

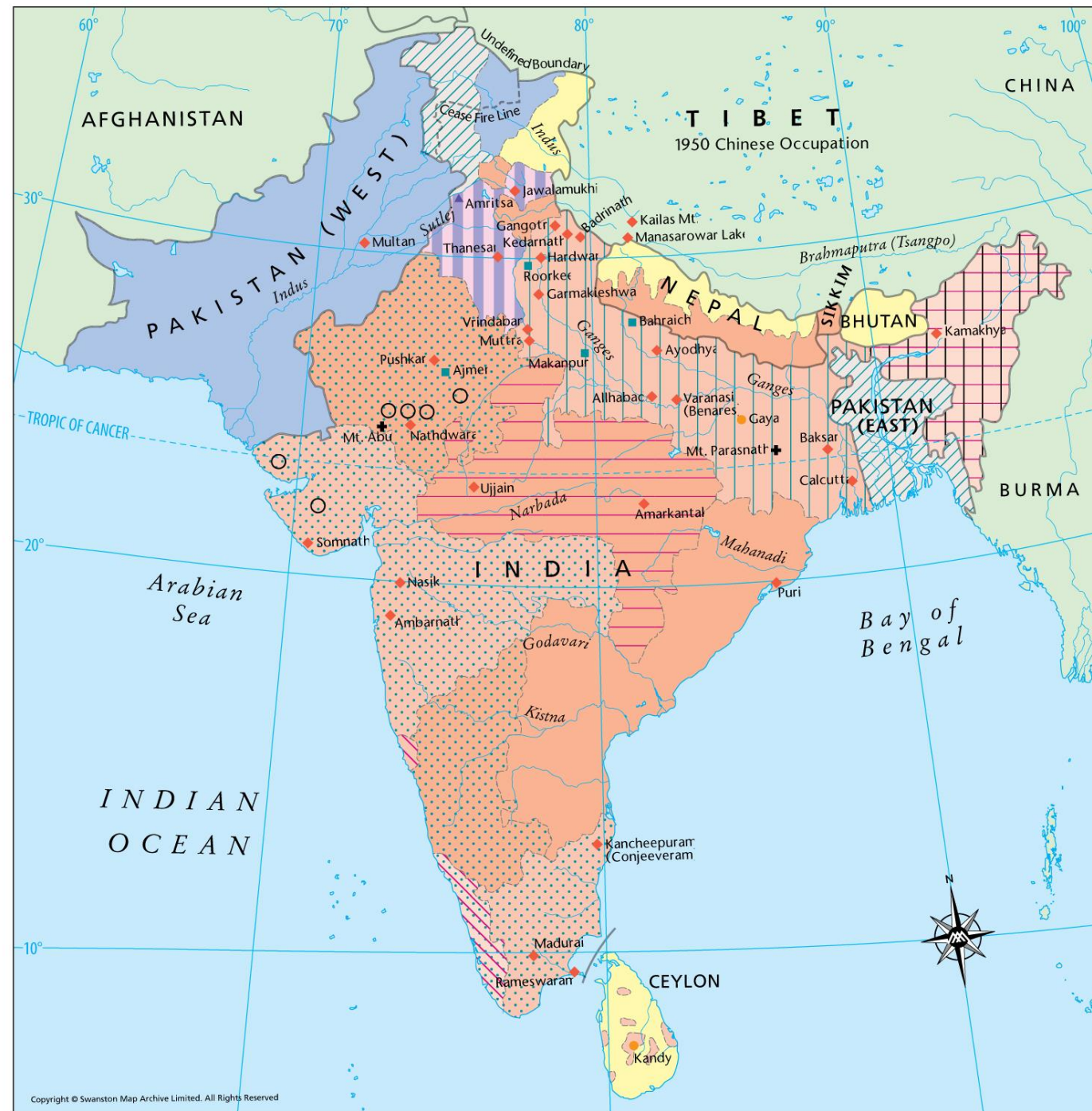
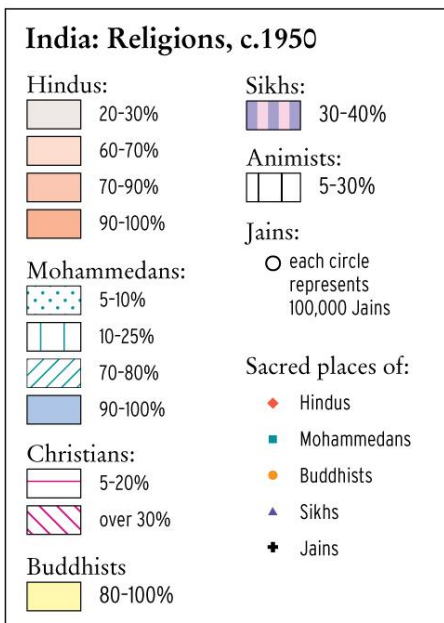
# Britain's Legacy on the Indian Subcontinent

Summer Term 2025



# Some Remarks About This Course

- not a lecture
  - no historical overview / no chronological order
- we will look at (and try to make sense of) various cultural phenomena and conflicts across the Indian subcontinent
- difficult and complex in many ways:
  - geographically, linguistically and culturally (ancient civilizations, diverse languages and religious traditions)
  - often misunderstood / misrepresented, e.g., the caste system

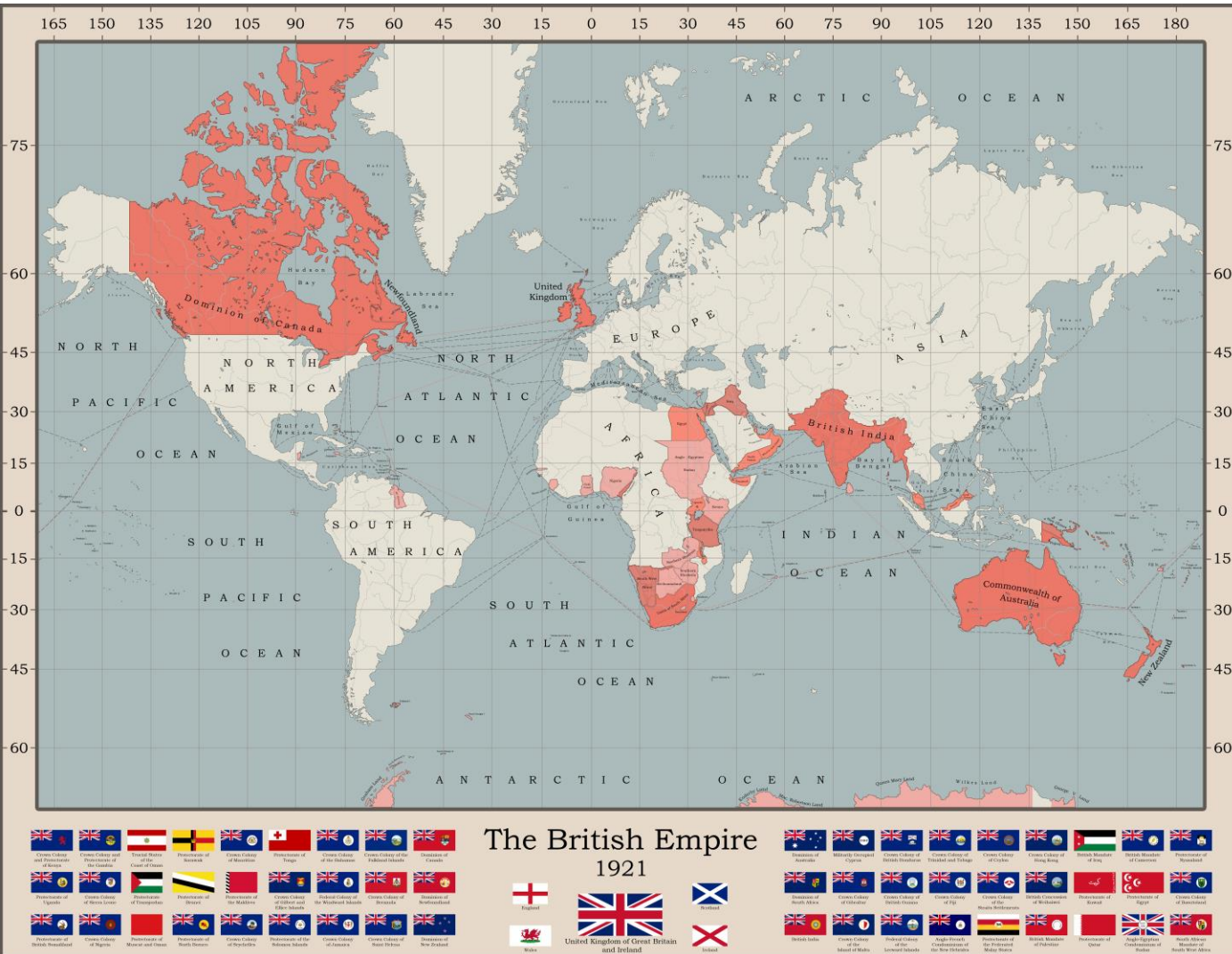






# Further complicated by

- the British Raj (British rule in India)
- nature and expansion of the British Empire across the globe [Charter & Proprietary Colonies, Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Protected States (the Trucial States, some princely states in India), Self-Governing Dominions, League of Nations Mandates & UN Trust Territories]



## What does this mean for us?

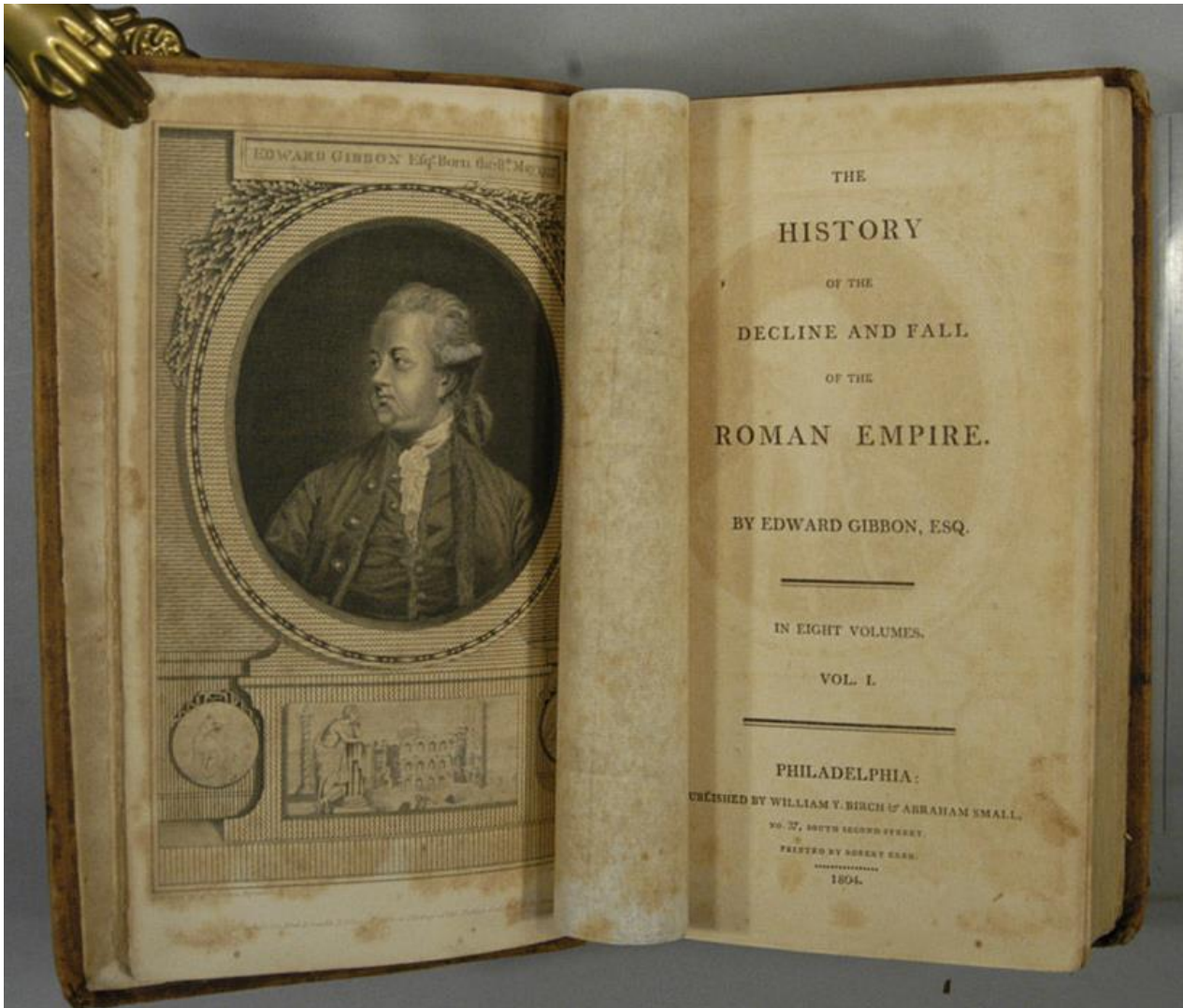
- both chance and challenge
- allows for specialisation
  - British and American Empires are almost ubiquitous

## Additionally,

- Cultural Studies draw heavily on (and contribute to) other disciplines, e.g., Social Sciences, Sociology, Political Sciences, History, Psychology, Gender Studies, Communication and Media Studies



# What was the greatest model for the British Empire?

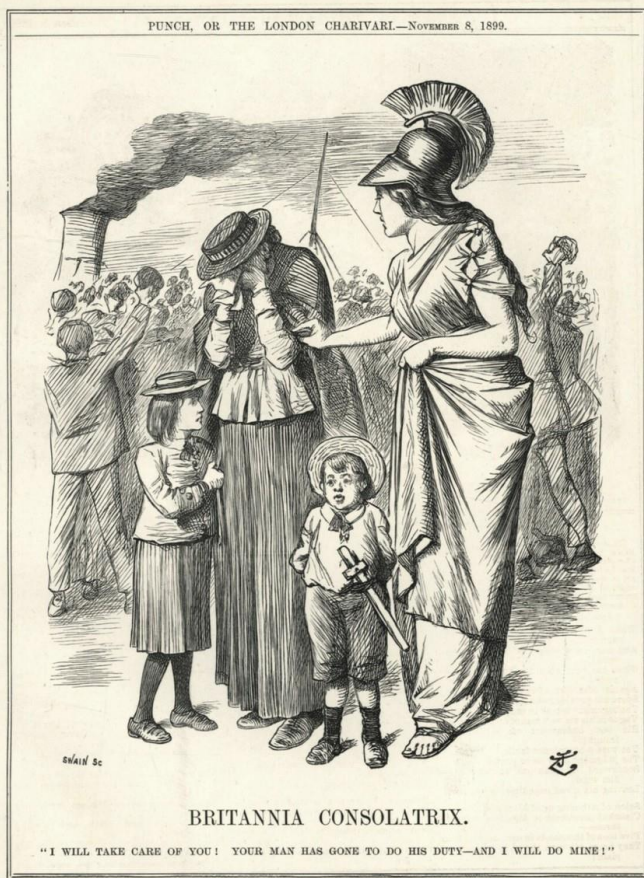


## Obsession with the Roman Empire: “Britain was a modern-day Imperium Romanum.” (p. 76)

- terms like *Pax Britannica*; “proconsular rule”; V. R. & I. (p. 71); *Habeas corpus*; *Mandamus*; *Fidei Defensor* (F.D.); *Dei Gratia* (D.G.); *casus belli*; *Terra nullius*; *sub judice*; *Ultra vires* [describing governmental or corporate acts (e.g., East India Company directives) that exceeded legal authority]
- 28 % of overall English vocabulary are direct borrowings from Latin, in formal, technical or academic contexts Latin-derived vocabulary accounts for roughly 50–60 % of the total
- the British were “always the ideologues of **divide and rule**” (*divide et impera*)
- Classical Education and Prestige
  - British elites were steeped in a curriculum of Latin and Greek, which held **Rome up as the pinnacle of civilization**
- **Moral and Political Lessons from Rome’s Decline**
  - Edward Gibbon’s monumental *Decline and Fall* was a bestseller among statesmen; its analysis of moral decay, political corruption (cf. **Warren Hastings!**), and overextension offered cautionary parallels for Britain’s own far-flung dominions
  - warnings about Rome’s over-stretched frontiers and fiscal crises fed debates in Whitehall over defence budgets, the size of garrisons, and how far to push Britain’s borders without risking collapse

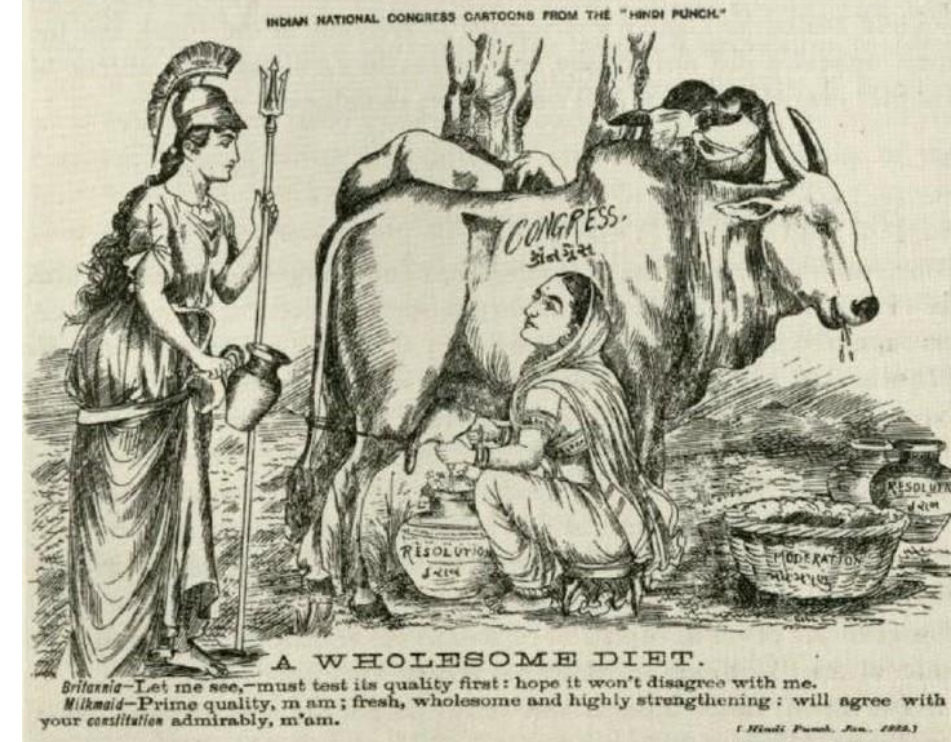
- Blueprint for **Imperial Administration**
  - the **Roman provincial model** (with governors, legates, tax-farming, and local elites co-opted into imperial service) **inspired British structures in India**, Africa, and elsewhere
- Military Organization and Frontier Management
  - professional standing armies, permanent forts, road networks, and buffer zones (e.g., Hadrian's Wall) informed British military doctrine on **India's North-West Frontier** and in Africa
- Divide-and-Rule (*divide et impera*) via Client Kings and Treaties
  - **just as Rome used client-kingdoms and diplomatic foedera, Britain negotiated treaties with princely states, sultans, and chiefs to maintain control without full annexation**
- Legal and Bureaucratic Parallels
  - Roman law (*jus civile*) and the ideal of a meritocratic civil service underpinned British efforts to **codify local laws** (e.g., **Indian Penal Code**) and professionalize the Colonial Office
- Infrastructure as Imperial Cement
  - Aqueducts and roads symbolized Rome's unifying reach; likewise, British engineers built railways, canals, and telegraph lines to knit colonies into a single economic-political system
- Neoclassical Symbolism in Architecture
  - Parliament, the Bank of England, triumphal arches, and war memorials all borrowed Roman motifs – columns, domes, triumphal arches – to evoke power, permanence, and **continuity with Rome**
- “Civilizing Mission” and Ideological Continuity
  - Britain cast itself as **Rome's heir in bringing “civilization”, Christianity, and “order” to “barbarous” lands and peoples – a narrative that justified conquest and rule**





Britannia Consolatrix

“**Britannia**”: Britain’s national personification, invented in the 17th century and consciously modelled on the great goddesses of imperial Rome.



“A Wholesome Diet” (“The Hindi Punch”, 1889): Congress milking India for the sake of the British, loyal to Queen Victoria and the British Raj.

The cow in this cartoon is “Bhārat Mātā” (Mother India). Depictions of India as a milch cow were very common in Colonial India. Congress is the milkmaid milking India in form of “moderation” and “resolutions” to avoid direct armed resistance against the British Empire.

Lady Britannia: “Let me test the quality. I hope it won’t disagree with me.”

The milkmaid (Congress): “Prime Quality m’am; fresh, wholesome and highly strengthening; will agree with your *constitution* admirably, m’am.”



**Ironically, Roman historians put anti-colonial criticism of the Imperium Romanum into the mouths of British resistance fighters (in this case Calgacus), which would later be voiced in the same way by subjects of British colonialism.**

Tacitus, *Agricola* c. 30:

*“Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore: nam et universi co[i]stis et servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum inminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec ulla servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est; sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus ac saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugias. **Raptores orbis**, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. **Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium**, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.”*

**“Whenever I consider the origin of this war and the necessities of our position, I have a sure confidence that this day, and this union of yours, will be the beginning of freedom to the whole of Britain. To all of us slavery is a thing unknown; there are no lands beyond us, and even the sea is not safe, menaced as we are by a Roman fleet.** And thus in war and battle, in which the brave find glory, even the coward will find safety. Former contests, in which, with varying fortune, **the Romans were resisted**, still left in us a last hope of succour, inasmuch as being the most renowned nation of Britain, dwelling in the very heart of the country, and out of sight of the shores of the conquered, we could keep even our eyes unpolluted by the contagion of slavery. To us who dwell on the uttermost confines of the earth and of freedom, this remote sanctuary of Britain’s glory has up to this time been a defence. Now, however, the furthest limits of Britain are thrown open, and the unknown always passes for the marvelous. But there are no tribes beyond us, nothing indeed but waves and rocks, and the yet more **terrible Romans, from whose oppression escape is vainly sought by obedience and submission. Robbers of the world**, having by their universal plunder exhausted the land, they rifle the deep sea. If the enemy be rich, they are rapacious; if he be poor, they lust for dominion; neither the east nor the west has been able to satisfy them. Alone among men they covet with equal eagerness poverty and riches. **To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire**; they make a solitude and call it peace.



# What about the U.S. Empire?

- **Senate**
  - the U.S. Senate takes its name (and much of its institutional prestige) from the Roman *senatus*, mirroring Rome's council of elders in a modern republican legislature
- **Governors**
  - early American governors were styled after Roman provincial governors (*gubernatores* = “steersmen”, an analogy from Cicero’s *De re publica*), echoing Rome’s system of provincial administration
- **Capitol Hill**
  - “Capitol” (and Capitol Hill) is a direct reference to Rome’s *Capitolium*, the political and religious heart of ancient Rome, and the U.S. Capitol’s neoclassical architecture borrows heavily from Roman temple design
- **Founders’ Roman Pseudonyms**
  - in revolutionary pamphlets and newspaper essays, many Patriots adopted Roman names to evoke republican virtue: “Brutus”, “Cato” (e.g., Samuel Adams), “Tully” or “Tullius” (Marcus Tullius Cicero), “Publius” (used collectively by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in *The Federalist Papers*)
- **Cincinnatus & the Society of the Cincinnati**
  - George Washington was celebrated as a modern Cincinnatus – the Roman farmer-general who returned to his plow after saving the republic as a *dictator*— and veterans formed the Society of the Cincinnati in his honor
- **Republican Ideals & *Res Publica***
  - the very notion of a “republic” (Latin *res publica*) and its values of civic virtue and mixed government were drawn directly from Roman political philosophy
- **Neoclassical Symbolism**
  - from the use of columns, arches, and domes in federal buildings to Latin mottos like *E Pluribus Unum*, American statecraft and architecture emulate Rome’s visual and linguistic legacy



PUCK.

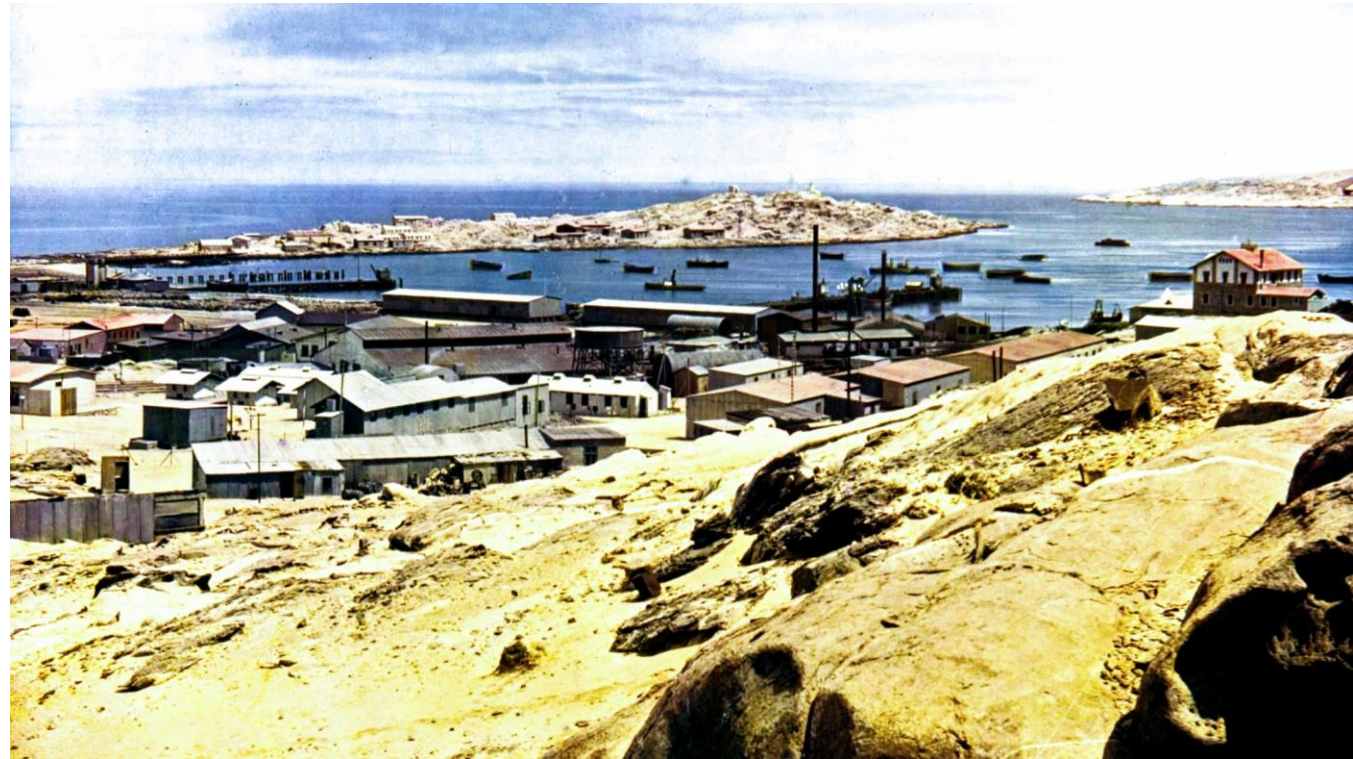
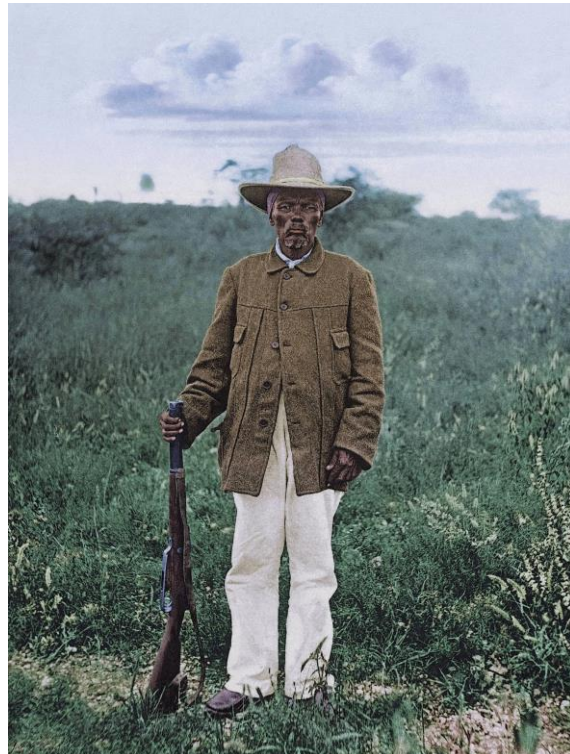


SCHOOL BEGINS.

UNCLE SAM (to his new class in Civilization).—Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!



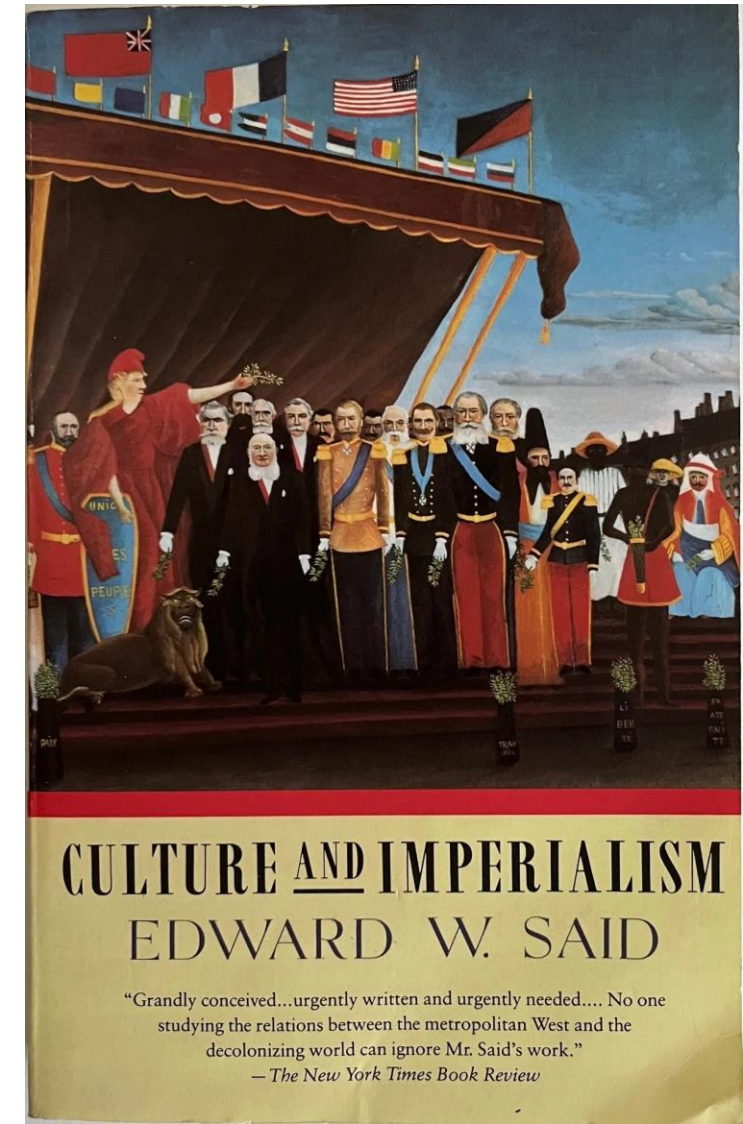
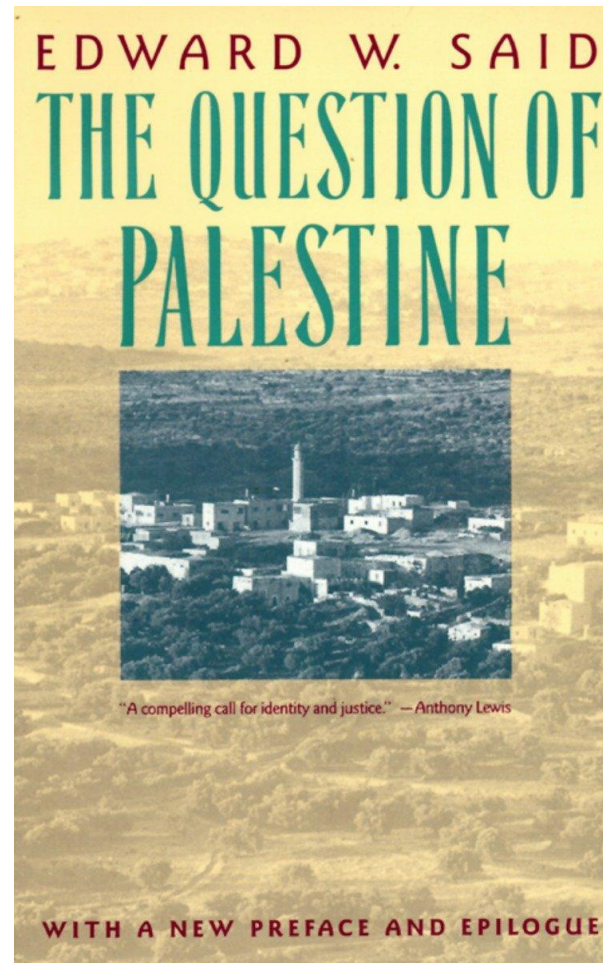
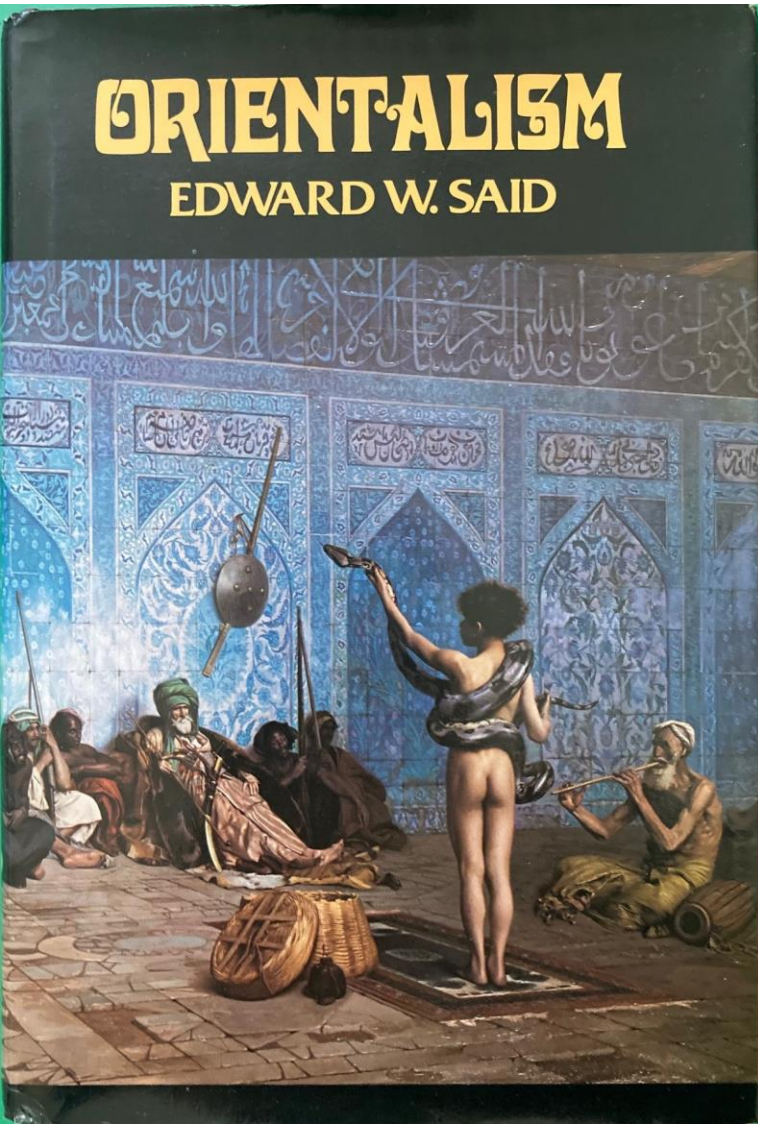
- **“colonial/imperial amnesia”**
  - British polls/surveys consistently show a lack of knowledge of the realities of Britain’s rule over 20-25% of the world’s population and land mass
- distorted images of colonial/imperial rule
- Britain hardly an exception





“[... T]he experience of imperialism is really an experience of interdependent histories. The history of India and the history of England have to be thought of together.”

(Edward Said)



# Caroline Elkins

- Professor of History and of African and African American Studies at Harvard University, founder of Harvard's Center for African Studies
- her first book, ***Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya***, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction
- award-winning BBC documentary *Kenya: White Terror*
- **served as an expert in the historic Mau Mau reparations case, brought against the British Government by survivors of violence in Kenya**
- decade of research all around the world for ***Legacy of Violence***
- hard to ignore her research in the future if you are concerned with the British Empire



“In the British and Kenyan archives, meanwhile, Elkins encountered another oddity. Many documents relating to the detention camps were either absent or still classified as confidential 50 years after the war. She discovered that **the British had torched documents** before their 1963 withdrawal from Kenya. **The scale of the cleansing had been enormous.** For example, three departments had maintained files for each of the reported 80,000 detainees. At a minimum, there should have been 240,000 files in the archives. She found a few hundred.

But some important records escaped the purges. One day in the spring of 1998, after months of often frustrating searches, she discovered a baby-blue folder that would become central to both her book and the Mau Mau lawsuit. Stamped “secret”, it revealed a system for breaking recalcitrant detainees by isolating them, torturing them and forcing them to work. This was called the “dilution technique”. Britain’s Colonial Office had endorsed it. And, as Elkins would eventually learn, Gavaghan had developed the technique and put it into practice.”

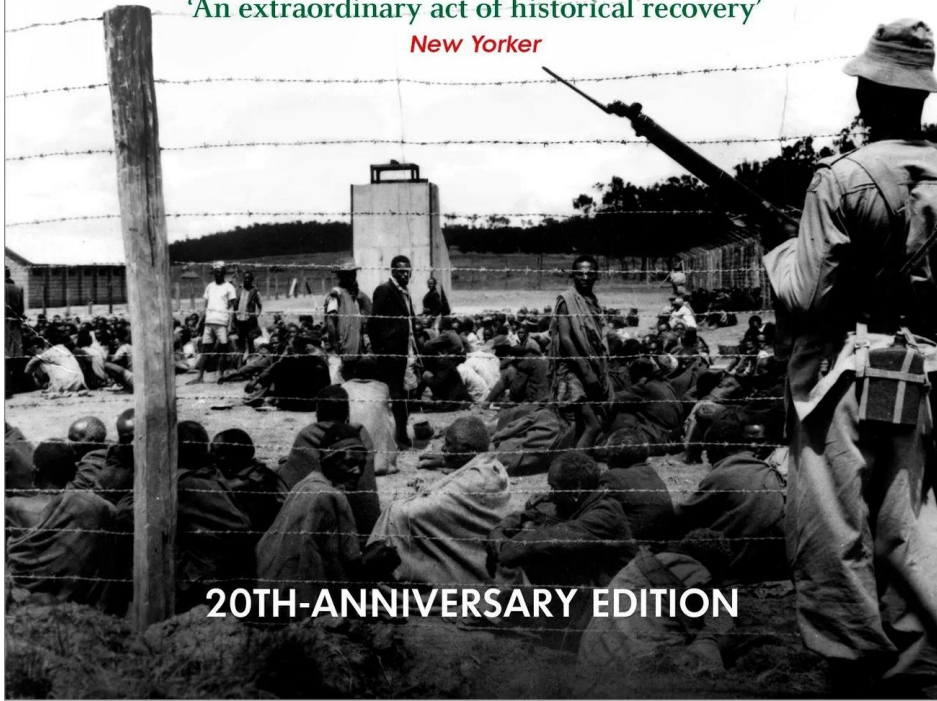
WINNER OF THE PULITZER PRIZE

Caroline Elkins

# BRITAIN'S GULAG

The Brutal End of  
Empire in Kenya

'An extraordinary act of historical recovery'  
*New Yorker*



20TH-ANNIVERSARY EDITION



b) Choose **one** of the quotes and point out what it says about historical perspectives.

“

It was in the eighteenth century  
that Indian History started.

From: *1066 and all that* by W. C. Sellar and  
R. J. Yeatman, British humourists

”

“

Study the historian before  
you begin to study the facts.

Edward Hallett Carr, British historian

”

“

Every word a woman writes changes the story  
of the world, revises the official version.

Carolyn See, US feminist writer

”

c) You are a historian giving a talk on Britain's colonial past for high school students.

Prepare a 4–5 minute talk in which you: → S22

- introduce yourself.
- describe key features of Britain's colonialism.
- point out present day effects of British colonialism in country of your choice.
- explain how modern historians view British colonialism today.

#### USEFUL PHRASES

At the beginning... • In my presentation / talk / speech I'd like to discuss / outline / explain... •

It is a very important topic to talk about / think about... • My first / second / third argument clearly shows... •

The effect of colonialism can be seen in... • Facing the colonial past can be seen as...

**Practical example from the chapter on postcolonialism in a forthcoming English textbook for the upper secondary level. (A fourth quotation by Edward Said will be added:**

**“[H]istory is made by men and women, just as it can also be unmade and rewritten, [...] so that ‘our’ East, ‘our’ Orient becomes ‘ours’ to possess and direct.” (from the Preface to the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition of *Orientalism*, 2003)**



**2 DIALOGUE** British colonialism shaped much of the modern world, leaving lasting effects on politics, economies and cultures in many countries. Even today, people in former colonies like South Africa and Canada still experience its consequences – whether through economic inequalities, land disputes or struggles for Indigenous rights. Talking about colonialism helps us understand history from different perspectives, recognise its ongoing impact and discuss how nations could respond – possibly through education, apologies or reparations.



- a) Each of you, choose between one of these countries: South Africa or Canada. Then, from the box, choose two of the reconciliation efforts aimed at addressing historical injustices related to colonialism. Research how these have been implemented in the country of your choice. Make sure to also point out Britain's role in these reconciliation efforts. → S31

Country partner A: \_\_\_\_\_ Country partner B: \_\_\_\_\_

**reconciliation efforts:**

official apologies • official investigations into human rights violations (Truth and Reconciliation Commissions) • changes in laws • reparations • restitution of works of art • commemoration (e.g. statutes, days of remembrance) • educational initiatives (in the colonising and colonised country) • intercultural programmes / dialogues

- **revisionist histories** in recent years, e.g. Richard Gott or Caroline Elkins
  - what do we mean by **historical revisionism**? why the pejorative connotation in Germany?

Example: The Lasting Effects of British Colonialism

### Niall Ferguson vs. Caroline Elkins

Ferguson	Elkins
free trade & enterprise	armed trade, monopolies, unequal trade “agreements”
globalization, global markets & welfare	extinction of entire peoples, cultures, languages
industrial revolution / innovation	forced de-industrialization, exploitation, extraction of raw materials in the colonies, triangular slave trade
abolition of slavery	20 million pounds in reparations for slave holders as they lost their “property”; capitalist “free” wage-labour as more lucrative than slave-based
liberalism, rule of law	liberal imperialism & legalized lawlessness, rule by exception (e.g. states of emergency, martial law)
stable governments, democracy	divide-and-rule policies, racial hierarchies & segregation

## **Richard Gott in *Britain's Empire - Resistance, Repression and Revolt* (2012):**

It is suggested here that the rulers of the British Empire will one day be perceived to rank with the dictators of the twentieth century as the authors of crimes against humanity on an infamous scale. The drive towards the annihilation of dissidents and peoples in twentieth-century Europe certainly had precedents in the nineteenth-century imperial operations in the colonial world, where the elimination of 'inferior' peoples was seen by some to be historically inevitable, and where the experience helped in the construction of the racist ideologies that arose subsequently in Europe. Later technologies merely enlarged the scale of what had gone before.

Throughout the period of the British Empire, the British were for the most part loathed and despised by those they colonised. While a thin crust of colonial society in the Empire — princes, bureaucrats, settlers, mercenary soldiers — often gave open support to the British, the majority of the people always held the colonial occupiers in contempt, and they made their views plain whenever the opportunity arose. Resistance, revolt and rebellion were permanent facts of empire, and the imperial power, endlessly challenged, was tireless in its repression.

**For much of its history, the British Empire was run as a military dictatorship. Colonial governors in the early years were military men who imposed martial law whenever trouble threatened. 'Special' courts and courts martial were set up to deal with dissidents, and handed out rough and speedy injustice.** Normal judicial procedures were replaced by **rule through terror**; resistance was crushed, rebellion suffocated. While many indigenous peoples joined rebellions, others took the imperial shilling. In most of their colonies, the British encountered resistance, but they often had local allies who, for reasons of class or money, or simply with an eye to the main chance, supported the conquering legions. Without these fifth columns the imperial project would never have been possible.

**Over the next 200 years, not a year went by without major instances of resistance and rebellion occurring somewhere in the Empire. In some years, the rebellions are almost uncountable, reaching a crescendo of resistance that the imperial cohorts were hard-pressed to crush.**

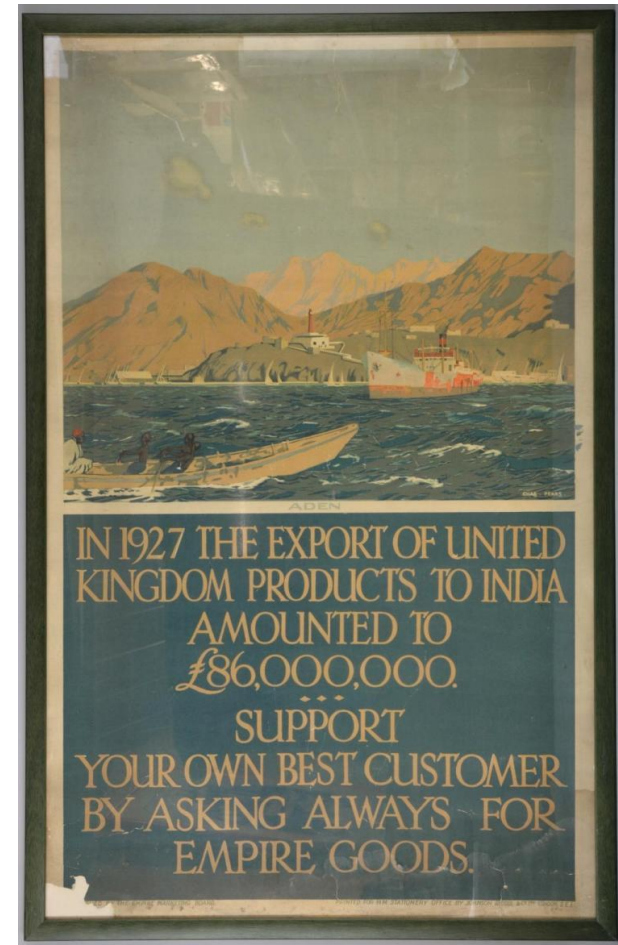


If the British portrayal of themselves as benevolent rulers and bringers of progress in their colonies were accurate, why then were rebellions the rule rather than the exception — necessitating emergency rule and the use of overwhelming force?

Imperial ideologues offered a simple justification: the “sullen” natives — “half devil and half child” — needed the civilizing effects of violence and brute force.



British Governor of Bombay Freeman-Thomas cuts the ribbon on a railway bridge over the River Karjan in Rajpipla, Gujarat, India, 1917.



Empire Marketing Board propaganda poster, India, artwork by Charles Pears (1873-1958)



*On the Morning of the 20th of October 1827, the British Fleet, under the Command of Admiral Lord Keith, defeated the Turkish Fleet, under the Command of Admiral Pasha, in the Bay of Navarino. The British Fleet consisted of 27 Steam Ships, and the Turkish Fleet of 22 Steam Ships.*





G. W. Terry

H. W. Miles

BOMBARDMENT  
OF  
ST. JEAN D'ACRES.  
BY ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER.  
Nov. 3. 1840.



Eyewitness report:  
“The beach for half a mile  
on each side was strewn  
with bodies; corpses  
infected the air with an  
effluvium that was truly  
horrid. Nothing could be  
more shocking than to see  
the miserable wretches,  
sick and wounded, in all  
parts of this devoted town,  
which was almost entirely  
pulverized.”



Lith. Schramm Brothers

Turkish Flag Wasp Berflow Edinburgh Hazard Castor Cresset Talbot Austrian Flag Revenge Powerful Princess Charlotte Thunderer Bellerophon Pique

BOMBARDMENT OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE.



# Examples – Britain’s Understanding of “Free Trade”

- Britain was the largest empire the world had ever seen, largely built on **naval supremacy**
- **1840: a pivotal year in British and world history**
  - the first time the British Empire deployed **steamboats** in a major war
- Muhammad Ali (ruler of Egypt and large parts of the ‘Middle East’) would have none of the British “free trade”
  - he put in place tariffs and monopolies and other protective barriers (Britain’s own favourite instruments) around his cotton industry
- **Lord Palmerston**, the foreign secretary and chief architect of the British Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century, loathed him for it:
  - “The best thing Mehemet [Mehemet/Mehmed/Mehmet = Ottoman Turkish form of the Arabic name Muḥammad] could do would be to destroy all his manufactures and throw his machinery into the Nile.”
- **Ali’s refusal to accept the Balta Liman treaty constituted a casus belli for the British**
  - **free trade had to be forced onto Ali and all the Arab lands he ruled**

Palmerston to Ponsonby, the ambassador in Istanbul:

“This is a great triumph to us all” – **the destruction of Akka**, a few weeks old – “especially to you, who always maintained that Mehemet’s power would crumble under a European attack.”

He went on:

“Pray try to do what you can about these **Jews**; you have no idea to what extent the interest felt about them goes; it would be extremely politic [if we could make] the Sultan give them every encouragement and facility for returning and buying lands **in Palestine**; and if they were allowed to make use of our consuls & ambassador as the channel of complaint, that is to say, place themselves virtually under our protection, they would come back in considerable numbers, and bring with them much wealth.”

**57 years before the first Zionist congress, 77 years before the Balfour declaration, 107 years before the partition plan of Mandatory Palestine, the chief architect of the British Empire near the summits of its power here laid down the formula for the colonization of Palestine.**



# How did India go from producing clothing, to producing cotton?

- India's villages and towns **famous for finely spun and woven cotton cloth** (e.g., calicoes, chintzes, muslins) **exported across Asia and Europe**
- From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century:
  - British policy imposed **high duties on Indian textiles entering Britain, while British-made cloth entered Indian ports virtually duty-free**
- Mechanized mills in Lancashire churned out cotton cloth far more cheaply and in far greater volume than India's hand-loom weavers could match
- **To feed British factories, the East India Company and colonial landholders encouraged (and later coerced!) Indian peasants to grow and sell raw cotton rather than raise crops(!) or sustain local weaving**
- British mills' surplus cloth flooded Indian markets at rock-bottom prices, undercutting local weavers and driving many out of their traditional livelihoods
- By mid-19th century, **India had become a supplier of raw cotton to Britain** (and a consumer of British manufactured cloth) marking the **forced deindustrialization** of its once-thriving hand-loom sector



Man's Morning Coat produced in India (1700–1750)

# The Opium Wars

- **“gunboat diplomacy”** imposed “free trade” via unequal treaties
  - Britain’s steam-powered squadrons bombarded and blockaded coastal forts in China (1840–42), forcing the Qing to sign the **Treaty of Nanking**, which legalized opium, opened five treaty ports, ceded Hong Kong, and granted extraterritorial privileges, thereby **opening China’s markets under threat of further military action**
- **Bengal opium** as coercive commodity
  - cultivated by the East India Company in Bengal to offset Britain’s silver outflow for tea, opium became both the pretext and the means of coercion: its massive export to China financed war indemnities and underwrote Britain’s push for an unfettered, profit-driven trade regime
- the Qing government had to pay Britain £21 million (roughly £2.5 billion in today’s money) to reimburse the cost of naval and military operations, the value of destroyed opium, and other claimed losses
  - drained China’s silver reserves, exacerbating fiscal crisis and forcing more silver out in future trade
  - served as both punishment and leverage, **ensuring China’s continued compliance with “free trade” terms** and underwriting Britain’s broader imperial revenues (including profits from Bengal opium)



# COMMERCE ANGLAIS.

La Caricature



Grosvenor

Imp. d'Adrien & Co

Féret lith.

Yé vo dis qu'il faut, que vo ach'té ce poisonne to d'suite, no vollons què vo emposonnèz vo véritablement, pou qu'eno avions du thé bocoupe pou digérer confortablement nos Beeltchkes!





Legacy of Britain's colonial **“rule by emergency / exception” (e.g., martial law)**: left durable legal and administrative instruments that were inherited — and in some cases intensified — by successor regimes. Striking examples are found in Israel's occupied territories and in India's Emergency of 1975–77.

### PERPETUAL EMERGENCY:

*A LEGAL ANALYSIS OF ISRAEL'S USE OF  
THE BRITISH DEFENCE (EMERGENCY)  
REGULATIONS, 1945, IN THE OCCUPIED  
TERRITORIES.*

**Martha Roadstrum Moffett**

*The author is an American lawyer currently living in  
Jerusalem*

*Acknowledgement: Editorial assistance for this study  
was provided by Mouin Rabbani, a volunteer  
researcher with al-Haq.*

**Al-Haq**

1989



**Indira Gandhi declared Emergency (1975-1977):** “The security of India had been threatened by internal disturbances.” Over 1,00,000 people were jailed without trial.



# British Colonialism Today

**For some people, British colonialism is still not a thing of the past:**

“The forced displacement of the entire Chagossian people by the United Kingdom and United States governments and the UK’s racial persecution, and continued blocking of their return home, are crimes against humanity, Human Rights Watch said in a report and video released today. Both governments should provide full reparations to the Chagossian people, including their right to return to live in their homeland in the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean.”

<https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/02/15/thats-when-nightmare-started/uk-and-us-forced-displacement-chagossians-and>





- **Historical context**

- in 1965, shortly before Mauritius gained independence in 1968, the UK unlawfully detached the Chagos archipelago to form the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT)

- **Forced displacement**

- between 1967 and 1973, the UK and US expelled some 1,500–2,000 Chagossians from Diego Garcia, Peros Banhos and Salomon so Diego Garcia could be leased to the US military — meanwhile falsely **claiming the islands were uninhabited**

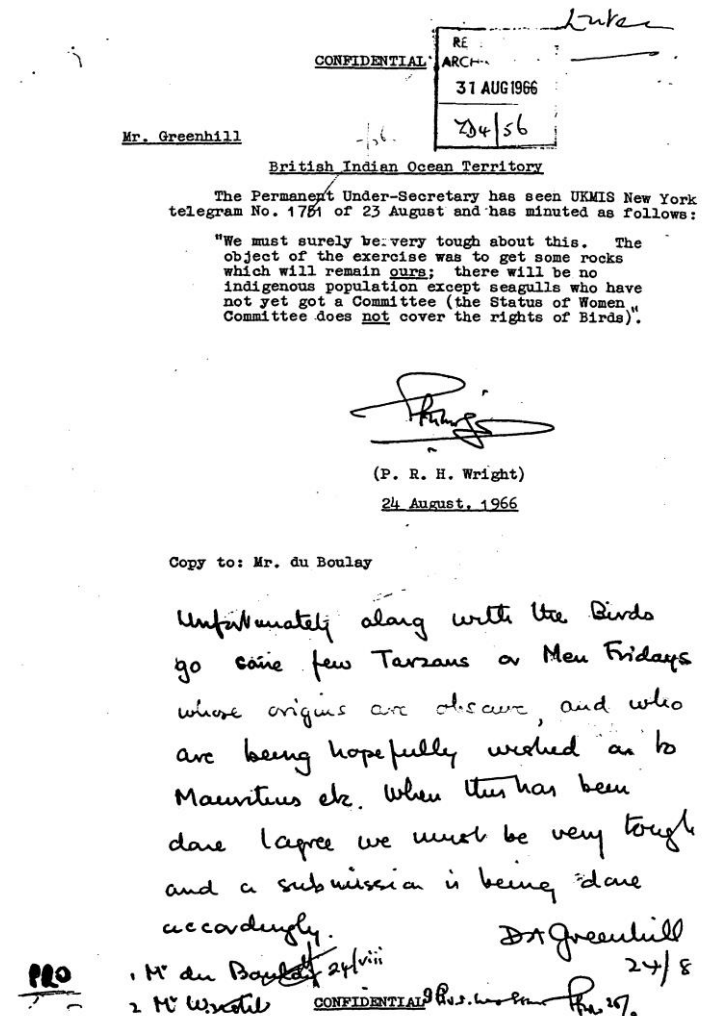
- **Transfer of sovereignty**

- the UK and Mauritius have agreed to hand over the Chagos Islands to Mauritius, ending a decades-long dispute over Britain's "last colony"
- this agreement follows 13 rounds of talks that began in 2022, spurred by the International Court of Justice's 2019 advisory opinion and a 2021 UN General Assembly resolution recognizing Mauritian sovereignty

- **Military base retained**

- under the new deal, the **UK will** cede sovereignty but **retain control of the UK-US military base on Diego Garcia**

Many **Chagossians** — and their representative organisation, Chagossian Voices — criticise **being excluded from negotiations** and demand full participation in drafting the treaty and determining their homeland's future.



Infamous 1966 diplomatic cable signed by D. A. Greenhill, referring to Chagossians as “**some few Tarzans or Men Fridays**”