

L i b e r a t i o n

Journal of **Liberation** formerly the *Movement for Colonial Freedom* Autumn 2019



**The struggle for peace
in the Middle East**

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Formerly the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Liberation was founded in 1954. Today Liberation campaigns for peace, economic justice, equality and human rights

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Uprising in Iraq

The movement against unemployment and corruption is facing bloody repression.

Hashim Ali reports



A NEW WAVE of mass protests has swept Baghdad and nine other provinces in central and southern Iraq and have been met with bloody repression by the security forces, with over 120 people killed, thousands injured and hundreds arrested. The popular uprising was sparked by a peaceful demonstration at Tahrir (Liberation) Square in central Baghdad on 1st October, with participants mainly young people from poor and marginalised areas in the capital, voicing their anger against the corrupt political system, poverty and unemployment. They were attacked by security forces that fired live ammunition directly at the protesters and also used rubber bullets, tear gas and water cannons (with hot water). A number of wounded protesters were snatched and detained from hospitals.

By 6th October 2019, according to figures published by the Iraqi Human Rights Commission, 107 people were killed, 4050 wounded, 923 arrested. The number of people killed is now well over 120, but the real number is feared to be much higher. A list has been published of the names of 57 people killed in Sadr City in Baghdad, based on information from one hospital alone. The victims were aged between 25 and 35 years old.

The demonstrations continued, in defiance of a curfew, with greater numbers of people, mainly youths, coming out to the streets, in Baghdad and other provinces including Naseriya, Basra, Diwaniya, Najaf and Babylon. It is now confirmed that most of the victims were killed by snipers on top of

buildings targeting them with bullets in the head and heart. There is also documented evidence and video recordings of summary executions of few unarmed protesters. While the government has claimed that the killings were carried out by “unidentified elements”, the truth is that death squads that belong to militias and shadowy groups were responsible for these hideous crimes.

A number of detainees who were released have provided evidence of physical and psychological torture, including beatings, threats to their lives, using force to extract confessions and forcing them to sign so-called pledges that they would not take part in any protest.

Continued overleaf



Uprising in Iraq

There is also a systematic campaign of arrests targeting activists of the protest movement, forcing many of them to go into hiding. This has included a number of civil democratic activists who had been involved in previous mass protests.

In an attempt to deprive the protest movement of the means to organise and expose the bloody repression and blatant violations of human rights, the government imposed a shutdown of the internet. Iraqi media and TV stations that were reporting the protests and the vicious campaign of repression were also targeted. Three satellite channels were forced to close by orders of the official Media Commission. Four TV offices were raided by unidentified armed groups and 26 attacks were reported against journalists. There were also 14 cases where media outlets were prevented from covering protests in Baghdad and other provinces.

The government responded to these gross violations of constitutional and human rights by issuing statements rejecting such acts but without concrete measures to reveal the identity of the perpetrators of these crimes and bringing them to justice. Under mounting pressure, the Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mehdi ordered the setting up of an inquiry to investigate violations and use of excessive force by the security forces. But past experience has proved that such measures came to nothing.

In a desperate attempt to contain the protests, the government issued a number of measures to improve the living conditions of the people. These included giving the unemployed a monthly grant of about \$145 for a period of 3 months and building new housing units. The Minister of Labour and Social Affairs announced new plans for employing 450,000 unemployed people within only 3 months! However, the people no longer trust such promises which in the past have proved to be hollow.

These measures fail to address the root causes of the resentment and anger among the people. Combating the rampant corruption has been one of the main demands of the protest movement. Public resources and wealth were plundered on an astronomical scale. Reports have revealed that since 2003, the country lost about \$450 billion as a result of corruption. It is estimated that about 25% of the country's public money is plundered due to corruption. Iraq's corruption record has been getting worse over the past decades. In 2003, it was 117th in the world corruption ranking among 133 states. It has now gone further down the list, ranking 169th among 180 states. No concrete measures and legal action have been taken by the government until now to deal with the numerous big cases of corruption. According to Iraqi media reports in 2018, there were 800 cases of corruption still under investigation.

Unemployment is rising. According to the Iraqi Central Statistics Authority,

it is about 23%. But according to other sources it is 30 – 40 %, being higher among the youth. In mid-2018, the IMF stated that unemployment among the youth was over 40%. Figures published by the Ministry of Labour show that oil revenues constitute 89% of Iraq's budget, and represent 94% of its exports, yet the oil sector only provides 1% of the jobs.

Despite oil revenues of more than \$70 billion, 22% of the population are under the poverty line according to official figures. In some southern provinces it exceeds 31%. Other sectors, especially health, education, electricity and public services have also deteriorated.

The Iraqi economy is facing other enormous problems, including a collapsing infrastructure, the lack of a national industry and poor performance of the agricultural and trade sectors. This is further aggravated by security problems and the heavy legacy of the war against the terrorist organization "Daesh" (the so-called "ISIS"). Two million people are still internally displaced as a result of this war. They are living in miserable conditions in more than 160 camps in several provinces, lacking basic services.

The essence of the deep structural crisis in Iraq lies in the political system that was imposed on the country after the war and occupation in 2003 by the US and its allies. It is a system based on sectarian-ethnic power-sharing quota. It has been continued by the dominant political forces even after the occupation

officially ended in 2011, in order to perpetuate their political power and hegemony. Ruling groups, in alliance with big businessmen and bankers, have also developed links with elements of organised crime and militias.

The ongoing mass protests, which erupted on 1st October, were preceded by a protest movement that had continued for two years, 2015 -2016, and protests in Basra in southern Iraq in summer 2018. Last February, the Teachers' Union organised a two-day strike, demanding improved living conditions for teachers as well as curricular reform. Nearly 750 thousand teachers in 14 provinces joined the strike. During recent months, there were several sit-ins and demonstrations in Baghdad and other provinces expressing the demands of workers and public employees for their rights and protesting against privatization. Thousands of unemployed university graduates also joined the wave of protests demanding jobs. Almost every day, people were coming out to protest against corrupt and incompetent local governments, holding them responsible for their miserable living conditions.

Civil democratic forces, that have

joined and actively supported the ongoing protests, have called for an immediate halt to the killings of peaceful demonstrators, the release of all detainees and an end to the campaign of arrests targeting activists. They are also pressing for an urgent investigation of the crimes committed by the security forces and death squads, the so-called "unidentified snipers" according to government, that are responsible for killing scores of young people in cold blood. All those responsible for committing these horrific crimes, as well as those who gave orders for the killings, must be brought to justice. An independent inquiry must therefore be set up, with the participation of civil society organisations and the UN Human Rights Commission. All restrictions on the media and free access to the internet must be lifted. The right to assembly and freedom of expression, as stipulated in the Iraqi constitution, must be respected.

Among the demands of the democratic forces is the setting up of a government that includes competent people who are known for their integrity and are not tainted with corruption. Such a government, with special

powers, should undertake urgent steps to fulfil the legitimate demands of the protest movement. This requires carrying out radical political reforms, putting an end to the power-sharing quota system and combating corruption. The electoral system should be reformed, to ensure that the Electoral Commission is truly independent, and adopting a fair electoral law. Unlawful armed groups, whether militias or shadowy groups, that are part of the "deep state" and are operating outside the control of the state, must be firmly dealt with and dismantled.

A host of urgent economic and social measures are needed to address the legitimate demands of the protesters and the people, tackling unemployment and providing equal opportunities to jobs, providing social security and housing, and improving health, education and public services.

Such measures will provide the conditions for moving ahead to a democratic alternative; a state based on the principle of citizenship, law, institutions, democracy and social justice. This alternative is also fundamental to ensuing Iraq's national sovereignty and true independence.



Trade union rights are human rights Keep industrial relations out of the courts Support ILO Conventions 87 and 98

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THE RECENT attack by Houthi rebels in Yemen, upon the Saudi Arabian Aramco oil installations, has resulted in a shift in the balance of diplomacy in the Middle East to a new and dangerous level. While the Saudis, the US and the EU have been keen to point the finger at Iran for the attacks the reality remains that evidence is thin to non-existent. The narrative of Iranian intervention however, suits the direction in which the West has been moving since the US withdrew from the Iran nuclear deal last year.

Jane Green considers the consequences of escalating tension in the Middle East.

The Iran nuclear deal, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), was concluded under the Obama administration. The West agreed to reduce sanctions upon Iran in exchange for the Islamic Republic winding down its uranium enrichment programme. In spite of the fact that the Iranians stuck by the terms of the deal, as verified in inspections by the IAEA, President Trump, never a fan of the agreement, decided to pull the plug last year.

Additional sanctions came into force last November, restricting the ability of Iran to access international finance and Trump has recently tightened the screw further, following alleged Iranian involvement in attacks on oil facilities in the Persian Gulf in May.

Until recently the UK had stood apart from the US policy position and alongside its European Union allies in wanting to salvage the JCPOA. The emphasis from Europe up until recently has been that Iran is best dealt with diplomatically, rather than militarily.

A shift came however at the end of September in the statement of UK Foreign Secretary, Dominic Raab, to the House of Commons in which he, in effect, repeated without qualifications the declaration of the Saudi Arabian government and the US in blaming Iran for the attacks on the Aramco oil facilities

in Saudi Arabia.

The UK Foreign Secretary stated, "We are now confident that Iran was responsible. The evidence is clear and there is no plausible alternative explanation."

If the evidence were clear, as Raab claims, there would have been no need for the qualification that there is no 'plausible alternative explanation'. Raab trips himself up with his own phrasing.

Whatever evidence Raab is supposed to possess it certainly does not appear to be 'clear'. Even the statement from the Saudi Defence Ministry claimed that the military components retrieved from the Aramco facilities "points to Iran" and that the attacks were "not within the range of capability" of the Yemeni Houthi forces. Hardly unequivocal 'evidence' of Iran's involvement

Added to this is the fact that the Yemeni Houthi forces claimed responsibility for the attacks, as part of their resistance to the Saudi led coalition opposing them in Yemen, soon after the attacks took place.

Raab's phrasing follows that of Boris Johnson, Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron, who met at the UN General Assembly in New York, towards the end of September, issuing a joint statement on the question of the Aramco oil facility attacks stating,

"It is clear for us that Iran bears responsibility for this attack. There is no other explanation."

The West has found a remarkable degree of 'clarity' without either seeking or producing any evidence to back it up. Falling back on the pantomime villain role, ascribed to Iran by US diplomacy, the 'no other explanation' argument is as substantive as any Western politician has so far produced. By any measure of the norms of international relations, this is hardly sufficient given the gravity of the accusations against Iran.

Lining the Iranians up as the fall guys for the Aramco attacks certainly suits the narrative, which the US in particular has been developing over the past two years. However, the fact that relatively poorly armed and beleaguered Houthi rebels in Yemen could inflict such damage, taking out nearly 50% of Saudi oil production is a narrative which the US and Saudis are not so comfortable with.

The attacks resulted in oil prices jumping an immediate 20% as the Saudis currently contribute 12% to global oil production. The US released its strategic reserves to the oil market to prevent



Latest!

11 October 2019

Iranian oil tanker reportedly hit by two missiles

prices rising more rapidly and plunging the world into recession.

Ironically the illegal US sanctions on oil exports from both Iran and Venezuela makes the world even more dependent upon Saudi oil. It is a further irony that the Saudis had promised to increase production to meet the shortfall from the lack of oil from Iran and Venezuela.

As ever, there is a high degree of hypocrisy in the UK, EU and US position. While condemning Iran they say absolutely nothing about the aggression and human rights record of Saudi Arabia. In addition, the only proof of direct Iranian involvement in the attacks on Saudi oil facilities, is to claim the Iranian missiles were used, while overlooking the reality of US and British weapons used to slaughter the people of Yemen.

Saudi military spending is now the third highest in the world, behind only the US and China, and at \$70 bn is ten times greater than the military budget of Iran. In spite of the Saudi coastline which faces Iran bristling with radar networks, the US Fifth fleet being housed in Bahrain and a US airbase in Qatar, no evidence of an air strike coming over the open waters of the Persian Gulf has been produced.

The fact that the NATO armed Saudi air force has carried out over 20,000 attacks on Yemenis, including civilians in breach of international humanitarian law, does not appear to warrant the same degree of international outcry as a threat to the world oil supply and the dent to the profits of international banks and corporations that recession would bring.

The position of both the UK and the EU now tie them to the coattails of the United States. Furthermore, to cement UK/EU compliance with US aggression in the Middle East and the Gulf, the statements depend heavily on double standards and US fabrications. As the US continues its self-proclaimed role as the world police force, the statements call on

Iran to comply 'with the principles and rules of the international system'. Not international law.

The Western position on deescalating tensions in the Gulf region is a poor one and the realities of the UK and EU aligning with the US are not a hopeful prospect for breathing life into the JCPOA.

In the UK, solidarity organisation CODIR (Committee for the Defence of the Iranian People's Rights), has issued a statement in response to recent developments re-emphasising the need for peace and diplomacy in order to find a way forward in the Middle East. A spokesman said,

"The Iranian people want peace and need support for their struggle for human rights and freedoms against the dictatorship in Tehran, but on this the EU, UK and the US are silent.

These double standards and dangerous acts of military, economic and cyber aggression by the US with EU and UK support risks an escalation towards war and poses a serious threat to world peace."

The Houthi attack upon the Aramco oil installation demonstrates that, in spite of the overwhelmingly superior firepower of the Saudi coalition, significant damage can be inflicted upon key facilities as a result of the use of drone technology. A war of attrition in the Middle East is in no-one's interest, especially not that of the people of the region.

An escalation of military activity is not going to be the answer for the Middle East or for the peace of the world.

Diplomacy, negotiation and, ultimately, agreement is the only way a solution will be found. It can only be hoped that, before any irrevocable action is taken, a change in UK government will mark a change in policy and offer the real prospect of a de-escalation of tension in the region.

28 September 2019

TWO missiles have slammed into an Iranian tanker in the Red Sea off the Saudi Arabian coast, not far from Jeddah.

Saudi Arabia's government - which has accused Iran of carrying out strikes against its tankers and of a drone attack on its oilfields (that has meanwhile been claimed by the Houthi rebels it is fighting in Yemen) - has so far issued no comment on the development.

The US navy's Fifth Fleet said it was "aware" of the incident but declined to add anything further.

The strike is likely to further inflame tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia which - backed by the US and Israel - has pushed for war with its regional rival. The two countries are already embroiled in several conflicts.

In another dangerous development, also on Friday 11 October, the US media reported that the U.S. military is significantly increasing troop deployments to Saudi Arabia. According to a Pentagon announcement earlier that day, 3,000 American personnel - as well as two fighter squadrons, an air expeditionary wing and advanced missile defense systems - will be sent to the Saudi kingdom.

US officials confirmed that Saudi Arabia explicitly asked Washington to send additional forces to the region, and that the latest move is in response to last month's attack on Saudi oil facilities which the Trump administration, Riyadh and European powers have all blamed on Iran.



The struggle for peace in Middle East

Solving the Palestinian problem is a major impetus for Peace writes **Dr Aqel Taqz**

The Middle East in general - and Palestine in particular - has been going through conflicts for more than a century now.

Following the end of the World War 1 and the Balfour Declaration, a new era of struggle for independence and peace began in Palestine.

It was clear that the major prevailing powers in World War 1 were planning to control the Middle East by continuing their colonial policies in the region and supplanting the Ottoman Empire as the main de-facto power there. And, first up in these plans was Palestine. England and France were the main players, especially after the withdrawal of Russia after the Bolshevik revolution.

Following the Sykes-Picot

Agreement, Britain received the mandate to control the area encompassing Palestine and Jordan amongst the Arab countries in the Levant, while France controlled the others - namely Lebanon and Syria.

The struggle of the Palestinians against the colonial forces, for independence and peace, began in earnest after that. Uprisings took place in 1921, 1923 and 1929, followed by the Great Revolution of 1936 -1939 with a general strike that lasted 6 months. All of these conflicts arose and escalated because of the presence of the colonial forces and the massive increasing of Jewish migration to Palestine with the support of the British colonial army.

Throughout the Second World War,

Palestine was in an important position as a major staging post for the British army in the area. During this time, the trade unions and the political organisations in Palestine intensified their struggle to end the colonial presence, establish a democratic state, stop the increasing settlements, and bring about peace between all citizens of the country.

After the war, and based on the recommendations of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question that Palestine be divided into two states, the UN issued Resolution 181 on 29 November 1947.

Following the so-called first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the state of Israel came into being immediately after the end of the British mandate and occupied more than half of the territory that would have formed part of an independent state of Palestine.

Between 1947 -1967, Israel committed a series of massacres against the Palestinians, followed by the June 1967 war, and occupied all of historical Palestine - a situation which remains unchanged to this day.

Despite all these aggressions and massacres - including that which took place in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982 - the Palestinian leadership, in its National Council in Algeria in 1988, decided to accept the establishment of the Palestinian state in 22% of Palestine; within the borders as they stood on 4 June 1967; with East Jerusalem as its capital; and to end the conflict and live in peace with its neighbour Israel., This, despite no positive answer from the Israeli side and its supporters.

Meanwhile, in December 1987, the Palestinian people began a huge popular uprising, the First Intifada, demanding an end to the occupation and for the establishing of a Palestinian state.

With the pressure of this uprising, negotiations started in Madrid in 1991 under the auspices of the US and USSR

World Peace Council statement on the Turkish invasion of Syria

Thursday, October 10, 2019

The World Peace Council denounces strongly the new, third invasion by the Turkish army to Syria.

After a period of military build-up of the armed forces of Turkey along the borders of Syria and the successive air strikes against Syrian targets, a dangerous escalation with ground troops-invasion is taking place these days.

This aggression in the Northeastern part of Syria comes as continuation of

the previous aggressions in the Northwestern part of Syria and as part of the expansionist plans of the Turkish regime, with the pretext of Turkey's security. It takes place with the full complicity of the USA and its allies who maintain also troops in the area since several years. This aggression and the silent tolerance from many sides creates also new threats and dangers for the peoples of the region, above all for the Syrian people which is suffering for 8

so as to achieve peace. These culminated in the Oslo Accords which were signed on 13 September 1993 at the White House. The Accords were supposed to resolutely deal with the final remaining issues between the two sides and end the conflict within 5 years.

The whole world believed that this would bring an end to the long-lasting crisis in the Middle East and that the Palestinian issue would be solved on the basis of UN resolutions - and the Palestinian Authority was established in due course - but Israel, supported by the US and other western countries, had a different take.

Israel took advantage of the situation afforded by the Oslo Accords to implement its own plans, intensifying the building of settlements in the Palestinian occupied territories; invading cities and villages; arbitrarily arresting and killing Palestinians; demolishing houses and pushing Palestinians out of their homes in Jerusalem; and all of this reached a head and resulted in the Palestinian people launching the Second Intifada in September 2000.

In a typically draconian response, Israeli forces invaded all Palestinian territories and laid siege to Ramallah city, including the headquarters of the Palestinian Authority and the historical leader Yasser Arafat. This resulted in the complete destruction of his office and, in the end, his mysterious death.

In 2002, Israel started to build a wall in the Palestinian territories on the pretext of national security but in fact to control more Palestinian land and definitively block the road to setting up of a viable Palestinian state. As we all know, the International Criminal Court in The Hague declared the wall to be illegal under international law and ruled that it must be removed.

In 2005, Ariel Sharon decided to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and began a crippling siege of the territory instead. In the years that followed, Israel

launched 3 wars against besieged Gaza - in 2008, 2012 and 2014 - with a huge number of Palestinians killed, injured and thousands of homes destroyed all seemingly with complete impunity.

In the West Bank, Israel continued with the same policy of invasions, killings, arrests, house destructions, and with checkpoints blocking access and essentially dividing the territory into isolated enclaves while more and more settlements were built. Israel used the ongoing negotiations to cover its plans and as public relations, without any serious effort or intent towards peace.

In a period of more than 25 years of negotiations, during which the Palestinian side made the historical step towards peace, Israel has practically killed the possibility of the establishment of a viable Palestinian state.

Israeli public opinion continues to move to the right supporting the most rightwing government with Netanyahu as prime minister and his extreme policy against the Palestinians, while the Israeli Knesset has passed the nationality law, which declares historical Palestine as a homeland only for Jews. Meanwhile, the election of Donald Trump as US president has been followed by the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the moving of the US embassy there; the US' declaration of the Golan Heights as being Israeli territory; the decision to cut US aid to UNRWA; the closure of the PLO's office in Washington; and the cutting of aid to the Palestinian Authority, thus putting pressure on the Palestinian leadership to accept his plan - the so-called 'deal of the century' - all of which means that there is no solution, no Palestinian state and no solution to the refugee problem and right of return.

Compounding this is the situation in the neighbouring Arab countries, all with their own huge internal problems, rendering them unable or unwilling to help - and with attention instead diverted

towards to the so-called Iranian threat and readiness to create a coalition with Israel against Iran as a common enemy.

Taking into consideration that the international community, namely the UN in the first instance, is in a position whereby it "cannot or is not willing" to take any measures to force Israel to abide by and respect international law and to implement the UN resolutions related to the Palestinian issue - a stance fully supported by the US - and with the EU countries seemingly being unable to take serious decisions (including at least to recognise Palestine as a state within the 1967 borders and as one currently under occupation) and whose position is limited to being one of words only, we believe that peace is under very serious threat in the Middle East.

Despite this thoroughly negative situation, the Palestinian leadership and Palestinian people still believe in peace and are ready to continue the struggle to achieve it.

It is responsibility of all peace-loving forces and the international community to support the efforts to end the occupation; give the Palestinian people the right to decide their future; establish an independent state within the borders as they stood on 4 June 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital; and recognise the rights of refugees to return according to the UN Resolution 194.

Britain, over 100 years on from the Balfour Declaration, has a moral responsibility to support the Palestinian struggle for peace.

Without solving the Palestinian problem, peace cannot be achieved in the Middle East. Therefore, we believe that supporting Palestinian struggle is a struggle for peace.

Dr Aqel Taqz, is coordinator of the Palestinian Committee for Peace and Solidarity (PCPS), Member of the Secretariat of the WPC (World Peace Council)

years from an unprecedented and well orchestrated imperialist aggression, whereas the USA, NATO, the EU, Turkey and their regional allies have harbored, financed, trained and instructed dozens of thousands of armed mercenaries for a violent regime change in Damascus.

The Turkish invasion and occupation of sovereign territory of Syria will create only new displacement and increase the flow of refugees. The claim of Turkey to create a "safe zone" along its borders

with Syria is hypocritical and cannot hide its intentions to create a huge area controlled by Turkey changing also the demographic character of the area. The real threat to peace and stability derives from the imperialist plans to control the energy resources, pipelines and spheres of influence with willing regimes in the Middle East.

The WPC, while condemning vehemently the aggression, demands the withdrawal of the foreign occupation

forces, supports the sovereign right of the Syrian people to decide alone and freely their future and destiny. We express our solidarity with the brave Syrian people and with the anti-imperialist forces in Turkey and call upon the members and friends of the WPC to take up actions and initiatives to condemn the ongoing aggression.

Hands off Syria!

TUC 2019



Brexit sidelines solidarity

The 2019 TUC Congress spent little time on international matters, other than Brexit. Popular solidarity issues, such as Cuba, which saw an address by Ulises Guilarte de Nacimiento, the general secretary of the Cuban CTC (TUC) were to the fore, as was a Freedom for Ocalan photo opportunity. Whilst there were motions on Colombia, Cuba, and Palestine, the formal agenda was not dominated by domestic issues. Although the rarely considered General Council report (especially Paragraph 5.10), where it focused on global solidarity, trade and international development, offered a chance to intervene in debate that was not much taken.

Nonetheless, this usefully advises us that, in the past year, solidarity actions were taken to support trade unionists in Iran and the Philippines. Whilst the TUC officially spoke in support of the workers of Egypt, Fiji, Turkey and Zimbabwe at the conference of the International Labour Organisation, a specialised agency of the United Nations dedicated to improving labour conditions and living standards throughout the world. The TUC has also established a new network of international officers, to help develop its international strategy. It has also worked with the Brazilian trade

union centre to support the campaign to release former President Lula and to oppose the anti-worker policies of President Bolsonaro and attended several protests outside their embassy.

The TUC has supported the work of Justice for Colombia in highlighting the killings of trade unionists and the campaign to release framed FARC peace negotiator, Congressman Jesús Santrich, whose freedom was secured in May. On Palestine, members of the TUC Women's Committee and other union women went to Palestine in May, after the TUC provided funding and met with the Palestine Solidarity Campaign trade union network and supported a demonstration held in London in May in support of Palestinian rights.

The TUC has also worked closely with the Federation of Somali Trade Unions (FESTU) and the National Union of Somali Journalists to promote respect for human and trade union rights and to promote media freedom. It wrote letters to the Turkish Ambassador highlighting workers' rights' issues and met with solidarity campaigns Support for the People of Turkey (SPOT) and Freedom for Öcalan to further solidarity work. Whilst the trade union centre raised concerns about the blocking of a peaceful demonstration by the

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, resulting in violent repression that left at least 12 people dead many arrested.

One area that is clearly a big concern for trades – and likely to rise in importance – is global warming and its consequences. A widely supported motion from Unite and the University and College Union, supporting “Greta Thunberg and the school students” called for the pressure to be kept up. Unfortunately, there seems a poor understanding that the environmental crisis will have more impact on the global south than the global north. A new study by Wageningen University shows that poor countries are not only predicted to bear the brunt of the increase in average temperatures, but also to suffer from higher variation. As the planet warms, soil in areas near the equator will dry up, reducing its ability to dampen temperature swings. This problem is expected to be especially acute in the Amazon rainforest, with the standard deviation of monthly temperatures increasing by nearly 20% in Brazil. Perhaps trades unions in developing countries could reach out to British unions on these issues?

A motion from Communication Workers Union, seconded by Unite, seeks to develop “meaningful co-

ordination of collective bargaining”, partly by mapping the top employers “including their global structures”. A worthy aim but given the obsessive focus of the TUC on Europe and established international structures dominated by the west, how are they to cope with the reality? Links between British trades unionists and subsidiaries of firms operating here have largely been limited to European Works Councils, which have received little attention in the Brexit process that the TUC is totally focused upon. The default position is that UK employees will no longer be representatives on EWCs, and their seats will be reallocated, unless the parties to the EWC agreement agree otherwise. Those governed by UK law will have to designate a replacement EU country to govern the EWC.

Clearly, building links with trades unionists in many diverse countries is an important next step. Trade union internationalism is still a very sectarian business, with no sign of rapprochement between the World Federation of Trade Unions, formerly an Eastern bloc body, and the International Federation of Trade Unions, formerly a western bloc body. Whilst western unions are averse to links to some WFTU affiliates, many are dual in character and a whole series of important countries have affiliates or sympathetic bodies. (e.g. Bolivia, China, Cuba, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Palestine, Peru, Spain, Serbia, South Africa, and Vietnam.)

Whilst there are maybe four dozen big and famous British companies that are subsidiaries of foreign companies, the reverse is true. GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) is one of the world’s leading pharmaceutical companies. Whilst an astonishing number of companies are now foreign-owned, there are now only 20 British companies in the world’s top 500, sixth place in terms of numbers of firms on the list, behind the US (126), China (111), Japan (52), Germany (32) and France (28). Perhaps an easily expected global British company might be BP, with headquarters still in Britain, it is one of seven major oil and gas companies in the world and now operates in over 70 countries. Jaguar Land Rover has a complicated past of owners, but China remains its most profitable market. Whilst BAE Systems is the third largest of its kind in the world, with 34,000 UK employees it has almost three times that number across

the globe. Unilever is the world’s largest food and drink producer.

But these transnational corporations are now often in unexpected sectors. Compass Group, founded in 1941 as Factory Canteens Limited, now bid for food supply contracts in more than 50 countries. Vodafone is the fourth largest phone network in the world, operating in 25 countries. Burberry sells its recognisable check patterns in over 500 stores in 50 countries. Lush Cosmetics total turnover including franchises has reached £743 million right across the globe. Durex began life as the London Rubber Company and, while the product is no longer produced in Britain, with a third of the global market, there’s no denying its reach. Even Sir James Dyson’s new electric car plant is in Singapore. Online retailer Asos ships to over 200 countries. Operating in over 40 countries across five continents, legal firm DLA Piper is one of the largest law firms in the world.

The TUC has its own charity to “alleviate suffering abroad”, TUC Aid, described as “global solidarity that works” in a booklet on payroll giving. A David Cameron initiative related to his ‘Big Society’ concept, this enables employees to give to any UK charity straight from their gross pay and receive tax relief. It also gives numerous benefits for businesses.

TUC Aid spending has much reduced in a very short period. Examples of TUC Aid funding cover projects in South America and Africa. Using the Just Giving on-line funding platform, TUC Aid Appeal raised £5,652.24 from 35 donors for “Zimbabwean trades unionists” at a time when Robert Mugabe was still President. More recently, its appeal to rebuild the Beit Lahia Plant Nursery in Gaza, which was badly damaged during a 2014 Israeli offensive raised £5,488.88 from 39 donors, although a target of £15,000 had been set. The Nursery was created to help improve food security in collaboration with a trade union solidarity support organisation in Australia. Recent and current projects include capacity raising support for the Guatemalan banana workers’ union SINTRABI and a project for the National Garment Workers’ Federation in Bangladesh to provide training for women trade union members. Support from TUC Aid has recently gone to:

★ Bangladesh

- ★ Colombia
- ★ Guatemala
- ★ Nicaragua
- ★ Occupied Palestinian Territories
- ★ Tunisia
- ★ Zimbabwe

Established by the TUC General Council through a legal deed in 1988, the charity (Number 299832) has the formal aim of relieving poverty in developing countries through the “provision of long-term development assistance and through the provision of emergency relief in time of need”, principally disasters. It also provides “technical advice”, training and education, and other charitable objects.

Fringe meetings are a big thing at the TUC and the Brighton Centre lends itself to ‘in house’ events. Most provide refreshments, with the result that few delegates bother to seek traditional lunch-time fare. Trying to hold a fringe outside of the centre is pointless. Over three days, 37 fringes were held this time, with the great and the good sometimes shuffling between several meetings with Freedom for Öcalan, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Cuba Solidarity, Colombia and Palestine gaining heavily supported attendances.

Another means into the consciousness of trades unionists at the TUC are the exhibition stands. Like a trade fair, many unions and quite a few businesses decide to invest in the expensive task of hiring one and giving away insignia branded gifts like pens or sticks of ‘rock’. Congress is attended by about 600 delegates from 48 affiliated unions, with many visitors. The exhibition area is a popular area to chill out in and gather for a chat. There are two options for a stand at Congress, a space-only site for your own stand or table within an allotted area, or a pre-made shell scheme

stand “with a white melamine finish” in six variable sizes and rising prices, from the pokey 3m x 1m at £2,059 to the slightly better endowed 4m x 3m at £8,237 (add VAT to both!). Campaign bodies with an international edge to them who opted for the exhibition route this year were: Amnesty International UK, Britain Israel Trade Union Dialogue, CND, Care4Calais, Burma Campaign UK, Cuba Solidarity, Freedom for Öcalan, Palestine Solidarity, War on Want. Could some kindly affiliate with a desire to have it own stand at next year’s TUC offer Liberation a slightly foreign corner of a stand in 2020?!



Murder in Mexico

The fate of 43 missing students remains unresolved amid claims that vested interests are orchestrating a cover up.

Xochitl Hernandez reports

CORRUPTION AND Impunity continue to cause problems for human rights investigators five years after the killing and forced disappearance of 43 students from rural Mexico.

In September 2014, a group of trainee teachers from the Isidrio Burgos Teacher Training College, near the town of Ayotzinapa in the southern state of Guerrero, set out to travel to Mexico City to mark the anniversary of the infamous 1968 'Tlatelolco Massacre' - one of the worst atrocities carried out

by the Mexican government against civilians, many of whom were students.

While not officially sanctioned, it was customary for the Ayotzinapa students to commandeer a number of buses in order to reach the Mexican capital many hours away.

Unlike previous years when students would return - along with the buses - after a few days in Mexico City, the police and other law enforcement agencies including local military, attacked the convoy and arrested many of the students. In the shoot-out, three

students were killed along with a member of a local football team travelling in another coach.

Forty-three students were then detained by the police - who to date have been unable to account for why none of those arrested have been seen since.

The then president Enrique Peña Nieto, opened a half-hearted enquiry which failed to produce any results - other than the shocking claim - which the then government called "the official truth" - that police had handed over the

students to a local drug trafficking cartel which had killed the young men and, allegedly, burned their bodies in a local rubbish dump.

The families, along with an international group of researchers (GIEI) including forensic specialists dispute the Peña Nieto's version of events and have continued to campaign for the return of their children, some of whom were already the fathers of young children themselves.

Last December Peña Nieto left office. Not only had he failed to live up to his promise to get to the bottom of the issue but he had widely been seen as having protected the military in Guerrero from having to answer questions about their role in the affair or their alleged links to drug production and trafficking in the region. Some believe that the army in Guerrero which has a long and bloody history of attacking liberation movements disappearing human rights protesters may be hiding evidence - or possibly even bodies inside barracks or military installations in the state. To date the army has refused the investigation to enter and search inside installations despite a Presidential promise that they would be allowed to do so.

By contrast, the new Mexican president, Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador has met the families of the missing students on several occasions and promised to redouble efforts to find them.

However, as the fifth anniversary of the atrocity came and went, families and their representatives including the Miguel Agustin pro Human Rights Centre in Mexico City, criticised the lack of progress over the past 10 months. Campaigners say they are deeply worried that as time passes, leads are not being followed correctly.

Human rights defenders have spoken of their concerns that the ongoing investigation is compromised from the inside as some officials from Peña Nieto's administration have been alleged to have hampering developments.

Indeed several high ranking officials, including the head of the anti-kidnapping department have left their posts while the investigation has been active yet seemingly unable to secure any meaningful results.

The most recent developments show that while more than 100 people have been arrested in connection with

the case - including many police officers and the former mayor of the nearby town of Iguala - who along with his wife has been linked to drug trafficking interests in the region - many of those questioned were themselves abused and as such their evidence has been ruled inadmissible.

The recent release of local cartel leader Gildardo Lopez Astudillo - who a judge ruled had been tortured during questioning - was especially upsetting for the families and has, according to human rights defender Maria Luisa Aguilar, "confirmed the judicial failure of the investigation."

The Miguel Agustin Pro Centre also cites numerous failings in the office and actions of the Attorney General under the previous administration and is now pinning its hopes on the appointment by President Lopez Obrador of Omar Gomez Trejo, a former member of the GIEI, to head a new investigation.

Lopez Obrador's Human Rights Secretary, Alejandro Encinas has also spoken out about the alleged torture and subsequent release of witnesses saying it is a worrying trend.

With another cartel leader - widely believed to have played a key role in ordering the disappearance of the students who may have unwittingly commandeered a bus in which heroine, destined for the United States had been hidden - set to appeal his arrest, human rights defenders are concerned that the most important evidence will be lost.

The pressure is on the investigation to yield results - and the human rights community - as well as the British government which has, along with several other European countries supported the new administration efforts to resolve the case - is watching Mexico closely.

Join us 26 October at NEU to talk about the 43 disappeared students and human rights in Mexico



Dear member/friend

We would like to invite you to attend our Annual General Meeting on Saturday 26th of October at the National Education Union, Hamilton house, Mabledon PI, London WC1H 9BD from 10:30 – 4:00 pm

The AGM will host seminars on IRAN, PALESTINE and MEXICO. The aim of these seminars is to raise awareness on human rights in different parts of the world.

We will be grateful if you could join us and confirm your attendance by sending email to Maggie Bowden at info@liberationorg.co.uk with your name, contact number and/or name of your organization. For further information or discuss please call on 02073242498.

Also Lunch will be available at the event. Tickets: £12 waged /£9 unwaged. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you need further information.

Warm regards,
Maggie Bowden (General Secretary)

Liberation, one of the oldest human rights organisations, was founded in 1954 as the Movement for Colonial Freedom. For more than half a century it has campaigned, alongside other anti-imperialist forces, to rid the world of colonialism. In 1958 its name was changed to Liberation, an organisation that today opposes neo-colonialism, economic exploitation and racism. At Liberation we undertake research and action centred on the prevention and curtailment of human rights violations, across a broad spectrum of countries. As an international and inter-connecting organisation, Liberation engages in advocacy work, supporting and standing in solidarity with other like-minded organisations. Liberation provides a space and framework to highlight and discuss issues of concern with the United Nations, the British Parliament, the International Labour Organisation and Trade Unions



Bolivar versus Monroe

Francisco Dominguez on the battle for Latin America

SINCE 2009 the seemingly unstoppable advance of the Bolivarian Left in Latin America began to be systematically rolled back. That year a US-backed coup ousted Honduras' democratically elected president Manuel Zelaya, thus unleashing a wave of terror and reaction over the population of this extremely poor Central American nation. The previous year, Bolivia's extreme right wing, in yet another US-backed coup attempt, intended, by violent means, the secession of the Eastern region where the bulk of the gas and oils deposits are. Both events signalled US strategic determination to fully restore its weakened hegemony in its 'backyard'.

In October 2009 the then Colombia's president Alvaro Uribe signed a Defence Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with G.W. Bush's administration by which the US was given access to and control over seven more military bases in the country (which with the 3 the US already had, increased to ten). In 2000 (one year after Chavez's election) US Republican Senator, Paul Coverdell, declared "in order to control Venezuela it is necessary to intervene militarily in Colombia."

Zelaya's ouster inaugurated a US

offensive over the whole region whose highlights were a failed coup attempt against Ecuador's president Rafael Correa in September 2010; in January 2012, left wing Paraguay's president Fernando Lugo was also ousted; in 2015, following a 4-year intense campaign of destabilisation against the left wing Peronista government, neoliberal forces in Argentina won the presidency; the impeachment of Brazil's president Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and the imprisonment of former president Lula, both on thoroughly phoney charges, also after an intense campaign of destabilisation and demonisation; in Ecuador, Correa's successor, president Lenin Moreno, elected in 2017 with Correista votes, betrayed the Citizen's Revolution and joined the forces of reaction to the point of supporting US imperialism intervention against Venezuela; worse in 2018 and as a direct consequence of Rousseff's impeachment and Lula's imprisonment, Brazilians elected fascist Jair Bolsonaro as their president.

Between 2017-18 right wing governments were also elected in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and in Colombia. Ivan Duque was elected in Colombia, who, in cahoots with Alvaro

Uribe and extreme right wing forces in the country, has managed to derail the hard-obtained peace process in that beleaguered South American nation.

Furthermore, the US government, first Obama and then Trump, unleashed an economic war against Bolivarian Venezuela that in 2018 was turned into a total blockade, wreaking havoc to its economy and people, especially the poorest and most vulnerable (the chronically ill, cancer, HIV and diabetes sufferers), given US efforts to block imports specifically food and medicines.

As part of the US offensive, the Trump administration also unleashed a violent coup attempt against the democratically elected government of Nicaragua in 2018. The coup attempt, though it failed, caused huge destruction, large economic losses and hundreds of lives lost.

Thus by 2018, the US looked like it ruled the region unimpeded, with the left wing governments in Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia and even Cuba, living on borrowed time. Superficial academics and intellectuals began to 'theorize' about the end of the 'progressive cycle' in Latin America.

The world corporate media has objectively been a key component of



US's strategy to re-impose its hegemony in the region. And the European Union has been a pretty loyal ally, by either not opposing US systematic malfesancies in the region or by supporting them. Nothing legitimises US foreign policy than the slavish support it gets from the EU.

US failure to fully restore its regional hegemony, especially in Nicaragua, Venezuela, Bolivia and Cuba, is leading it to resort to ever more bizarre and extreme measures such as the resuscitation of the 1947 Inter American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (TIAR in its Spanish acronym) so as to launch a military invasion against Venezuela with the participation of several Latin American countries, notably Colombia. Were the US to get away with this, it would allow it to turn Latin America into another Middle East, a region, where it intervenes militarily any time it wishes.

However, in the last few months, positive developments augur well for the coming period. First off, Bolivarian Venezuela, against enormous odds, continues to successfully resist US imperialist hostility and is defeating every aggression. Chavismo is coming out strengthened with the right wing opposition being severely weakened and deeply divided. US-controlled 'self-proclaimed' Juan Guaidó, after evidence of his strong links with Colombian paramilitaries (apparently led by the Colombian government), is really finished.

Sandinista Nicaragua, the second poorest country in the region, managed to defeat the 2018 US-backed coup attempt, is rapidly recovering economically, successfully restoring political stability, and confronting a much weaker opposition. It is to be noted that in the last 10 years Nicaragua had an average rate of growth of 4% and a host of highly progressive social policies.

Perhaps one of the heaviest blows against US hegemony in the region was the defeat (50+% against 29%) of Macri in the primary elections held last August in Argentina, thus almost guaranteeing the return of a Peronista government with Cristina Fernandez becoming vice-president in the coming general elections in October 2019. In less than 3 years, Macri indebted Argentina by US\$283bn with disastrous consequences for the nation and its people. Furthermore, the prospects for Evo Morales' re-election as Bolivia's president on October 20, 2019, are also strong, especially considering that the nation's average rate of growth has been over 4% in the last decade with impressive social achievements.

What was definitely not on the US calculations was the extraordinary electoral victory of left wing Lopez Obrador, better known as AMLO, in Mexico in 2018, election that has changed quite dramatically the region's political relations of forces. AMLO is slowly but steadily implementing an anti-neoliberal government programme.

As we write, we learn that traitor Lenin Moreno faces a well-supported organised general strike in response to his intention to implement a brutal austerity package. Ecuadoreans have ousted several governments in the last two decades. So another US ally is going down the pan.

The Peruvian government, the hub of the illegal US-led right wing group set up to 'legitimise' US aggression against Venezuela, the Lima Group, is, as we write, in deep crisis: elected president, Pablo Kuczynski, is under house arrest, after being forced to resign for corruption; his replacement, Martin Vizcarra, closed down congress and called for early elections, after the right wing-controlled parliament rejected his proposals twice; the congress, then unconstitutionally appointed vice-president Meche Araoz, as 'interim president', but the support of the armed forces for Vizcarra, and the gigantic

upsurge of social mobilization against Araoz, forced her to resign with her presidency lasting only one day. In other words, a US-created mess.

And Bolsonaro's government though it has set Brazil back more than 40 year, has a very chaotic performance, is riddled with corruption, and confronts an increasingly militant and active civil society (workers, students, teachers, women, indigenous peoples, afro descendants, LGBT community and many others) that last May staged the biggest mobilization in defence of public education in the country's history. Worse, Lula is winning the political battle to be freed from imprisonment, issue that is an intractable thorn on the regime's side. Another US-created mess.

The imposition of brutal neoliberal policies in the nations where its cronies have come to office or power makes it almost impossible for the US to consolidate these political gains. In other words, because it has nothing to offer Latin America, time is against US regional objectives.

Thus, two colossal worldviews are battling for Latin America: Monroeism (named after the Monroe Doctrine) versus Bolivarianism. The former intends to subjugate the region into total submission by imposing on it savage neoliberal policies: abolition of social, political and economic rights of the majority; privatisation of all national assets – including raw materials such as oil, gas, water – to the benefit of voracious US multinational companies; elimination of their national sovereignty, and the installation of US military bases in their territories as a 'robust' guarantee of their vassalage. Bolivarianism, on the other hand, is associated with standing up to imperialism, social justice, use of the nation's wealth to redistribute income, poverty eradication, free and universal health care and education, elimination of racial and gender discrimination, and the nation's social and economic development.

In this battle, international solidarity will continue to play a very important function, namely to tell the truth about US real objectives, counteract the incessant media lies that demonise the left in Latin America, and denounce and oppose the UK's government complicity in the US aggression against progressive Latin America.

So, Trump get your greedy, filthy hands off Latin America!

3 Oct 2019

REVIEW



Britain and the Dictatorships of Argentina and Chile 1973 – 1982

by Grace Livingstone
Palgrave Macmillan
ISBN 978-3-319-78298
2018 £16.00

DURING THE twentieth century, Latin America was the scene of numerous military coups which established oppressive dictatorships notorious for their abuse of democratic and human rights. This book is a detailed study of the policies adopted by Britain towards two of them – in Chile and Argentina.

On 11 September, 1973, Augusto Pinochet, the head of Chilean armed forces, launched a coup against the democratically elected socialist president, Salvador Allende. He bombed the presidential palace, fired on and arrested thousands of Allende supporters and other left-wingers, and shut down all democratic institutions.

In Argentina on 26th March, 1976, the widowed third wife of former dictator Juan Peron, Isabella Peron, who had been elected president, was overthrown by the army, which closed down the Congress, banned political parties, dissolved the Supreme Court, and arrested thousands of political activists including former ministers.

In the case of both Chile and Argentina, the British Foreign Office and leading ambassadorial staff – despite theoretical commitments to democracy – recommended recognition of the military juntas established and downplayed reports of human rights infringements.

Grace Livingstone attributes this to the class basis of the personnel involved. She states that, in 1950, 83% of Foreign Office recruits attended private schools and the figure was still 68% ten years later. In 1980, 80% of ambassadors and top Foreign Office officials had attended fee-paying schools.

Not surprisingly, their advice on the Chilean coup was accepted by the Conservative government led by Edward Heath, but when Labour, under Harold Wilson, was elected in 1974, the government's attitude changed to condemnation of the Pinochet regime.

The author attributes this to the very robust anti-Pinochet campaign by the Labour and trade union movement from the day of the coup. Grace Livingstone describes this from the initial demonstration organised by Liberation to the continuing protests and deputations later co-ordinated by the Chile Solidarity Campaign. She argues that ministers could not fail to be aware of the powerful feelings generated by the coup.

In the case of the Argentinian army's seizure of power, however, the Labour government of the time largely accepted Foreign Office guidance. Despite a limited number of protests (including one from the present reviewer to the Prime Minister – then Jim Callaghan), the Labour and trade union movement was suspicious of the Perons and only woke up to the enormity of the dire terror inflicted by the Argentinian junta several years later.

In the cases of both Chile and Argentina, business interests were

strongly against any criticism of the juntas which could damage their activities. One of the principle business interests concerned was the arms industry.

Even with Chile, the Labour government pushed through the delivery of two frigates and a destroyer, although two submarines were temporarily held back and workers at East Kilbride stopped work on Rolls Royce engines intended for Hawker Hunter aircraft destined for Chile.

With Argentina, however, Vickers provided two missile destroyers that were later used against British forces in the Falklands War. Six type 21 frigates sought by Argentina were lobbied for by the Ministry of Defence sales department, but later the orders went to Germany. Sir Anthony Griffiths, chair of British Shipbuilders, wrote to Eric Varley, Industry Secretary, suggesting diversion of a Royal Navy warship to Argentina, although the commanders of the armed forces were strongly against this. Numerous visits were made to Britain by Argentinian military leaders to discuss possible arms sales. One of these, Brigadier Miguel Angel Osses, was later indicted on charges of involvement in 100 cases of kidnapping and torture. British officials and military personnel visited Argentina to promote arms sales, regardless of this.

It was all linked to a concern to promote jobs in the defence industry, but criticisms of the Argentine regime gradually increased: from Amnesty International, student and religious groups and trade union branches. In subsequent years it emerged that the



junta killed an estimated 30,000 people.

At this time, negotiations were going on with the Argentine regime about the sovereignty of the Falklands, but no one seriously expected the issue to lead to war. Oil companies were interested in the possibilities of exploration in coastal waters and were unhappy about a transfer of the islands to Argentina.

When the Conservative government was elected in 1979, however, Mrs.

Thatcher did everything possible to strengthen relations with the junta and Nicholas Ridley closed the door on Argentinian refugees. Proposals to increase arms sales were legion. Ambassadors were exchanged and two Conservative ministers, Cecil Parkinson and Peter Walker, visited Argentina to promote good relations and trade.

Despite this, Hugh O'Shaughnessy wrote a *Financial Times* supplement detailing human rights abuses and a number of Labour MPs (including the present reviewer) maintained their criticisms of the regime.

The Conservative government foolishly agreed to a number of steps which the junta took to indicate that Britain would not defend the Falklands. HMS Endeavour, the only British warship in the South Atlantic, was withdrawn, and the British Nationalities Bill (1981) was introduced which deprived the Falklanders and others elsewhere of British citizenship. Intelligence reports suggesting the possibility of an invasion were disregarded. Negotiations for a deal with the junta were abandoned and the invasion followed.

Although this book stops short of dealing with the Argentinian aftermath of

the Falklands war, defeat brought the junta down and eventually led to the trial and punishment of many of those who had inflicted unlimited terror on the population.

The author provides a most revealing exposure of the way in which British foreign policy was made towards Chile and Argentina in the face of military coups. It suggests that a similar pattern of events was followed through in the case of military coups in Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and elsewhere. No sanctions were imposed and trade and investment were encouraged in every case.

If ever there is to be an ethical foreign policy, the research on which this book is based deserves careful study. Grace Livingstone's book should be read by everyone who takes an interest in foreign policy and international affairs. It is a gem which demonstrates not only the need for changes in the way that foreign policy is formulated but also for a more open and democratic system of recruiting Foreign Office and diplomatic personnel which does not rely so heavily on the output of public schools.

Stan Newens,
September 2018.



For train drivers, trade unions and the Labour Party since 1880 let's build better railway and build a better Britain

Passengers are fed up with the poor value they are being offered by Britain's privatised train companies and want the government to do something about it. Because the privatised railway isn't working properly the privatised train companies are ripping off the taxpayer and ripping off their passengers.

Mick Whelan general secretary
David Calfe president

Yes to the struggle for human and democratic rights... No to war!

The threat of a new war in the Persian Gulf can only exacerbate the dire conditions under which most Iranian people live. The NEU supports Iranian trades unionists in their unequivocal rejection of war under any pretext and in their call for an end to all sanctions.

We also demand the immediate release of the Iranian teachers' leader Esmail Abdi and an end to the persecution of Iranian educators and their unions by the Iranian government.

Kevin Courtney *Mary W. Boustead*

Kevin Courtney and Dr Mary Boustead
Joint General Secretaries, National Education Union



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