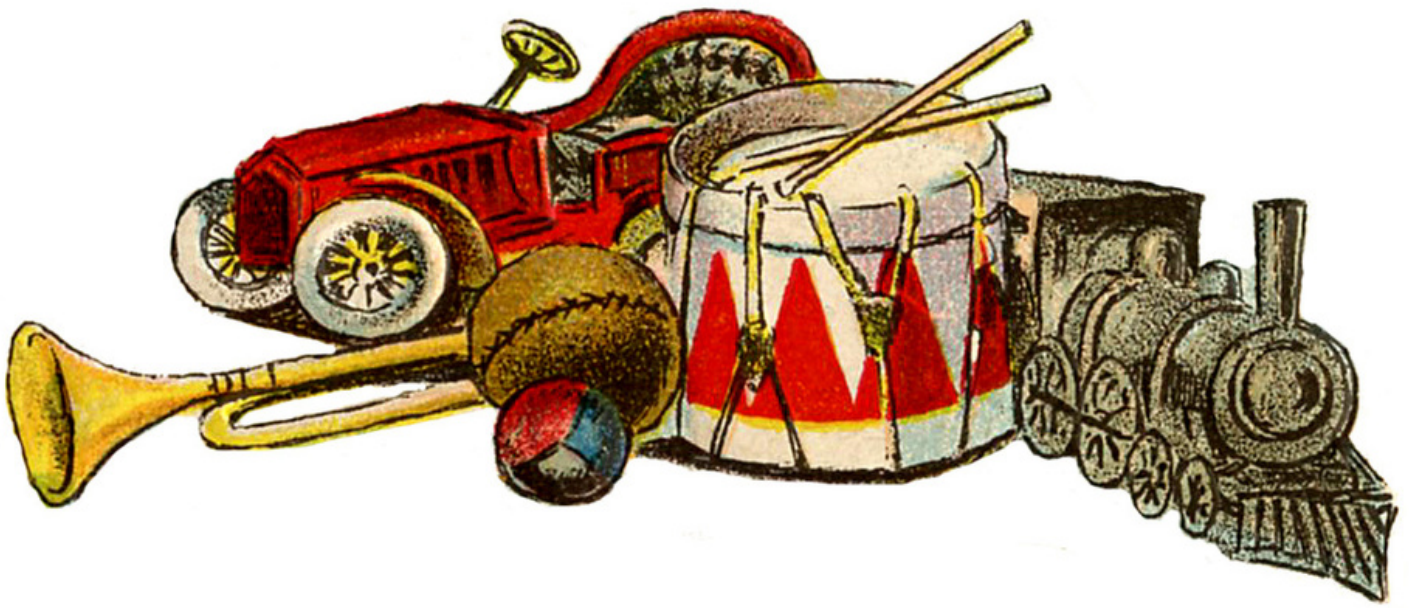
Andrew Gordon, 'A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present', 3rd Ed, 2013

Odd Arne Westad, 'Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950', 2003

Loh Wei Leng, Review of 'Reflections on Southeast Asian History Since 1945, by Richard Mason and Abu Talib Ahmad, 2007

THE FORGOTTEN EMPIRE

Nishika Pishu Melwani (Third Year)



Despite being born on an island that was (briefly) colonized by Britain during the 19th century, and not-so-briefly colonized by a bunch of other European countries throughout its history, I've spent most of my life in the land of the colonizer a.k.a Britain; Having moved to England when I was 8, I was blissfully unaware of colonialism and its implications. Problem is, that 'blissful unawareness' quickly turned into ignorance the older that I got.

You see, the national curriculum genuinely makes no attempt at teaching children about Britain's rampant imperialism. Ultimately, this meant that I remained uneducated until I actively searched for resources myself.

One fact that I've very recently learnt is that, at its height, Britain's empire ruled over roughly 458 million people. Surely that's a statistic that every kid

going through the UK's education system should, at the very least, be aware of?

Unfortunately for us, that wouldn't fit with the narrative of nationalism that Britain is trying to instill in the youth of this country.

Instead, they'd rather wipe that little imperialist stain from their narrative.

Now, I want to make it very clear that this isn't just a British problem - the blatant dismissal of any wrongdoing is mirrored across the pond. US History will teach you everything you want to know about the Boston Tea Party, but try to learn about the Trail of Tears and you'll get nothing more than a couple of sentences out of your textbooks.

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This speaks to a wider issue of both (supposed) paragons of democracy refusing to acknowledge their complicity in the atrocities of history. To do so would, in their eyes, destroy their good standing amongst the global community and thus turn their own compatriots against them.

Fortunately, we've come to a point where we, as citizens of these nations, are no longer willing to turn a blind eye to the more difficult aspects of our histories. That is why movements such as Rhodes must Fall and UCL's dive into its own involvement in eugenics are so important.

They help to bring to light the sordid past which the government wants us to forget. I don't mean sound like an anti-government conspiracy theorist, which, admittedly, I have been doing throughout this article. Rather, I simply believe that we would be remiss not to acknowledge the government's deliberate avoidance of the topic of Empire and its motives for this.

The British Empire is not just something that you can 'forget' to teach kids about. In my honest opinion, that would be like 'forgetting' to teach children about their ABCs. It is entrenched within our societal structures and therefore an inescapable part of daily life, much like the alphabet.

I mean, take a look around you - virtually the entirety of British society as we know it today has been founded by the empire - no hyperbole.

Of course, this is not to say that 2-year-olds should be taught about the oppression of Indians by Colonial officers during story time. Instead, what I'm trying to get across is that at some point during a British child's education, the subject of Empire needs to be discussed. More specifically, it should be broached in a nuanced, cohesive, and comprehensive way so as to allow them to understand the reality of the country, and the world, in which they are living.

BOOK REVIEW- HEART OF A DOG BY MIKHAIL BULGAKOV

Jonas Lim (Third Year)

Background

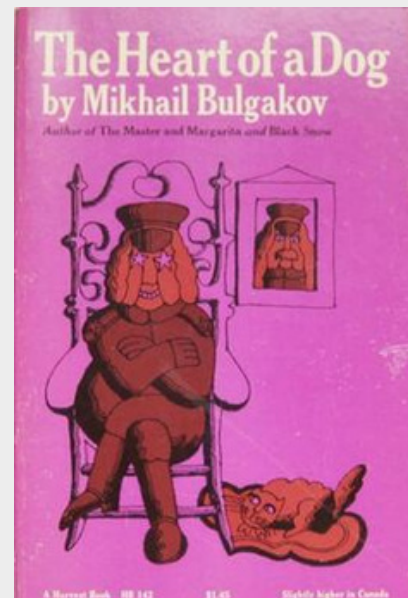
The Heart of a Dog is a novella written in 1925 by Mikhail Bulgakov during the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP was an economic policy enacted by the Soviet government in the 1920s, which signalled a transition from a centrally planned economy to a limited market economy. The policy, in short, was a concession to the peasantry who would be able to build a certain amount of wealth, providing a buffer for the soviet economy which was recovering from the famine and the Civil War of the late 1910s.

Culturally, however, the NEP period was more than just a concession from Bolshevik communist ideology. In this period, the Bolsheviks initiated policies that would shape the Soviet identity in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, housing, consumption, and education. (However, the extent to which they were effective is still in dispute.) It is in this cultural context that Bulgakov critiques the 'New Soviet Man' through his The Heart of a Dog. Although initially written in 1925, the book was censored and prohibited from publishing until its official release in 1987 under Glasnost. The fact that it went under censorship is enough to testify to the extent to which Bulgakov intermingles his tale with the contested cultural politics of his time.

Heart of a Dog contains symbolic and often satirical implications about aspects of life in the Soviet Union after the NEP. The novella tells the story of a dog named Sharik, who is transformed into human form by Dr Filipp Filippovich Preobrazhensky, an anti-communist surgeon of bourgeois origin. As Sharik becomes more and more human in form and mentality alike, the author depicts how Sharik's eccentric behaviour interacts and conflicts with the 'New Soviet' ideology of the state, and the existing bourgeois traditions of the professor.

The New Soviet 'Man'

The idea of the new 'Soviet man' is a recurrent theme in the novella that shows itself in Sharik and his interactions with his surroundings. Sharik considers himself a proletariat, and in many ways, he represents what the new 'Soviet man' was supposed to be in the period of the NEP. The ideal 'Soviet man' would be one who was educated in soviet ideology, who rejected conventional bourgeois traditions, and who was deeply class-conscious. Throughout the novella, the dog Sharik in his human form manifests many of these traits of the 'Soviet man' promoted by the Soviet government at the time.



The Heart of a Dog
(Bulgakov, 1925)

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Philip Philipovich: 'Why, pray, should you consider yourself a worker?'

Sharik: 'That's obvious. I'm no Nepman.'

(Heart of a Dog, p. 40, Bulgakov- 1925)

Moreover, Sharik embodies the ideal that Soviet policy sought to implant in the 'New Soviet Man.' The most evident sign of this is shown in Sharik's growth as an individual. At the start, Sharik starts as a dog-levelled intellectual only to be taught to read by the professor. As the novel progresses, the bourgeois professor and doctor are surprised when Sharik speaks the quoted phrase below, revealing that Sharik has gained intelligence about Engels and Kautsky's Marxist ideologies. As the Bolsheviks sought to teach the urban proletariat not just to read and write but to be able to engage with political and ideological material, Sharik is, in every way, an embodiment of this ideal.

'I do read, I read a lot!' replied Sharik... 'That... what do they call it... correspondence between Engels and...

what's the blighter's name... Kautsky.'

(Heart of a Dog, p.50, Bulgakov- 1925)

Of course, Bulgakov's portrayal of the 'New Soviet Man' in Sharik is not without a grain of salt. At the same time, Bulgakov shows its contradictions by satirically depicting Sharik's stubbornness and the misdeeds he commits. For instance, as Sharik rejects the table manners the professor tries to teach him as a Tsarist and bourgeois intellectual, Bulgakov depicts him in a savage way that makes us question this new approach to the 'proletarian' identity in the 1920s. Is the rejection of 'manners' as bourgeois the process of searching for a new proletarian culture, or is it mere senselessness? Moreover, as we can see in scenes where Sharik attempts to assault one of the female servants sexually, Bulgakov addresses contradictions in the new Soviet 'man,' where a discrepancy between theoretical equality and sexist conventions remains.

Concluding Remarks

The strange relationship between Bulgakov and the Soviet authorities is also crucial in understanding the context of this novella and its censorship. Joseph Stalin personally favoured Bulgakov's works enough that he commissioned Bulgakov to write a play for him. Yet, at the same time, Stalin did not like Bulgakov sufficiently enough to publish his work in the Soviet Union.

The censorship of *The Heart of a Dog* tells us about this novella in the context of the Soviet Union in the NEP period. The story at face value - the transformation of a dog to a human and back again - is not necessarily against Soviet ideology. However, the novella's censorship implies that the Soviet state was aware of the satirically implied messages in *The Heart of a Dog* and did not want this message conveyed to the public.

BJJ: A REVISIONIST LEGEND

Euan Toh (First Year)

The tale I am about to tell is a history mixed with myths and legends, as are so many great origin stories. The martial art of Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, abbreviated as 'BJJ', is still young and viral, yet the complexities of its origin are worth examining. In the process, I present this revisionist tale behind how martial art developed.

It all started with a question. On April 12th 2022, a Swiss man asked a Singaporean what the difference between Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, Judo and Japanese Ju-Jitsu was. The Swiss were a white belt in Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, asking his coach for a black belt in their gym in Singapore. Choosing to entertain the question, our coach, as I was his student too, digressed the class to share a history of his craft, giving such an appalling thesis in the process it was initially beyond our understanding. If I were to tell a layman the Brazilians formulated Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu from scratch, you would probably think, 'duh, it's in the name'. If I said that to some BJJ practitioners, I would be called a heathen. Seriously, to credit BJJ to solely the Brazilians might be modern-day blasphemy for the sport. It was this argument that my coach defended as he told us the story of BJJ's origins.

Just to clarify, it is already extremely arrogant to say any one group of people 'invented' a martial art. Perhaps 'discovered' is a better lexicon. Who invented wrestling? Maybe the ancient Greeks were the most famous for their Greco-Roman style, but the Chinese also had Shuai Jiao at the same time, as did the Serer people practised their own style of wrestling in what is now contemporary Senegal. It seems more likely that they all discovered a way of fighting that was similar to each other. It also meant that it was possible for a martial art to spring up without prior cross-cultural imports. As was the case when you started grappling in my gym, never underestimate the potential of anybody you come across.

Part 1: The Old Guard

Here is how the conventional story goes. Two brothers in Brazil trained Judo under a Japanese master Judoka who was spreading the art of Judo across the land. They then modified what they had learnt to become BJJ, and from there, a new branch of grappling emerged. So my question for you is, why do we call it 'Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu' and not 'Brazilian Judo'? That is because people simply did not know the difference between Judo and Japanese Ju-Jitsu back in the early Twentieth Century. As such, the names of two different martial arts were used interchangeably.

Japanese Ju-Jitsu was an ancient martial art. Samurai would learn it as their hand-to-hand combat training, and it was not all grappling. You can strike, and when you pin your poor opponent down on the battlefield, you can finish them off with your blade. You employ Japanese Ju-Jitsu with the intention to kill or cripple. Judo, meanwhile, was derived from a pedagogue Kano Jigoro. As the story goes, Jigoro, bullied in school for his small stature, learnt Japanese Ju-Jitsu to defend himself. Being such a well-read, clever, gumptious man, Jigoro went on to modify Japanese Ju-Jitsu into Judo. To him, Judo was not a sport; it was a gentler style of self-defence. You would throw and pin instead of strike and hurt. Judo was, however, seen as inferior to Japanese Ju-Jitsu. The reason why you probably heard of Judo and not Japanese Ju-Jitsu is that the violent appearance of Japanese Ju-Jitsu did not sit well with Americans when they occupied Japan after the war. In another example of reforming Japan's image, new, post-war Japanese society popularized the gentler Judo, going as far as turning it into an Olympic sport for the first time at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

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I wish to clarify; a lot of people watch Judo, and they find it completely unrealistic to how anyone fights. There was a time, however when Judo really did have practical uses. I urge you to look at the image of the swordsman I present above. Imagine he challenges you to a fight, and he reaches for his sword. That is when you, who would have practised Judo, grab onto him and throw him with a beautiful Uchi mata. His entire stance would be perfect for you to execute this move. Nowadays, however, you would be hard-pressed to find people carrying swords and wearing traditional dress in the streets. Judo is a very conservative martial art. Notice how they are always wearing a gi (the robe uniform) when training rather than just regular sports attire. That is because, ironically, Judo has focused on becoming a sport and left behind its self-defence roots.

Mitsuyo Maeda, nicknamed Count Koma, was a student of Jigoro, and later became Jigoro's biggest headache. Where Judo was supposed to be self-defence, Count Koma would use it in prizefighting, travelling to the Americas just to challenge other combatants in shows. It was in Brazil where Count Koma took on a student called Carlos Gracie. The conventional narrative tells us that this was the point Carlos Gracie learnt Judo, influencing his brothers to practice Judo, and together they would modify it into Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu based on the foundations of Judo.



Count Korma

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However, it is essential to note that Count Koma, being such a rebel towards the self-defence philosophy, went about his prizefighting devoid of strict Judo practices. In fact he was introduced as a Ju-Jitsu fighter rather than a Judo practitioner. It is no wonder why the argument came about that the 'Judo' that he was teaching in Brazil was not really Judo at all, just a bunch of low-tier techniques mixed and mashed with Ju-Jitsu. If you go down this rabbit hole, you could argue that Count Koma was holding back his techniques from the Brazilians. Maybe out of prejudice towards an inferior race, or perhaps simply because he simply did not care to teach properly. This is the crux of the revisionist narrative. The Gracies were not building off Judo. They were learning third-tier techniques from a hat of random martial arts that could never challenge the real Judo. It was no wonder that when the time came to pressure test what they learnt in fights, they had to adapt.

Part 2: The Youngest Gracie

Carlos Gracie and his brothers opened up their own 'Gracie Academy' in 1931 to teach the Frankenstein martial art they learnt, under the name 'Jiu-Jitsu', of course, because they were not bothered by the distinction between Japanese Ju-Jitsu and Judo. Their philosophy and overall strategy when approaching fights is quite different from Judo. In Judo, 90% of the time, you will be on your feet. The other 10% of it will be grappling on the ground. The Gracies flipped this logic. Their style of grappling would be 90% ground-based, with that 10% of fighting on the feet focused solely on getting the fight to the ground.



The story goes that Carlos' youngest brother, Helio, was such a small and sickly kid, even the Judo techniques did not suit someone of his body type well. This is a myth, Helio had an active youth and was not a tiny man, he stood 175cm (which is also my height, don't you dare call me short). However, because the techniques Count Koma left the Gracies were so pathetic, they would not stand a chance against the Japanese Judokas who challenged them in prizefights if they kept fighting on the same level. Helio Gracie decided to specialize on that 10% ground fighting element, and turn it into an offensive strategy. This is where we see the first traces of a systemised martial art that would eventually be called Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu. Helio Gracie found incredible success with this style of ground fighting, and for that he is recognised as the most important of the first generation of Gracie brothers.

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Now before you admire Helio Gracie too greatly, my coach mentioned that he also wrote a book about BJJ which contained so few techniques, and they were not even the best version of those techniques. They were version 1.1 armbars, version 1.1 back mounts. They treated this like the be all and end all of their martial art. Compared to the way even a blue belt fights today, the current group of BJJ practitioners are demigods to Helio Gracie. We see something which is a problem for a lot of martial arts, complacency and a failure to evolve. That is why one day, when Helio Gracie had his arm broken by a Japanese Judoka in a highly publicized grudge match, he said something along the lines of “from now on, we shall honor this armlock by naming it after the man who beat me, we shall call it, the Kimura”. That is why we now refer to the Ude-garami after Masahiko Kimura, he broke a Gracie's arm with it, the Gracies act as if it was discovered there and then.

That said, we still have to respect the Gracies, for they got the ball rolling and started something great. Google ‘BJJ Gyms’ and one thing you will notice, a lot of them have the name ‘Gracie’ in them. That is because their name sells. The descendents of Carlos and Helio Gracie continued to refine BJJ and turn their family into martial arts royalty.

Part 3: The Greatest Gracie

Here is another controversial revisionist idea my coach presented. Carlos, Helio and their brothers may have discovered the frameworks for BJJ, but the true founder of BJJ was Rolls Gracie, Carlos' son. Carlos, by virtue of being such an irresponsible adult, sired many illegitimate children. It was rumored that Rolls was the son of an American air stewardess. Helio adopted his nephew Rolls into his side of the family, and taught him BJJ. Rolls was known as a great fighter, but he was also a great teacher, and took on many students.

As the story goes, Rolls was sparring with a student, and he got caught in a strange holding position between his student's legs. They tried that move again, and Rolls modified it to become what is now known as the triangle choke. I'm personally skeptical of this story being the factual origins of what is my favorite submission move in BJJ. However, I also will not go as far as to say the Rolls Gracie stole credit by ‘rediscovering’ an ancient move. As mentioned earlier, there are shared similarities between martial arts across multiple cultures. If you want to use that logic, BJJ got its moves from China. What is significant is that Rolls popularized one of the most common BJJ techniques you see and is still a reliable choke even today. Rolls Gracie died in a hang gliding accident in 1982. He was only 31 years old. Perhaps if he had lived longer, he would be more widely recognised as the greatest of the Gracie family.

Part 4: The World's Stage

It is 1993, in Denver, Colorado. A tournament called The Ultimate Fighting Championship is being held, where you have a boxer, a sumo wrestler, and a taekwondo black belt, among others, all competing in an open weight (which means there are no weight limits) tournament to determine which martial art is superior. Guess who won? He came from Brazil.

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Royce Gracie, son of Helio, is widely considered one of the most important figures in the history of not just BJJ, but martial arts. He submitted all his opponents in the tournament, and made it look easy too. Royce went on to win the next tournament, and the following fourth tournament. By this point, eyes have been drawn towards BJJ. It was now clear that this strange ground fighting from Brazil actually had great merits and practical uses. At the same time, Rickson Gracie, Royce's older brother, was traveling the world competing and teaching. It would be these students outside of Gracie reach in America who continued to develop the previously esoteric system to learn, and eventually challenge the Gracie style of BJJ.

The problem of complacency came back to haunt the old Gracies. Watch the old UFC fights where the Gracies are beaten, and you notice they had no concept of what is now seen as a rule of BJJ, position over submission. They were always content to be on their back, in bottom position, hunting submissions blindly. Even the best like Rickson would go submission over position. There was a time when beating a Gracie was considered an incredible achievement. Kazushi Sakuraba was nicknamed 'The Gracie Hunter' for brutalizing four Gracies in early tournaments, back then it made him a superstar in the sport. Nowadays, the Gracies are just another group of practitioners in the wider world of BJJ, with their own conservative pedagogy. However, their family still carries much respect in the world of martial arts, and you better respect them, it is not an exaggeration to say they can kill you.

A Conclusion

My coach ended his story there. We all sat stunned for a while before class resumed. For context, the world of BJJ is far greater than just the Gracies, but you can often trace the genealogy of teachers back to them. My coach was taught by an Australian named John Will, a member of 'The Dirty Dozen', the first twelve non-Brazilians to receive a BJJ black belt. He was taught by Rigan and Jean Jacques Machado, two maternal cousins of the Gracies, who were taught by Carlos Gracie Jr., taught by Rolls Gracie. Yes the lineage extends beyond the Gracies into the world of Judokas like Count Koma, but for what BJJ is today, it was the Brazilians who molded their discoveries into the system now being adapted all over the world. It was the Brazilians who made BJJ.

One last quick note. BJJ has become very commercialized and popular. Rigan Machado teaches celebrities in California such as Keanu Reeves and Robert Pattinson. When you get good at BJJ, you become a better person, but don't mess with the bull or you get the horns. Here is another unverified legend I heard. There was a Gracie who was challenged once, I can't remember who, and straight away he left the house and drove to the location of the fight with his son in tow. He told his son to bring a camera with them, and you would think it was to capture proof of his father dominating his opponent. During the drive, the senior Gracie told his son to take out the film in the camera. He was going to use that film as his improvised hand wraps, and he was not just planning to take the challenger down and submit him, he was going to beat the living hell out of him.

JEWISH CHESS HISTORY: THE DEMONSTRATION OF JEWISH NATIONALISM

Lan Yao (MA History Education)



Among the Jewish community, there is a story relevant to chess dated back to the early 14th century collected in the Ma'aseh Book. It had been modified in the following centuries and was first published in the 17th century. It is about a Jewish boy who was stolen by a Christian servant and was cultivated to a Christian Pope. His father, a great chess player Rabbi Simeon, was summoned by the Pope for pleading a case for Jewish people. He played a chess game against the Pope and he was defeated. Rabbi Simeon marveled at the Pope's skills in chess and thus realized that the Pope was a Jew. Finally, the Pope revealed his identity to his father and claimed his willingness to return to Judaism.

In fact, the original legend did not entail any elements of chess. The incorporation of chess into the legend in the 17th century reveals that chess was widely played by Jewish people and had become a symbol of Jewish culture. In addition, the story makes the point that Rabbi Simeon believed that only Jewish people could play excellent chess and could defeat him, which somehow reveals the Jewish perception of Jewish superiority in chess.

It is notable that this story is regarded as valuable by Jewish chess players and was preserved for centuries, which in some ways influenced Jewish chess players in the 19th century and made them realize that chess was a useful tool to reveal superiority. However, it should be noted that such demonstration of superiority is not a nature rooted in Jewish culture, but it was precipitated as the accumulation of the hatred towards the Jews and was induced by racial oppression towards them, which was aggravated in the 19th century. It was for the purpose of combating anti-Semitism. When nationalistic historical writings appeared in a range of nations in Europe, Zionism, the promotion of Jewish nationalism, was also emphasized in Jewish history writings.

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An article published in British Chess Magazine September 1918, 'The Parallel Progress of Chess and Civilization' written by the France chess master Alphonse Goetz, attempts to prove Jewish superiority in chess for the purpose of combating anti-Semitism. Goetz demonstrates such superiority by examining data and the list of prominent Jewish players. In this way, Goetz argues that the existence of anti-Semitism theories is not reasonable and cannot be properly justified in the face of realities. It is notable that Goetz relates Jewish achievements in chess to the emancipation of the Jews, and thus demonstrates Jewish nationalism through chess.

Jewish World Champions

The first world champion, Jewish player William Steinitz described in one of his papers published in the 'Berliner Anzeigung' that the prevalent attitude of anti-Semitism in Europe had severely affected his feelings in chess tournaments, and he presents his hope to write a book about Jewish chess players to combat anti-Semitism.



"After every match I am always very excited and do not feel well, but it has never been as bad as in Moscow.

I am, however, my own doctor; as a passionate Kneippianer I cure myself with cold water, which has always helped me.

This time it took longer and I could not hold my thoughts together, which saddened me since I wanted to write my book "Judaism in Chess" as quickly as possible to combat anti-Semitism."

-William Steinitz

It reveals that he identifies himself as a Jew, and writes about chess history from a collective perspective, that is, from the benefit of the Jewish community, rather than an individual perspective.

In his another writing An Essay on Capital, Labor, and Charity, he stated impoverished situations of great chess players, including himself, and urged for a better patronage system for professional chess players.

It should be mentioned that though Steinitz had been the best player for decades, chess player was not considered a proper occupation at his age. Worse, Steinitz was poor at attracting sponsors to support his tournaments and provide him bonus. Thus, in fact, he lived in poverty for most of his lifetime.

It is interesting that in the essay, Steinitz not only mentioned Jewish players, such as Johannes Zukertort, but also had a mention of non-Jewish players, such as Paul Morphy. His purpose is obvious: to make anti-Semitic capitalists realize that this is not a problem specific to Jewish chess players, but to all professional chess players, regardless of Jews or non-Jews. In this sense, Steinitz treated Jews and non-Jews on an equal basis regarding playing chess. In fact, this essay has another title: My Advertisement to Antisemites in Vienna and Elsewhere by a Mercenary Jew. Therefore, Steinitz realized the existence of anti-Semites, but rather than directly speaking against them, Steinitz adapted the approach of seeking mutual interests of both sides, thus attempting to convince anti-Semites to provide benefits for Jewish people.

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The second world champion, Jewish player Emanuel Lasker held empathy towards his own ethnicity as did Steinitz. His article written in German, 'Jude, Wohin?' (Jew, where to?), which was published in New York in 1939, argues that Jewish people should go to the United States to explore more opportunities.

In fact, as a Jew, Lasker was expelled from Germany in 1933 and fled to the United States in 1937. It is intriguing that different from Steinitz and many Jewish chess writers, who directly pointed out the problem of anti-Semitism in Europe and promoted Jewish nationalism, Lasker did not have a mention how Nazis persecuted Jewish people and the progress of the Second World War. But rather, he praised the creativity of Jewish people and praised the United States for being capable of providing more opportunities, implicitly stating that the United States was more tolerant to different cultures and ethnic groups, especially the Jewish people, than European countries, where anti-Semitism theories were prevalent in the early 20th century.

Thus, Lasker implicitly reproaches anti-Semitism and the lack of humanity in Europe.



Down with all nationalism in our old, noble, profound game.
-Emanuel Lasker

However, it should be noted that anti-Semitic sentiments also existed in the United States in 1939, though to a far less extent than in Europe under the rule of the Nazis. Given that Lasker had settled in the United States, it is a compelling choice and a wise strategy for him to flatter the United States, in exchange for protection and respect by the United States government.

Nowadays, current political situations, with the raise of nationalism across the world, make fears that Steinitz, Lasker and others were once facing, very much alive again. Just like the German philosopher Georg Hegel said, "The only thing that we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history."

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