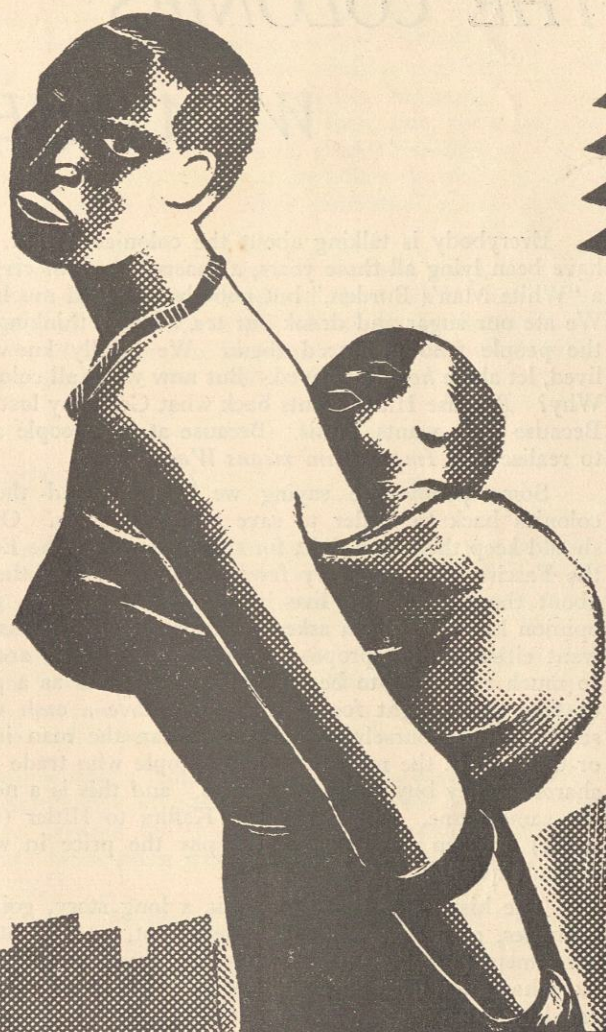


COLONIES



Id.

WHAT NEXT?

REG REYNOLDS

THE COLONIES

WHAT NEXT?

Everybody is talking about the colonies at last. There they have been lying all these years, a "sacred trust of civilisation" and a "White Man's Burden," but nobody bothered much about them. We ate our sugar and drank our tea without thinking much about the people who produced them. We hardly knew *where* they lived, let alone *how* they lived. But now we're all colony-conscious. Why? Because Hitler wants back what Germany lost at Versailles. Because Italy wants Tunis. Because at last people are beginning to realise that *Imperialism means War*.

Some people are saying we should hand the ex-German colonies back to Hitler to save our own skins. Others say we should keep them and fight for the integrity of the Empire against the Fascist menace. Very few people seem to bother very much about the people who live in these colonies and, in fact, their opinion has never been asked—because they might say they didn't want either of the proposed alternatives. They are regarded as so much raw meat to be handed to the Nazis as a peace-offering or kept and fought for because they have a cash value to ourselves. And "ourselves" does not mean the man in the factory or the man in the mine, but those people who trade in stocks and shares. They buy and sell "Kaffirs," and this is a new version of the same game. Shall they sell Kaffirs to Hitler (in return for peace) or keep them and let us pay the price in war? It is a difficult question.

The history of the colonies is a long story, going back over centuries, of a struggle for markets, loot, and lucrative fields for investment (and that means, of course, human exploitation). That story has often been told but it is still little known. For a bob you can buy a brief account of it in a recent publication called *Why Were They Proud?* which is on sale at the Socialist Book Shop. By 1914 most of the then available colonies were booked-up, so to speak; and Germany (a late starter in the race) found herself in a bad position. The result was the War. Peace was the one

blessing that everyone was quite certain we had given to the natives of Africa, so to illustrate this fact the British threw 14,000 Kenya natives into the struggle, using another 150,000 as porters in the campaign. Of these 4,300 native soldiers died fighting or of disease, while 42,318 died from maladies contracted in the service of civilisation. The Germans, on their side, made use of 11,621 Africans, and Norman Leys (who gives these figures in his book, *Kenya*) points out that the total casualties showed a *greater destruction of human life than a whole generation of inter-tribal war*.

To-day, Germany has even less to lose and more to gain. Hence it may be assumed that within a short while there may be another world war to decide which of the Great Powers shall have the privilege of bringing the blessings of peace and civilisation to the benighted people of the colonies.

THE MANDATES SYSTEM.

The ex-German colonies are to-day held under the title of "Mandates." When they were taken away from the Bad Boys and given to the Good Boys it didn't seem right just to call them colonies any more. Japan was then one of the Good Boys, having helped us win the War, so it seemed only reasonable that the Japanese should have a mandate like the British and the French. Besides, they had already helped themselves to the swag, so something had to be said to put a good face on it.

Later Japan became a Bad Boy and left the League of Nations. But the Japs didn't give up their mandate over the islands taken from Germany. Instead the spokesman of the Japanese Government said a very blunt piece which the *Daily Herald* reported on January 28th, 1933:

"The presence," he said, "of President Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference made it impossible to call things by their right names. Instead of the spoils of war they were called Mandates."

The same word proved serviceable for the dismemberment of Turkey. Palestine and Irak became "mandates"; but it was soon clear that to hold Irak by brute force might be difficult, so eventually Irak was given "independence" of a kind that safe-

guarded the financial and strategic interests of Great Britain. Palestine remained, like the ex-German colonies, a colony in all but name.

What difference did all this make to the people who lived in these colonies? They had been oppressed under their previous rulers—German or Turkish. They were now oppressed under new rulers. If the Germans had stolen their land it was not returned to them. White still exploited Black. They had no “say” in the administration of their country. They were still chattels for the convenience of white settlers and the profit of foreign investors.

Some people are now saying that the Mandates System should be extended to all the present colonial territories. Then Germany and Italy and Japan could share in their administration, and there would be no more quarreling (they say) about who should own which colony, because we should all unite in brotherly love to kick the Africans about and all the other people who are “not yet fit for self-government.” It is a beautiful idea for everyone except, of course, the colonial peoples (and after all, nobody bothers about *them*). And yet we needn’t even trouble to discuss it, because it’s quite impossible, fortunately, in a world where every state is frantically striving to bolster up the dying system of capitalism by creating monopolies of markets for itself. British capitalism, with a long lead ahead of its rivals, is not likely to give up its advantages so easily.

ENTER FASCISM.

The big Imperialist Powers are grouped in two natural alliances: the “Have” Powers and the “Have-Nots.” Those that “have” are relatively prosperous, naturally. They can afford to bribe you and me in all sorts of ways, or buy us off if we get nasty. The working-class enjoys such privileges as “Democracy” can offer. Our wages are higher. We have better social services. This gives us the feeling that we have something to defend, and that is the very feeling it is intended to give us. For this “Democracy” the Labour Party leaders and the Communist Party are urging the working man to fight, if need be, against the Fascist Powers.

These Fascist Powers are the Have-Nots, and that is why they are fascist, or one of the principal reasons. They cannot afford to bribe or make concessions without bankrupting the capitalist system. So in these countries the capitalists have played their last card. They have thrown away all pretence of being “democratic” and hold power by two means. One is brute force and the other is continual preparation for war. So long as people can be persuaded that their enemy is over the frontier they will obviously be blind to the fact that *their enemy is at home*. That applies, of course, to our own country quite as much as to Germany; but here the Labour Party Bosses and the Communists have helped to create the same illusion that Hitler and Mussolini have created among the people of Germany and Italy. They have pointed continually to the enemy in Berlin and in Rome. They seek to blind us to the fact that our worst and nearest enemy is the class that exploits us and sends us to murder German workers in order that it may continue to exploit us and to exploit the workers and peasants in the Colonies.

The clash of interest that we see developing is said to be between Fascist and Democratic States. That is a lie. Neither the government of Britain nor that of France is democratic. The Government of Britain “represents” in some way the views of a majority of the population of this country (about 45 millions) but it controls the lives and destinies of some 500 million people, including those of India, in spite of the sham Indian constitution. Forty millions in France are in the same sense absolute masters of sixty-five millions in the French colonies. If representative government means anything at all, these are the facts. If it does not, then the farce of democracy is even worse, and we ourselves must be added to the list of slaves. At best, therefore, our “democracy” is like the House of Lords, which is a very democratic institution, no doubt, from the point of view of those privileged to belong to it.

Not only is our “democracy” as autocratic as a fascist state in its dealings with the vast majority of those subjected to its rule: it is also as brutal and as barbarous. Hitler and Mussolini have suppressed the freedom of the press. So does our Government in India and the colonies, the moment the press endangers British rule by telling unpleasant truths. (In our own country the press is so tied to vested interests that it does not need to be censored as a rule, but once a War for Democracy started this democratic farce would end, for the Government would take no

chances at such a time). Freedom of Association is denied in the fascist countries. So it is also in many parts of the British Empire. In Kenya, for example, legislation forbids more than five "natives" to meet together except for religious purposes! And when the people, very naturally, formed "religious" societies to get over this difficulty a ruling was given which meant, in effect, that a meeting was not religious unless a white man was present.

We read of imprisonment in Germany and Italy, often without trial or after sentence by a secret tribunal. In India, under the Labour Government of 1929-31 some 60,000 persons were imprisoned within a period of about eight months for political "offences," and of these many were condemned by secret tribunals whilst hundreds were not tried at all but imprisoned or put in concentration camps for an indefinite period with no charge brought against them. Many of these "detenues," as they were called, were sent to the Andaman Isles—our Indian equivalent of the French "Devil's Island"—an unhealthy spot where many died of disease.

Even the persecution of the Jewish minority in Germany has its counterpart in the British Empire; for if Hitler persecutes minorities we persecute majorities, and have done so more thoroughly! Take the example of Kenya again. All the best land has been stolen from the natives, who are crowded into the worst part of the country. But the white settlers want labour, and so the native is compelled to leave his "reserve" and work as a wage slave on the land that has been stolen from him, for the profit of the thieves who stole it! The method is very simple, as Sir Percy Girouard explained in 1913, when he was Governor of Kenya:

"We consider taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his Reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native, and as we previously pointed out, it is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depends."

So a poll tax is imposed on the Negroes which can only be paid by wage-earning on the farms of the Settlers.

When gold was discovered within the native "Reserve" in 1932 more land was seized by the Government, which this time paid a ridiculous "compensation" in cash to the 10,000 natives who were turned off and thrown onto the labour market. It is inter-

esting to note that the Kenya natives themselves are forbidden by law to prospect for gold even in their own "Reserves." It is a penal offence! They are also forbidden to grow coffee and other crops in which they might compete with the Europeans. Recently, in order to provide cheap meat for a corn-beef factory, 200,000 head of cattle belonging to the Wakamba tribe were ordered to be slaughtered, and the people were forced to sell these cattle at prices varying from 11/- to 15/- per head when the market price was between 50/- and 100/-.

CAN HITLER BEAT THIS?

The laws that restrict the liberty of the African Negro are unequalled in any part of the world. They vary in different parts of Africa, but everywhere they are to be found. In South Africa and certain East African colonies the following "passes" must be carried on occasion by every Negro:

- Identification Pass.
- Travelling Pass.
- Six Days Special Pass.
- Monthly Pass.
- Daily Labourer's Pass.
- Day Special Pass.
- Night Special Pass.
- Trek Pass.
- Location Visitor's Pass.
- Lodger's Permit.
- Poll Tax Receipt Pass.
- Exemption Pass.

Unless he is carrying the appropriate passes, the native is liable to summary imprisonment. Forced labour is still common in many of the colonies. In Kenya the law prohibits the making of any collections except for purposes approved by the Government—that is to prevent any organisation being built up (though secret organisations still continue in spite of all such legislation).

Fascism, we know, means war. So does imperialism, as we have already seen. Not only has it brought about all the major wars of the past two centuries, but it means perpetual wars of

repression against the subject peoples when they rebel. There is almost continual war on the North West Frontier of India, and we read in the press (*Sunday Times*, 13th November, 1938) of a gallant officer being decorated for machine-gunning and bombing tribesmen from the air—just like Mussolini's brave boy did in Abyssinia! In Palestine to-day the same thing is happening. The *News Chronicle* of 12th November tells us of a glorious "battle" on Armistice Day, when the Coldstream Guards were too busy with the massacre to pause for the Two Minutes' Silence! In this account the Guards are described as wearing Red Poppies tucked in their helmets and the whole business is appropriately compared to "grouse shooting," with the Coldstreamers as "beaters," beating the ground for Arabs so that our gallant airmen might machine-gun them as they ran.

Hitler imposes a "collective fine" on the Jews. He learnt it from the British, who have used this method for years in India and are now using it in Palestine. When an Arab village is "collectively fined" the military and police impound all the livestock. Those who can afford to, buy back their beasts from the Government. Those who have no money lose them—that is to say, they lose their only source of livelihood, though they may be completely innocent of the "crime" for which they are being punished. Nobody knows or cares. But the children, deprived of their food, are left to starve and the parents become beggars or bandits.

Hundreds of houses—we do not yet know how many—have been destroyed in Palestine. The press continually reports fresh instances of punitive expeditions to blow up the homes of Arabs against whom nothing has been proved—and there is no reason at all to assume that all the cases, especially the worst ones, are reported in our papers. A force of over 25,000 is now engaged in "exterminating" the Arab rebels, to use the expression employed by the *News Chronicle* correspondent (who is by no means pro-Arab). Whole villages are deserted because the people cannot support the punitive police who are billeted on them. We read in the *News Chronicle* (27th October, 1938) of the old and the sick, left homeless on the mountain side after their homes had been destroyed by British troops. Military Courts, with complete powers, superseding the civil authorities, pass sentence of death on Arabs for the mere *carrying* of fire-arms, which is a capital offence. Over a thousand Arabs are in concentration camps, of

which Lord Winterton (now a member of the Government) has told us that

"I cannot imagine that Herr Hitler has found any spot more desolate in the way of concentration camps than the Palestinian Government have found for the people who are in revolt there." (*Hansard*, 19th June, 1936).

Curfew orders are imposed which confine the people to their houses, often causing great suffering, as in the case of Jaffa, where a curfew was recently imposed for twenty-one hours a day. Damage to property (except where the Government itself does it!) is punishable by life imprisonment. The Government commandeers or confiscates anything it wants under special regulations. And to conceal all this legalised lawlessness there is, of course, the usual censorship of the press, of letters, telegrams, etc. Arrests without warrant and deportation without trial are also resorted to.

This is a war as real and as terrible as the war in Spain or the war in China. The same brutalities are committed with the same object—the crushing of a people to serve the ends of capitalism. And the presence of our army in Palestine is as utterly unjustifiable as Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia. An account in the *Daily Telegraph* (27th October, 1938) even tells us of British armoured cars carrying Arab "hostages" to prevent attack on the roads—a practice which historians condemn as barbarous, even in the Middle Ages.

All this information may be confirmed from the capitalist press and the Government's own admissions. In addition there are the usual "atrocities" stories, confirmed by numerous Arab witnesses and in some cases by English observers. There is no need to repeat them—they are the same sort of stories that we get from Germany, tales of loot and murder and torture. Of course, the Government indignantly denies such stories—have not the accused officials plainly stated that they never did anything of the sort? And isn't their word sufficient against any number of Arab oaths? It was the same in India, when Wedgwood Benn, the Labour Secretary of State, used to deny all the atrocities that took place because the officials at Delhi or Simla (who were omniscient and could not possibly tell a lie) had assured him that the police were as harmless as doves. And it is the same in Germany, if we are to believe "official" opinion. We may be quite sure, according to the German Government, that all the stories about the concentration camps are a pack of lies.

Therefore we need not discuss such stories except to say that there is as good reason to believe them as to believe these German stories, that the stories themselves are quite as bad, quite as probable, quite as capable of having been invented in some cases, perhaps, and quite as monotonously denied by officials. This will always be the case where there is censorship, where there are concentration camps and political prisoners, with no independent organisation allowed to investigate and publish its findings. All the Arab national committees have, of course, been suppressed, and in any case no paper in Palestine is allowed to criticise Government terrorism or publish unpleasant facts.

SOME "MODEL" COLONIES.

The case of Palestine is an up-to-date instance of imperialism and its logical consequences. We have seen that it is as bad as fascism, if not worse. Indeed, if there is any important difference between the two systems it is that the subject peoples seem to hate imperialism a great deal more than the people of the fascist countries hate fascism! Disarmed and helpless as they are in most of the colonies, they are continually agitating and striving to organise themselves against their foreign masters.

Some colonies are better, some worse. That depends on climate and other factors—especially the suitability or otherwise of the colony for European settlement. Certainly it has nothing whatever to do with whether the colony is a "mandate" or not. But the "best" colonies have been shown up badly during the last year or two. The West Indies, for example, where the Governor (Sir Murchison Fletcher) got the sack for showing a little human sympathy—a rare and highly improper thing for a colonial official to show. He actually said that "an industry has no right to pay dividends at all unless it pays a fair wage to labour." Things got so bad in Trinidad that a Commission was sent out to discover why starving people revolted. This Commission discovered that 43% of the people were illiterate, that men earned from 2/6 to 2/9 per day on the plantations, and that the strike leader, Uriah Butler, was "a fanatical Negro who made speeches of an inflammatory character." They censured a police inspector for hesitating to shoot innocent persons, *recommended flogging for any man caught twice robbing an orchard*, and

criticised the Governor for shewing some sympathy to empty bellies. *Among the signatories of their report was Sir Arthur Pugh, a former T.U.C. President.*

The West African colonies were also supposed to be rather well administered. Labour Party imperialists like Roden Buxton have for years been telling us this. They pointed out how generous we had been in West Africa, not to steal the Negroes' land. Of course, the climate was unsuitable for White settlement. All the same the Government has seized gold-bearing territory, "reserved" it as "forest land," and then leased it to British Companies. According to the financial papers these companies seem to be doing very well. Meanwhile the Negro was graciously permitted to grow cocoa and other crops on his own plantations for British firms to purchase. The British firms got into a ring, bought up all the wharfs and the transport and very soon dictated prices to the native planter. The result has been a scrap between the planters and the British interests, in which the Colonial officials by some curious coincidence are always found to be on the side of the capitalists.

The Dutch East Indies are also supposed to be an example of the "good" colonies, yet here among other things we find legislation restricting native rubber production for fear that it competes successfully with that of the European planters! So much for the claim that imperialism means the development of resources which the lazy native will not develop for himself!

It is impossible in this small pamphlet to discuss all the colonies. There are the appalling labour conditions in Ceylon (not excluding the plantations of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which has refused a Trade Union investigation). There is the small island of Mauritius, where strike leaders were recently deported and imprisoned and even our T.U.C. General Council protested. There is Cyprus, perhaps the worst-governed of all the British possessions. And there are the colonies of other countries, for which we can spare little space here. Nevertheless, a word should be said regarding the French colonies, because they raise problems which may soon face us on a large scale and already face us in Palestine.

THE REAL MENACE OF FASCISM.

When the French "Popular Front" came to power there were many in the French colonies who really believed that when Mon-

sieur Blum and his friends said "Democracy" they meant it. These people actually supported the Popular Front, and great was their disgust when they found that "Democracy" only meant the continuation of French imperialism as before.

There were strikes and demonstrations. In Pondicherry the French authorities shot down the workers. In Indo-China wholesale arrests were made of the militant leaders. In Algeria the "Star of North Africa" (a party struggling for liberation, which had nevertheless backed the Popular Front) was declared illegal. Martial Law was proclaimed at Meknès. More than five hundred members of the Moroccan Party of Action were arrested, and in Tunis over thirty demonstrators were shot, most of them for protesting against the eviction of a militant trade-unionist from the phosphate mines at Metlaoui. Newspapers that opposed these measures of "Democracy" were everywhere suppressed.

All these measures had the full support of the French "Socialists" and Communists. Whoever, they said, opposed the dictatorship of French imperialism, must be a "Trotsky-fascist," in the pay of Hitler or Mussolini. We hear similar talk regarding Palestine to-day. In the name of democracy and of socialism fascist measures are used to suppress every movement for liberation.

Here lies the real peril of fascism in the colonies, for the measures that are being adopted will very soon produce the very thing that our champions of "Democracy" profess to dread. The Arab and the Moor know that they are oppressed, robbed and exploited. They know that every principle of democracy is violated in the arbitrary administration of their countries. How can they regard those who support this system as anything but their worst enemies? And if these people call themselves "democrats," "socialists" or "communists," how can they fail to regard them as hypocrites? On the other hand the Fascist Powers, eager to make trouble and glean advantage, air the grievances of these colonial peoples, send them arms and money and seek to turn the Arab war for independence in Palestine to their own purposes.

Unless the Arab and the Moor are assumed to have much more than the average human intelligence they can only come to one conclusion. That the "democrats" are their enemies and the fascists are their friends. The wonder is that they have so long held out against this very natural conclusion; but all the efforts of intelligent leaders in Palestine, Algeria, Tunis and Morocco

will not be able to combat this insidious reasoning much longer. In Spanish Morocco the Moors went over to Franco's side because he promised them what the Spanish Popular Front had refused them—independence. Here once more the defenders of "Democracy" were autocrats when it came to their colonies. In vain the leaders of the P.O.U.M. pleaded with the government up to the last moment to grant the Moors autonomy and give them something worth defending. These "Trotsky-fascist" counsels fell on deaf ears. Under pressure from their Popular Front brethren in France, the Government at Madrid decided to keep the Moors in "democratic" slavery. Then Franco came with his promises and Spain paid the price. The Moors who invaded the country with the fascist armies were doing no more than the Spaniards had done to them: they believed that they were paying back old scores for the years of conquest when Spanish armies had occupied Morocco. And the working-class leaders (apart from P.O.U.M. and the anarchists) had given them no reason to distinguish between the Spaniards who were their enemies and the Spaniards who were their friends. How were the Moors to see any difference?

Unless there is a revolutionary change in the attitude of French and British Labour to the problems of Empire, the story of Spanish Morocco may well be repeated with variations all round the South and East of the Mediterranean. Italy wants Tunis. What have the people of Tunis to lose or gain by that? *Nothing*. But it may not prove difficult with well chosen promises at the right moment for Mussolini to persuade the oppressed and exploited peoples of Tunis that he is going to "liberate" them from the French, just as he may offer to "liberate" the Palestine Arabs, if they do not first liberate themselves. Meanwhile, only one thing can stop the spread of fascism among these people—that is the knowledge that the working-class in Britain and France is *on their side* against imperialism: that they have friends here *who are sincere and mean business*.

GERMANY'S CLAIM FOR COLONIES.

We can now return to Germany's claim for the return of her colonies with some knowledge of what we are discussing.

We have seen that the slogan "Democracy versus Fascism" just won't wash. The real clash is the old one: Imperialism versus Imperialism. In this discussion of repression, because it is necessary for every one to know first that our methods in the colonies are the methods of Hitler and Mussolini, we have said very little about the poverty and disease, the appalling working conditions and high mortality in the colonies. It would take another pamphlet to tell that story, but the facts are known and can be cited (mainly from Government publications) to show that the average Indian peasant (to take one example) earns about *one-ninth of the dole* (3½d. per day); that his expectation of life, at birth, is about 23 years; that millions in India die of deficiency diseases every year, and that a slum in Bombay makes a London slum look like a palace in comparison. In Africa and the colonies generally conditions are, on the average, as bad.

No wonder, then, that Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, speaking on behalf of the people of Kenya, should say (discussing Hitler's colonial claims) that no-one in his senses fights for the difference between 11½d. and 1/-. Nazi rule in the colonies might be a little worse than our own or it might be a little better. All the colonial people know about that is that they want neither our rule nor Hitler's. The attempt to make out that the African natives are wildly enthusiastic about British Rule and anxious to remain under it is just so much eye-wash. Naturally, there are always a few tame chiefs and others who will say whatever they are told to say and anybody who dared to say that he objected to British Rule would not long remain at liberty to repeat it in any African colony. The very people who profess to represent the "United Front" in Kenya and Tanganyika between the Negroes and the settlers (European and Indian) are now engaged in piloting legislation through for the purpose of stealing some more of the Negroes' land in Kenya!

The people of Africa have never been consulted. Nobody, apparently, intends that they shall be. But such free spokesmen as they have make very clear the point which we have quoted from Mr. Kenyatta. "A plague on both your houses" is their motto, and what else, indeed, would one expect them to say? They are not deceived by pious talk of "doing good" to the poor, benighted natives. They know that Powers do not quarrel over who shall have that privilege. Also they have their own ideas of what is "good" and the same objections that we have to those

persons, whether well-meaning or hypocritical, who insist on forcing their dictatorships upon us to save us from ourselves.

AN URGENT QUESTION.

From every point of view the colonial question is now the most urgent matter facing the British worker, *from his own point of view*.

Firstly, because new industries are growing up in the colonial countries in which coolie labour is being used to compete with British labour. All the machinery of autocracy is used to crush strikes and even to crush the trade union movement itself, or prevent its formation. Leaders are imprisoned and savagely punished. Strikers are brutally assaulted by the police and military, as in the cases already mentioned (Trinidad, Tunis and Pondicherry) and in every other colonial centre of industry. Wages are scandalously low, and, in the absence of any democratic control over the government, there is little legislation to restrict hours or the employment of women or children. Health and Unemployment Insurance are things unheard of. These colonies are a capitalist's paradise where huge profits are made from shameful exploitation. *Hundred per cent. dividends have not been by any means unusual in Indian industries where the workers earned only a few shillings a week.* 20 to 30 per cent. is quite a common figure.

That is why the Jute industry left Dundee for Calcutta. That is why cotton is following and iron and steel will be next on the list. That is why, while Empire lasts, its continuation must mean from now on an increase in unemployment among British workers and the lowering of our standard of living to meet coolie competition.

Secondly, as we have seen, imperialism continued by "democrats" must drive the colonial peoples into the arms of the fascists. And, particularly, the continued support of imperialism by working class organisations in this country—such as the Labour Party—must alienate the colonial workers from the white workers, whom they will come to regard as their enemies. This means a fatal division which must in the long run prove as suicidal to the workers of this country as it did to the workers of Spain. "*Are you with us or against us?*" Such is the ultimatum of the colonial

workers to us at this moment. And if we cannot say that we are with them whole-heartedly, and prove it, *they will seek allies elsewhere.*

Lastly we face the final price of imperialism, which is war. Socialists have no more business defending the British Empire against Hitler than they have to be giving Hitler colonies to keep him quiet. We shall oppose both courses and press on for the liberation of the colonies, backing the colonial workers and peasants in every struggle for bread and liberty, attacking imperialism in all its manifold disguises. By such means we can expose the real causes of the war for which the nations of Europe are now arming and prepare the masses to face the great betrayal which their present leaders are scheming..

The hour of that betrayal approaches swiftly. Already the blood of the workers is mortgaged to Capitalism by the Judases who betrayed us in 1914. If that war comes, is it to be such a senseless shambles as the last, or the tocsin of revolution? Is it to end at Versailles or on the barricades of every capital city in Europe? More than on any other single point the issue depends upon this: *that the workers shall understand what they will be asked to fight for.* Let them know now what imperialism really is, what is the true face behind the mask of "Democracy."

It is not merely a question of the sufferings to which imperialism has condemned the hundreds of millions in the colonies. Our own destiny is linked with theirs. All the talk of "Unity" means nothing if we do not identify ourselves unreservedly with the struggles of these men and women, the real "Bottom Dogs" of capitalism, for justice and freedom. *No people which oppresses the people of another country can achieve its own freedom.*

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