

THE POISONED LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

divide & rule MI5 burnt crops
 gangs & counter-gangs sir kenneth newman
 cruel britannia **poisoned wells** Waterboarding
 Lethal Allies **In-depth interrogation frank kitson Dhofar**
 five techniques **hooding** white noise **Kenya Q** patrols **torture** pseudo-
 gangs **MRF ADEN Amritsar Massacre Cyprus castration** sleep deprivation
 propaganda UDR **secret wars BRUNEI SAS DECAPITATION india**
McGurks Bar imperial policing **BALLYMURPHY MASSACRE Colonel**
Gordon Kerr collusion 14th intelligence company **ELECTRIC SHOCKS**
 Low Intensity Operations **partition racism glenanne gang**
Inspector Douglas Duff rape genocide **historical amnesia imperialism**
MALAYA Force Research Unit house **demolitions ARAB REVOLT FOUR SQUARE**
LAUNDRY Brigadier General John Nicholson black & tans Qissa Khwani
Massacre Major General Henry Tudor **native people slave trade ECHR**
ORDE WINGATE British Guyana **the nakba CONCENTRATION CAMPS**
SPECIAL NIGHT SQUADS MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES GWYNN Boxer
 Rebellion **STATES OF EMERGENCY** sexual exploitation **maurice**
tugwell Afghanistan the history thieves **iraq** **WINSTON CHURCHILL**
BALLYKELLY ARMY CAMP COUNTER-INSURGENCY **WINSTON CHURCHILL**
BATANG KALI MASSACRE BRITAIN'S GULAG RAF CARPET BOMBING
apartheid firqats **BENGAL FAMINE EAST INDIA COMPANY** bloody sunday
 inglorious empire **A STATE IN DENIAL** **IMPUNITY Special Branch**
Al-Bassa Massacre & Royal Ulster Rifles CHAGOS ISLANDERS
general harry tuzo Detention water & food deprivation **Cecil Rhodes**
castlereagh AN GORTA MOR MI6 REPRISALS 'mad mitch' **Palestine RUC**
Balfour Declaration DUBLIN & MONAGHAN BOMBINGS DIEGO GARCIA
assassination **BLACK HOLES**
information policy unit plastic & rubber



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THE POISONOUS LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

“The United Kingdom is one of the few countries in the European Union that does not need to bury its 20th century history.”

Liam Fox MP, former Conservative Defence Minister

“You don’t really teach colonial history in your schools. There’s no awareness of the atrocities... Children doing A-levels don’t learn a line of colonial history.”

Indian politician and author Shashi Tharoor.

“The violence of the British Empire has long been forgotten. We need to face up to this history and education is crucial if we are to do so.”

Dr Esme Cleall, lecturer in the history of the British Empire, University of Sheffield.

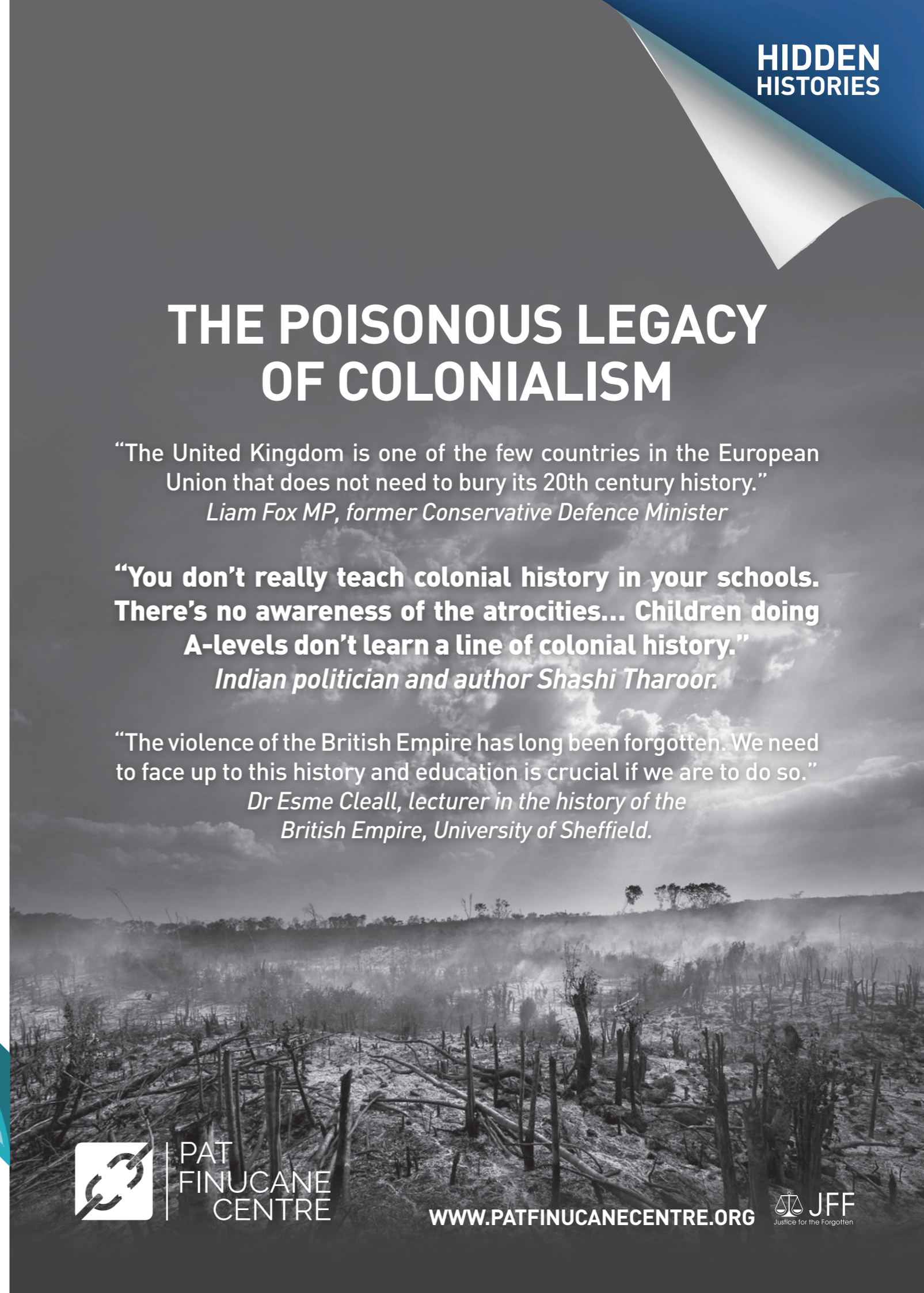


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INTRODUCTION

Why would a northern Irish based human rights NGO produce an exhibition on the legacy of colonialism?

The answer is to be found in the ongoing impact of British military policies and practices in the north of Ireland in the early 1970s. Policies and practices that were to leave a disastrous legacy, in particular on working class nationalist/ republican communities. Unarmed civilians were shot dead by British troops with impunity. Daily harassment and repression was the norm and even now new evidence is emerging of horrendous cases of torture including the use of waterboarding and electric shocks.

Relatives of those who were killed (and were then labelled terrorists, gunmen and bombers) continue to seek truth and acknowledgement. Many of the victims of torture are still with us.

And crucially, the military policies and practices that defined Operation Banner, the military name for deployment in the North from 1969 to 2007, did not begin nor did they end on the island of Ireland.

Internment, mass screening of civilians, the use of the five torture techniques, waterboarding and electric shocks, states of emergency, massacres by troops and the use of undercover secret units had long been standard practice in the counter-insurgency wars fought during the retreat from empire.

Troops who stepped off boats in Derry and Belfast in 1969 were often fresh from other brutalising conflicts as the sun began to set on the empire. That units such as the Parachute Regiment would go on to commit massacres (Bloody Sunday, Ballymurphy, Springhill) or use waterboarding on detainees is hardly surprising given their record in other conflicts.

Senior officers who had free rein in Kenya or Malaya such as Brigadier Frank Kitson soon set about implementing low intensity war tactics

that had been tried and tested. The European Convention on Human Rights cut little ice in military circles. Kitson created undercover units (the MRF) whose aim was to provoke sectarian conflict. Similar units had been set up in Cyprus (Q Patrols) and Oman (firqats). It is striking that every single General Officer Commanding the British Army in the north in the 1970s had seen military service in the 'colonies'.

Prior colonial service was not limited to the ranks of the military. Two RUC Chief Constables in the 1970s had served as colonial police. Arthur Young served in Malaya and Kenya though it should be noted that Young was apparently appalled by the atrocities being carried out in Kenya by British forces and left after less than eight months.

Kenneth Newman's stint in Palestine as a young officer coincided with a reign of terror led by Major General Henry Tudor of the Mandate Police Force. Tudor had form. He had created and commanded the Infamous Black and Tans during the Irish War of Independence and succeeded in bringing many of his former Tan comrades with him to Palestine. Between 75% and 95% of the gendarmerie that he commanded were former 'Tans'.

In 1971 allegations of torture began to emerge from interrogation centres in the north. This led to the Irish Government taking a case to the European Commission of Human Rights, followed by the European Court of Human Rights. The location of the most egregious torture, including the use of the 'Five Techniques', has only recently been revealed. Declassified documents found by the Pat Finucane Centre confirmed that a selected group of men were tortured at Ballykelly army camp near Derry.

The same documents contain the name of a senior officer, an expert in interrogation from the Joint Services Interrogation Wing at Ashford in Kent, who was in charge in Ballykelly in 1971. According to the 2011 Baha Mousa Inquiry this same individual, Lt Col John Robert Nicholson OBE, had admitted to an earlier inquiry to being

'present' during interrogations at the infamous Fort Morbat interrogation centre in Aden in the mid-60s. Fort Morbat had a fearsome reputation as a British torture centre during this time. And Fort Morbat was closer to Ballykelly and Castlereagh than many of us knew.

The ten year war in Oman/Dhofar which saw the SAS hired out as mercenaries to the Sultan may have been cloaked in exceptional secrecy but the human rights abuses that occurred elsewhere hardly received the attention that they should have back in Britain. To this day there is little mention of the dark side of the empire in the school curriculum, in parliament, or in the media. The Imperial War Museum tells a fascinating story but the torture, massacres and repression that were a hallmark of empire is conspicuous by its absence from the exhibitions. Little wonder that the same violations have recurred more recently in Iraq and Afghanistan. The then Attorney General, in evidence to the European Commission of Human Rights on 8 February 1977, made a solemn promise that the Five Techniques would never again be permitted. Not long after the Iraq invasion British army units began interrogating prisoners using the Five Techniques.

We all pay the price for the collective failure to face up to the poisonous legacy of empire.

For further information about the 'Legacy of Colonialism' project, including further reading, sources and copyright information relating to the images used, please visit our website www.patfinucancecentre.org

MILITARY REACTION FORCE (MRF)

The Military Reaction Force (MRF) was a covert counter-insurgency unit established in Northern Ireland by Sir Frank Kitson in 1971. It had two elements – soldiers seconded from their own regiments and young republicans whom the British Army had succeeded in 'turning'. Its activities were at their height in 1972. They killed at least two civilians and injured several more. The unit had a short lifespan and was disbanded after the debacle of the Four Square Laundry (a bogus laundry service) affair in October 1972. It was replaced by the more disciplined and centralised Special Reconnaissance Unit (SRU).

INTERNMENT

Internment without trial was introduced in Northern Ireland on 9 August 1971 and ended in December 1975. It had been several months in planning. A decision was taken that only Catholics should be interned at the outset. It was a complete disaster – it led to a massive escalation in violence and swelled the ranks of the IRA. Loyalists began to be interned in February 1973 after an outcry about a sectarian murder. This, however, was nothing more than a cosmetic exercise and, by the time internment ended, of 1,981 persons detained, only 107 (5.4%) were Protestants.

THE 'FIVE TECHNIQUES'

The 'Five Techniques' of torture were used on the 'Hooded Men' in Ballykelly in 1971 by the RUC under the tutelage of the British Army's Joint Service School of Intelligence in Ashford, Kent. The techniques were previously employed by the British Army in various colonial conflicts:

- Sleep deprivation
- White noise
- Hooding
- Wall-standing/ stress positions
- Deprivation of food and drink

The 'Hooded Men' also describe a 6th technique- extreme beating!

WATERBOARDING

"Waterboarding" is when a person's face is tipped back and water poured into their mouth and nose, filling their airways and giving them a strong sensation of imminent drowning.

PFC has uncovered contemporaneous evidence that this technique, although not called 'waterboarding' at the time, was employed by the British Army in Northern Ireland during the 1970s.

"If South Armagh were a province in Malaya many of its Catholic inhabitants would have had their homes burned down and have been either forcibly resettled in heavily policed 'new villages' or deported across the border."

John Newsinger, Professor of History,
Bath Spa University and author of '
The Long War'



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

BRUNEI

Uprising and 'Confrontation' 1962 - 1966

In the early 1960s, after Dutch colonists formally withdrew from West Borneo, the Malaysian Federation was established with help from its former masters, Britain.

The Malayan prime minister wanted to expand the Federation to include Singapore, Sarawak, British North Borneo and Brunei but Sukarno, the Indonesian prime minister, wanted to unite the island of Borneo under his own rule, believing the Federation was a British bid to boost its own power base.

The 1962/63 Brunei Rebellion began on 8 December with a proclamation of independence. Rebels attacked the police station and residence of the chief minister in Brunei town and overran the main power station while the Sultan called on the British to help put down the rebellion.

The total number of rebels killed between December 1962 and May 1963 probably exceeded 100. Four police officers lost their lives during the uprising. The SAS was sent to Brunei to search the jungle area for remaining rebels.

At least 12 British Army officers were involved in interrogating approximately 2,000 prisoners using the 'Five Techniques' later used on the 'Hooded Men' in Ireland.

The later Konfrontasi (Confrontation 1963-1966) was seen as Indonesia's challenge to the establishment of Malaysia, particularly the inclusion of the Borneo regions of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei.

At its height, the low-intensity war involved about 30,000 Indonesian troops and 17,000 British Commonwealth troops from Australia and New Zealand including SAS personnel from Britain.

Interrogation centres were set up on the island of Borneo and then in West Malaysia. According to declassified documents Military Intelligence Officers (MIOs) and Intelligence Corps NCOs from the Army Intelligence Centre in Maresfield, Sussex were sent to Brunei.

The Commander of the 51st Gurka Brigade in Borneo during this period was David House who would later be promoted to Lt. Gen. Sir David House, GOC in the North from 1977-79.

The previous commander of the Gurkas in Borneo with responsibility for Brunei was General Harry Tuzo who became GOC in Belfast from 1971-73. Tuzo, whose period as commander in Belfast was marked by the killings of civilians and the widespread use of torture, had earlier been honoured by the Sultan of Brunei for his contribution to putting down the rebellion.



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

CYPRUS

EOKA uprising against British Rule 1955 - 59

In 1914 Britain annexed Cyprus as a crown colony. It was a crucial military base on the sea route to India, Britain's most important possession. By the end of World War 2, Cyprus had become its military and intelligence headquarters for the Middle East.

The Greek Cypriot community had long been overwhelmingly in favour of enosis (unity with Greece). Georgios Grivas, a former general in the Greek army, returned to Cyprus in 1954 and began making plans for a guerrilla insurgency to achieve enosis. He collaborated with Archbishop Makarios and established an underground organisation, known as EOKA.

The revolt began in March 1955 with bomb attacks across the island, which took the British completely by surprise.

By November, a State of Emergency had been declared. Soon, serious allegations against the British began to emerge. Hundreds were beaten, burned, or water-boarded during interrogations. Finger-nails were removed, testicles crushed, walking-sticks inserted into rectums. The infamous five torture techniques, later used in Ireland, were all employed. Fourteen died under interrogation, two of them 17-year-olds.

The British adopted a divide and rule strategy between the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot communities. The Turkish-Cypriot paramilitary organisation, Volkan/TMT, was openly tolerated, as a counterweight to EOKA. Increasingly, use was made of Q-patrols - counter-gangs comprising Turkish Cypriots; 'turned' EOKA members and others, to gather intelligence and kill or capture EOKA members. 3,000 were interned.

The police force virtually collapsed. New recruits were sought in Britain and among the Turkish-Cypriot community. The Governor, however, vetoed recruits from the RUC because of their 'heavy-handed reputation'.

The Greek government lodged complaints with both the ECHR and the UN which were later withdrawn as part of the independence negotiations. The campaign ended in March 1959 with independence for Cyprus, but not enosis. Britain succeeded in retaining two sovereign bases on the island.

The Turkish invasion of 1974 resulted in the partition of Cyprus. The Turkish occupation is illegal under International law.



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

KENYA

1952 - 1960

Britain declared Kenya a 'protectorate' in 1895 and a colony in 1920. By 1952, tensions had risen again between the majority of Kikuyu people and a loose coalition of notoriously racist white settler/farmers and wealthier, land-owning members of the Kikuyu tribe.

Landless Kikuyu called themselves the 'Kenya Land and Freedom Army' but they were labelled 'Mau Mau' by the British who expropriated their land and created a pool of low-wage Kikuyu labourers/squatters.

After violence broke out in 1952, the British declared a State of Emergency and arrested 180 alleged rebels. They then arrested tens of thousands in the capital, Nairobi, enforced land reform and began a 'villagisation' programme to control over a million rural, landless Kikuyu. Within months, 20,000 Mau Mau suspects had been 'screened' and taken to concentration camps while 30,000 more were deported to special 'reserves'.

By 1955, a systematic screening, torturing, detention and deportation system had been set up that including execution by hanging of 1,090 rebels on a touring gallows.

Frank Kitson (then a young captain) was a military intelligence officer in Kenya from 1953 to 1955, organising "counter-gangs" of former Mau Mau members to become intelligence-gatherers/agents provocateurs.

Another veteran of the Mau Mau campaign who went on to serve in Belfast was Sir Timothy Creasey, GOC NI from 1977-79. Creasey also served in Cyprus and Aden. Lt. Gen. Sir Ian Freeland served as GOC in Kenya between 1963 -1964. Freeland was appointed as GOC in Northern Ireland when the first troops were deployed in July 1969.

Over 50,000 Mau Mau were killed in combat, 1.5 million were interned (including US President Barack Obama's paternal grandfather, Hussein Onyango Obama, who was arrested and tortured).

Kikuyu insurgents certainly committed atrocities (including killings of fellow Kikuyu) but fewer than 200 British soldiers and police and only 32 white settlers were killed.

Harvard historian, Caroline Elkins, says the British held bonfires of official papers as they left in an attempt to cover their tracks, however, a group of Kenyans won £20 million in a 2013 court action.

Forty thousand more Kenyans are claiming further compensation in a related London court action for rape and torture (1,500 have died since the claim was launched).



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

MALAYA

The Malayan 'Emergency' 1948 - 1960

British created the Federation of Malaya in 1948, which severely restricted the citizenship rights of non-Malays. The country's rubber, tin and iron were of vital economic importance to Britain after WW2.

With the Trade Union Movement under sustained attack, the Malayan Communist Party prepared for armed struggle. In response the British adopted a divide and rule strategy. A State of Emergency was declared imposing a virtual police state, with powers of search, arrest, detention, curfew, collective punishments and food controls.

The so-called 'strategic hamlet' scheme was devised. Half a million Chinese were forced into the 'villages'. Jungle food stores were booby-trapped, villages burnt and some detainees shot. The most notorious atrocity was the Batang Kali Massacre in which 24 men were shot dead and their villages burnt by Scots Guards in December 1948.

Sir Arthur Young, later Chief Constable of the RUC, arrived in Malaya in 1952 as CO of the Malayan Police Force while Frank Kitson, who was later stationed in Belfast, was decorated for 'eliminating' insurgents.

Also appointed in 1952 as Director of Intelligence to the Governor was Jack Morton, a senior MI5 officer. Morton came out of retirement in 1973 to undertake an advisory mission for the MoD in Northern Ireland. He re-organised RUC Special Branch and set up an MI5/Army database on suspects.

Bodies of dead guerrillas were displayed in public. Decapitation and mutilation was common. In April 1952, a Royal Marine was photographed holding the heads of two insurgents, causing a public outcry.

Britain was first to employ the use of defoliants to destroy food crops and trees, depriving insurgents of cover. At least 10,000 civilians and insurgents suffered from serious exposure to Agent Orange.

650,000 plantation and mine workers and families were moved within barbed-wire compounds where they could be controlled effectively.

SAS squadrons from the racist regime in 'Rhodesia' served alongside the British as did Dyak head-hunters from Borneo. British SB conducted secretive drug experiments on prisoners. Interrogation of captured troops, including women, was so severe that some committed suicide, or possibly died under torture.

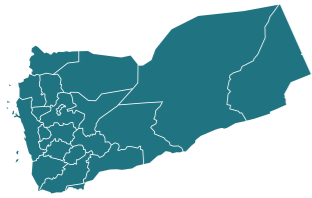
By the end of the conflict, nearly 34,000 had been detained and 226 hanged. Britain achieved its main aims: the insurgents were defeated and, with independence in 1957, British interests were preserved.

"It is a bit rich to oppress, torture, imprison, enslave, deport and proscribe a people for 200 years, and then take credit for the fact that they are democratic at the end of it."

Shashi Tharoor,
author of 'Inglorious Empire'

"...during the Mau Mau war British forces wielded their authority with a savagery that betrayed a perverse colonial logic."

Caroline Elkins, academic
and author of 'Britain's Gulag'



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

YEMEN / ADEN

1963 - 1967

The British seized Aden in 1839 (claiming its inhabitants threatened trade routes to India) while after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, it became strategically and commercially important.

After WW1, the British enforced control by dropping warning leaflets from the air and bombing towns or villages deemed to be "misbehaving". Families moved into the countryside as their homes were flattened.

The "Aden Emergency" started on 14 October 1963 when one of two rival insurgent groups threw a grenade at a group of British officials.

In a subsequent security operation dozens were arrested and allegations of torture surfaced in the Arab and British media. Some of the allegations focussed on an interrogation centre set up at Fort Morbat which was staffed by British officers and NCOs. The British official who had headed Special Branch operations in Kenya and Cyprus, John Prendergast, was drafted in and interrogations increased in number and severity.

According to the Baha Mousa Inquiry one of those present in Aden during the torture of detainees was Lt. Col. John Robert Nicholson OBE who went on to become Principal Instructor at the Joint Services Interrogation Wing at Ashford, Kent. Nicholson was also present at Ballykelly Army base in 1971 when the 'Hooded Men' were tortured. Declassified British government documents reveal that Nicholson played a central role in the training of RUC interrogators and in overseeing the actual interrogations.

In Yemen allegations of electric shocks, anal rape using objects and sleep, food and water deprivation leaked into the public domain. A subsequent investigation by Amnesty International was rejected by the then Labour Government of Harold Wilson.

In 1964, the 24th Infantry Brigade was deployed to conduct land operations. The British Army remained in Aden until November 1967, while Defence Secretary Peter Thorneycroft spoke of the need to initiate "deniable action ... to sabotage ... and kill personnel engaged in anti-British activities".

By 1965, MI6 had a secret agreement with Israel to use its territory for logistical reasons. During street rioting in January 1967, British troops crushed protests but in June, after the Six Day War, the police rebelled killing 22 British soldiers and shooting down a helicopter.

The "Battle of Crater" ensued with the Royal Marines/Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders under Lt. Col. Colin Campbell ("Mad") Mitchell occupying the entire district overnight in July 1967.

Repeated guerrilla attacks resumed, however, and the British left Aden in November 1967. Over 2,000 people had died, some as a direct result of torture.



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

OMAN/DHOFAR

The Secret War
1966 - 1976

The strategically vital Sultanate of Oman, situated alongside the Straits of Hormuz, was the location of probably the most secretive war fought by British forces in the post WW2 period. From 1966 to 1976 British led forces fought a counter-insurgency war against rebel adoo Popular Front fighters in the southern province of Dhofar.

The Sultanate was run along feudal lines where slavery was legal until 1970. The Sultan of Oman, who personally 'owned' 500 slaves, was surrounded by British officials including his defence secretary and chief of intelligence (British army officers). It was a de facto British colony with one hospital, soaring infant mortality rates, only three primary schools, no secondary school and a colonial administration that took its orders from London and showed an appalling toleration for routine torture and mutilation of citizens by the Sultan's British controlled army. Even the prison warders were British.

Uprisings against the brutal rule of the Sultan in the 1950s led to over 1600 bombing raids by the RAF against 'rebel' villages and infrastructure and deployment of the SAS who were secretly 'on loan' to the regime.

The outbreak of a new rebellion in 1966 in Dhofar province led to a 10 year intervention by British forces - an intervention of which the British public, press and parliament was largely unaware. No journalists were allowed to enter Oman.

British-led forces poisoned wells, burnt villages and destroyed crops. Torture of suspects, led by British officers, was routine. In a 1970 MI6 coup the Sultan was deposed by his Sandhurst educated son Qaboos bin Said. (The ousted dictator lived out his final years in a luxury suite at the Dorchester Hotel in London.)

SAS intervention in the 70s was marked by classical counter-insurgency tactics of carrot and stick. A scorched earth military policy with free-fire zones was followed by the deployment of 'civil aid teams' whose aim was to win over the bruised and battered civilian population.

Locally recruited 'firqats' were used as 'counter-gangs' In 1976, as the situation in S. Armagh was spinning out of control, the SAS was deployed directly from Oman to S. Armagh. In Oman it was 'mission accomplished'. The oilfields along with the strategic Strait of Hormuz were secured as were the RAF bases in the Sultanate. Over 8,000 Omanis had lost their lives in the "war that never was".



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

PALESTINE

1917 - 1948

The Balfour Declaration, 2 November 1917, publicly articulated the British government's support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It stated "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object.."

The Declaration led to the enacting of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, entrusting Palestine to "His Britannic Majesty" in 1922.

The Mandate Police Force was established shortly after and was modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary (precursor of RUC) and led by Major General Henry Tudor, founder of the Black and Tans. Tudor commanded the British army in Palestine, and 'Gendarmerie', an exclusively British auxiliary force (75- 95% former Black & Tans.)

The 'Gendarmerie' disbanded in 1926 and many former Black and Tans joined the British section of the Palestinian Police Force including Douglas Duff. Duff became Chief of Police in Jerusalem. His brutal tactics led to the phrase "duffing-up." Duff boasted about the use of suspension, waterboarding - including the use of coffee instead of water to simulate drowning, and beating the soles of prisoners' feet as part of his repertoire.

The Arab revolt against the British administration in 1936 to 1939 saw 10% of the adult Arab male population killed, wounded, imprisoned, or exiled. British reprisals for the revolt included an official policy of house demolitions leaving 6,000 Palestinians homeless, 'punitive village occupations', forced labour and summary executions.

The Al-Bassa massacre in 1938 saw 50 Arab men forced on to a bus and made to drive over a landmine by soldiers of the Royal Ulster Regiment. This was in retaliation for the murder of four soldiers. Villagers were then forced to bury the mutilated bodies, others were whipped and tortured. This was not an isolated incident. 'Special Nights Squads' were used to terrorise, kidnap and murder both Jews and Arabs.

'Nakba' meaning 'Day of Catastrophe', commemorated on 15 May, marks the day after the end of the Mandate in 1948. During the Palestinian war that year, 400 Palestinian villages were destroyed and 750,000 Palestinians expelled. Palestinians lost their homeland and the seeds of future conflict were sown.

Another officer serving in Palestine in 1947 was Robert Ford who would later emerge as the most senior British officer in Derry on Bloody Sunday in 1972. Weeks before the massacre Ford had advocated a shoot-to-kill policy against rioters.



LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

1858 - 1947

The British takeover of India began in 1662 when Bombay was gifted to the English king Charles II as a wedding present.

Through the East India Company, Britain extended its control over the whole of India by treaties with local princes, or by annexation and military conquest. The Company had a private army which grew to include eventually 260,000 men.

1857 saw the first major uprising against British rule which shook the whole of the Indian subcontinent. Many hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of Indians, Muslim and Hindu, were killed by the British in retaliation. Delhi was all but razed to the ground.

From 1858 to 1947 India was firmly at the heart of the British Empire and was governed directly from Britain.

British policy now encouraged divisions between Muslims and Hindus and was built on a structure which was hierarchical and racist and which opposed demands for self-rule.

Following the First World War, despite assurances to the contrary, draconian war-time security laws were made permanent. Protests against this led directly to the 1919 Amritsar massacre where hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed by British soldiers.

From this point on the people of India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, demanded complete independence.

Over 100,000 people were interned without trial. Another massacre took place in Peshawar in 1930 when hundreds of Muslim nonviolent demonstrators were killed by British soldiers at Qissa Khawani bazaar.

Later, during 1943, up to three million died in the Bengal Famine - a direct result of Churchill's decision to divert food from India to Europe.

Other Indians joined the Indian National Army and fought the British alongside the Japanese.

After the war over 10,000 Indian soldiers mutinied demanding freedom.

A year later the British withdrew, partitioning the country, a process which led directly to up to two million people massacred. Problems

"I have spent the greater part of my life watching British troops being pulled out of places they were never going to leave."

Journalist James Cameron,
The Guardian, June 2nd 1975

"Can it be right that our school children are far more likely to learn about the Americans in Vietnam, or the Russian revolution, than they are the history of the British Empire? "

David Anderson,
Professor of African History,
University of Warwick.