

Signature *Attlee*

00740 0001 BEC

Datum 27. Nov. 1935

Berliner Tageblatt

Nr. 561 - - -

Attlee - Führer der Labour Party

Die Liberalen wählen Sir Archibald Sinclair

Drahtmeldung unseres Korrespondenten

△ LONDON, 27. November.

Zum Führer der Labour Party und hiermit zum Führer der Parlamentsopposition wurde gestern Major Attlee gewählt, womit die Partei seine seinerzeit angekündigte Wahl nach dem Rücktritt Lansburys bestätigt. Stellvertretender Führer der Labour Party wurde Greenwood, während Sir Charles Edward zum Haupteinpeitscher bestellt wurde. Nachdem Clynes von vornherein nicht auf die Kandidatenliste gesetzt zu werden wünschte, hatte die Partei die Entscheidung zwischen Attlee, Morrison und Greenwood zu treffen. Sie entschied für Attlee, weil dieser sowohl der Rechten als auch der Linken, den Gewerkschaften als auch der politischen Labour Party annehmbar ist.

Dies bestätigt, dass Attlee keine scharf umrissene politische Figur ist, sondern vielmehr ein Mann des Ausgleichs. Auch als Redner gehört er nicht zu den Grössen seiner Partei, doch verfügt er über ein solides Wissen und die Kunst der sachlichen Beweisführung, die ihm im Unterhaus sehr zustatten kommt.

Die Liberale Partei wählte an Stelle des im Wahlkampf unterlegenen Sir Herbert Samuel Sir Archibald Sinclair zum Führer, und zwar auf Vorschlag Lloyd Georges. Dieser wird mit Sohn und Tochter im künftigen Parlament bei den Liberalen Platz nehmen und nicht mehr wie bisher bei der Labour Party.

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 615 -

Major Attlee nach Spanien abgereist.

• London, 2. Dezember. Der Führer der parlamentarischen Labour Party, Major Attlee, hat am Mittwochabend die angekündigte Reise nach Spanien angetreten. Der Abgeordnete der Labour Party Noel Baker und Miß Allen Wilkinson begleiten ihn.

Signatur

Attlee

00740 0003 BEC

Datum 4. Dez. 1937

The Times (London)

Nr. 47859

MR. ATTLEE IN SPAIN

BARCELONA'S WELCOME

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, DEC. 3

Mr. Attlee, M.P., accompanied by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Mr. Noel-Baker, M.P., Mr. Dugdale, and two French Deputies, MM. Zyromski and Morizet, arrived here to-day. With them was a film cameraman described as Lieutenant-Colonel Hans. They were met at the frontier by a deputation of the anti-Fascist parties and a representative of the Spanish Socialist Party.

The Press hails Mr. Attlee as the "enthusiastic champion of the Spanish Republic in the English Parliament," and extends a cordial welcome to the entire party. A residence has been assigned to them in a suburb of Barcelona, and it is understood that their wishes will be consulted before a programme is drawn up for their doings in Spain.

Nationalist seaplanes raided the Levant coast this morning. Two which appeared over Vinaroz were met by heavy anti-aircraft fire. One, it is thought, was hit, for it disappeared seawards. The other proceeded towards Benicarló, where it dropped bombs which killed two persons and wounded several others. A third machine dropped bombs in the vicinity of Oropesa. This machine is reported to have been driven out to sea by two Government aeroplanes and shot down.

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 620

Clement Richard Attlee.

(Von unserem Korrespondenten.)

W v D London, im Dezember.

Da die Opposition eine vom britischen Staat gewünschte Funktion ausübt, so bezieht der Oppositionsführer seit einigen Monaten ein Gehalt von zweitausend Pfund im Jahr. Major Attlee ist der erste Parteileiter, der sich dieser Begünstigung erfreut. Sie ist ihm nützlich. Denn es fallen ihm repräsentative Pflichten zu, die kostspielig sind, und er hat nur ein geringes Privateinkommen. Attlee ist auch der erste Oppositionsführer, der von Detektiven beschützt wird. Nur wenigen Kabinettsministern wird die gleiche polizeiliche Aufmerksamkeit zuteil. Ueberhaupt bemüht sich der Staat fundzutun, daß auch die Gewalt, die im Schatten steht, Anerkennung findet. Am Waffenstillstandstag sind Jahr für Jahr bei der Feier am Cenotaph zwei Kabinette, die Regierung selber und das „Schatten-Kabinett“ der Labour Party, nebeneinander zu sehen. Dadurch soll deutlich gemacht werden, daß das Ringen um die Macht in der Stunde des Gedenkens an die Kriegsgefallenen aussetzt und beide Kabinette in der Volksachtung gleich sind. Attlee steht an der Spitze des gegenwärtigen „Schattenkabinetts“. Es ist indessen keinesfalls sicher, ob er auch einmal an die Spitze eines eigentlichen Kabinetts treten wird. Es gibt mächtige Kandidaten, die ihm bei dem nächsten Machtwechsel das erste Staatsamt streitig machen werden.

Begeisterung herrschte nicht, als Clement Richard Attlee nach dem Rücktritt des alten Lansbury zum Führer der parlamentarischen Fraktion der Labour Party gewählt wurde. Die Mehrheit stimmte für ihn, weil er in der Rangordnung ohnehin die zweithöchste Stellung gehabt hatte und weil er wegen seiner Bescheidenheit beliebt war. Der kaskadenartige Attlee macht einen fast schüchternen Eindruck. Er hat das Aussehen eines Mannes, der sein Leben in Altkleider verbringt. Seinen Reden fehlt der Schwung. Aber sie sind ordentlich gegliedert. Im Unterhaus achten ihn auch die Gegner, weil er stets die Formen wahrt. Sein Vortrag ist auch in leidenschaftlicher Parlamentsdebatte mehr der eines Advokaten, der für seine Sache mit logischen Argumenten eintritt; selten zeigt sich Attlee wirklich entflammt. Seine Partei schätzt ihn, weil er ein vorsichtiger Führer ist, doch die Volksmassen vermögen sich noch immer nicht für ihn wirklich zu erwärmen. Obwohl er das Herz auf dem rechten Fleck hat, mag er der Gefolgschaft im breiten Lande als zu bürgerlich erscheinen.

Nur infolge besonderer Umstände ist Attlee zu einem Labour-Mann geworden. Er ist stets ein aufrichtiger Idealist gewesen, aber seinem ganzen Naturell nach würde er eher zu den Konservativen als zu den Sozialisten passen. Sein Vater war ein erfolgreicher Anwalt, der ihn auf der vornehmen Knabenschule Haileybury und danach in Oxford studieren ließ. Auf der Universität erlangte Clement Richard wegen guter Kenntnisse in der neueren Geschichte eine Ehrung zweiten Grades. Er wählte den väterlichen Beruf und wurde im Jahre 1905 Barrister. In jener Zeit hatten es ihm die Lehren eines Joseph Chamberlain angetan. Der junge Attlee war ein eifriger Imperialist, der das Heil der Welt in der Stärkung der britischen Macht erblickte. Der Uebertritt zur Labour Party erfolgte, nachdem ihm die Anwaltstätigkeit — materiell und geistig — wenig Befriedigung gegeben hatte. Aber die Befehrung zum Sozialisten ergriff sein tiefstes Innere. Er zog in das Londoner Ostend, um selber zu erleben, was Armut bedeutet. Die Zulage des Vaters schlug er nun aus. Er verdiente sich sein tägliches Brot als Arbeiter auf den Londoner Docks. So lernte er durch eigene Erfahrungen die Probleme kennen, die der arbeitenden Bevölkerung am Herzen liegen. Mittlerweile war er zum Mitglied der Gesellschaft der Fabier geworden, die diesen Namen angenommen hatte, um zum Ausdruck zu bringen, daß nach dem Vorbild des Fabius Cunctator ihr Wahlspruch „reisliche Ueberlegung“ sein sollte, der Gesellschaft, zu der auch Bernard

Im Kriege stand er vorbildlich seinen Mann. Als Artillerieoffizier nahm er an dem Gallipoli-Feldzug teil. In Mesopotamien wurde er verwundet. Nach seiner Wiederherstellung beförderte ihn das Kriegsministerium zum Major unter Verlegung zu den South Lancashires, die an der französischen Front kämpften. Dort blieb er in vorderster Linie bis zur Einstellung der Feindseligkeiten. Am Waffenstillstandstage lag er krank im Lazarett. Die Kriegserlebnisse hatten ihn zu einem Pazifisten gemacht. Er trat der „Niemals wieder Krieg“-Bewegung bei und erklärte dem Lord Escher, als dieser später einmal seine Hilfe bei einem Rekrutierungsfeldzug für die Territoriale Armee erbat: „Ich bin nicht gewillt, irgend etwas in der Sache zu tun. Nach viereinhalb aktiven Dienstjahren habe ich gesehen, daß alle die Ideale, für die ich kämpfte, auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz verraten wurden.“

Ins bürgerliche Leben zurückgekehrt, nahm er sich wieder mit Eifer der Labour-Sache an. Er wurde im Jahre 1919 — im Alter von 36 Jahren — der erste Labour-Bürgermeister des Londoner Stadtteils Stepney. Der Limehouse-Bezirk schickte ihn im Jahre 1922 ins Parlament. Ramsay MacDonald machte ihn zu seinem Privatsekretär. Die juristischen Kenntnisse des jungen Kollegen erwiesen sich dem Oppositionsführer nützlich, der damals noch recht impulsiv war. MacDonald belohnte den arbeitswilligen Gehilfen, indem er ihn bei der Bildung des ersten Labour-Kabinetts zum Vizekriegsminister machte. Im zweiten Labour-Kabinett ist Attlee Kanzler des Herzogtums Lancaster und Generalpostmeister gewesen. In der schweren Krise des Jahres 1931 suchte ihn sein Chef zum Eintritt in die Nationale Regierung zu bewegen. Attlee aber hielt zu der Mehrheit seiner Partei. So wurde er unter Lansbury zu deren Stellvertretendem Führer.

Heute glaubt er als Parteiführer, noch immer ein Pazifist sein zu können. Er gehörte zu der Minderheit der Parteileitung, die der Meinung war, daß die Labour Party fortzuführen sollte, gegen die Aufrüstungspolitik der Regierung zu opponieren. Aber er ließ sich in den neuen Kurs hineinbringen: Er hat den „Anti-Faschismus“ seiner sozialistischen Kollegen mitgemacht. Er opferte nicht wie Lansbury den Posten seiner Gesinnung. Aus Pflichtgefühl gehorchte er der Logik — und der Mehrheit.

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(Von unserem Korrespondenten.)

W v D London, im Dezember.

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Datum 9. Dez. 1937

The Times (London)

Nr. 47863

MR. ATTLEE LEAVES SPAIN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, DEC. 8

Mr. C. R. Attlee, M.P., and his colleagues left for London this afternoon. This morning the Minister for Defence, Señor Prieto, had a long interview with Mr. Attlee. Miss Wilkinson went to see milk which had been subscribed for in England being distributed by women of the British colony at the British hospital, while Mr. Noel Baker was taken to the morgue, where he was shown the bodies of yesterday's air raid victims.

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 629 -

Die Kritik gegen Major Attlee

London, 9. Dezember. Der Premierminister wurde heute im Parlament von dem Abgeordneten Liddall gefragt, ob die Regierung eine Zeit für die Erörterung des gegen Major Attlee eingebrachten Tadelantrags bewilligen wolle. Chamberlain verschob seine Antwort bis zur Rückkehr des Oppositionsführers in das Parlament. In Attlees Rückreise ist eine Verzögerung eingetreten. Er befindet sich zur Zeit in Paris.

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 628 -

Attlee will „richtigstellen“.

London, 9. Dezember. (Europapress.) Gegen die Kritik, die wegen seiner Reise nach Spanien an ihm geübt wurde, wendet sich der Führer der parlamentarischen Labour Party Major Attlee in einem von der Presse veröffentlichten Interview, das er nach seiner Ankunft in Perpignan gegeben hat. Er erklärt darin, die im Unterhaus eingebrachte Entschließung, in der sein Verhalten mißbilligt werde, habe keine Bedeutung. Er werde nach seiner Rückkehr nach London „die ganze Angelegenheit richtigstellen“. Entgegen den ersten Ankündigungen kehrt Attlee erst am Freitag nach London zurück. Die Unterhausentschließung wird voraussichtlich schon in der Donnerstagsitzung zur Sprache kommen.

Datum 10. Dez. 1937

The Times (London)

Nr. 47864

MR. ATTLEE IN PARIS

TRIBUTES TO REPUBLICAN SPAIN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, DEC. 9

Mr. Attlee, Mr. Noel Baker, and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the three British members of Parliament who have been visiting Government Spain, arrived in Paris this morning on their way home, and this evening left for London.

Mr. Attlee, at a Press reception this afternoon, said that their purpose in going to Spain was to get a first-hand impression of the situation and to understand the spirit of the people.

They had been received everywhere with the greatest kindness, he said, and had talked not only with political and civil leaders, but with all classes of the population. They had been deeply impressed by the calm and courage of the citizens of Madrid, where the life of the city was carried on as normally as possible within a short distance of the front line, and they had been particularly struck by an excellent modern school which was being carried on there only two miles from the front line. Barcelona also remained remarkably calm in spite of the air raids (one of which, in which 30 persons had been killed in a café, had occurred only 20 minutes before their arrival). In general they had found that the Government had been very successful in restoring order and creating a new military and civil organization. Mr. Attlee paid a warm tribute to the "high courage and democratic faith of the Spanish people."

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 631

Attlee wieder im Unterhaus.

Er kündigt eine Erklärung zu dem Tadelantrag für Montag an.

* London, 10. Dezember. Der Führer der Opposition, Major Attlee, ist von seiner Reise durch das von dem Negrin-Ausschuß beherrschte Spanien nach England zurückgekehrt. Er traf in London am Donnerstagabend ein und nahm am Freitag an der Sitzung des Unterhauses zum ersten Male wieder teil. Er sprach kurz über seine Eindrücke, die er bei seiner Reise durch das vom Bürgerkrieg heimgesuchte Land gewonnen habe. Er sei in seinem Glauben an dieses Land „gefestigt“ worden. Allerdings müsse er zugeben, daß die Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln schwierig sei. Er habe beobachtet, wie die Menschen vor den Läden in Reihen stünden, um Lebensmittel zu kaufen, die nur in kleinen Anteilen für den einzelnen ausgegeben werden könnten. Major Attlee, der den Vorsitz der Labour Party innehat und in dieser Eigenschaft zugleich im Unterhause das Amt eines Führers der Opposition bekleidet, schilderte auch den Empfang, den man ihm im Theater von Madrid bereitet habe. Dabei teilte er mit, daß er in der nächsten Sitzung des Unterhauses am Montag eine Erklärung abgeben werde zu dem Antrag des konservativen Abgeordneten Liddall. In diesem Antrag wird, wie bereits berichtet, das Unterhaus ersucht, dem Abgeordneten Attlee einen Tadel auszusprechen wegen seines Verhaltens auf seiner Reise nach Madrid und Barcelona.

The Times (London)

Nr. 47867

CRITICISM OF MR.
ATTLEE

MR. LIDDALL'S STATEMENT

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Mr. Liddall yesterday withdrew from the Order Paper of the House of Commons the motion which he had set down criticizing the Leader of the Opposition in connexion with his recent visit to Spain. The motion was supported by 13 other Conservative members. Mr. Liddall has issued the following statement in explanation of his action:—

In regard to Major Attlee's complaint that the motion was tabled in his absence, I acted promptly in the hope that further like speeches would be prevented. I first tried a private notice question, and then several more orthodox methods, but as none of these was acceptable to Mr. Speaker, I did what is the prerogative of every private member and gave notice of the motion, which naturally received widespread publicity and possibly curtailed somewhat the foreign exploits of Major Attlee.

All who know me know it is ridiculous to suggest that I would hesitate to say in Major Attlee's presence what I would say in his absence. He essayed to speak this afternoon as member for Limehouse and not as Leader of the Opposition, but it was as Leader of the Socialist Opposition in the British House of Commons that he went to Spain, and it was as such that he would be received at banquets, interviews, receptions, and like official functions. Had it been possible for me to have intervened before the right hon. gentleman resumed his seat, I should merely have asked him if *The Times* report of December 8 was correct, that when addressing a battalion of the International Brigade the previous night, December 7, he (Major Attlee) promised to take the truth of the Spanish struggle back to the English people and to bring pressure to bear on the Government so that British foreign policy should be changed in favour of loyalist Spain. However, in view of what was said by the Prime Minister, and with the approval of hon. members whose names were associated with the motion, I have had the same withdrawn.

15. Dez. 1937

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 637

Major Attlee erklärt.

(Drahtmeldung unseres Korrespondenten.)

W v D London, 14. Dezember. Die Regierung möchte den Eindruck vermeiden, daß der Führer der Opposition, weil er jetzt ein Staatsgehalt empfängt, in seiner politischen Betätigung irgendwie behindert sei. Deshalb bestand im Kabinett von vornherein wenig Neigung, eine Zeit für den von dem Abgeordneten Liddall gegen Major Attlee eingebrachten Tadelantrag zu bewilligen. Attlee hat nun vorgezogen, sich selber über seine spanische Reise und die Vorgänge zu äußern, derentwegen ihn Liddall — und mit ihm manche anderen konservativen Abgeordneten — in parlamentarischen Anklagezustand versetzen möchten. Der Rede, die der Oppositionsführer gestern im Unterhaus hielt, hatte man mit beträchtlichem Interesse entgegengeesehen; das Haus und die Tribünen waren bis auf den letzten Platz besetzt. Attlee erklärte, daß ein derartiger Angriff auf einen Kollegen während seiner Abwesenheit wie in dem eingebrachten Antrag keinen Vorgang habe. Die an seinem Auftreten geübte Kritik stütze sich auf unrichtige Wiedergabe seiner Madrider Erklärungen. Bei seiner Reise nach Spanien sei er einer Einladung Negrins gefolgt. Seine Ansichten über die Lage in Spanien seien in ganz England bekannt. Er habe nie aus seinen Sympathien für Barcelona ein Geheiß gemacht und er habe diesen Sympathien auch dort selbst Ausdruck gegeben. Er könne die Ansicht nicht hinnehmen, daß die von ihm vor seiner Abfahrt unterzeichnete Verpflichtung, die lediglich tatsächliche Einmischung unterlasse, ihn daran hindern konnte, Meinungen über die spanischen Parteien zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Denn das würde bedeuten, daß die Abgeordneten aller Parteien überhaupt keine eigene Meinung zum Ausdruck bringen könnten, sondern die Politik der Regierung widerspiegeln müßten. Dann aber wäre er nach Spanien mit einem „Maulkorb“ gegangen. Der Premierminister schlug daraufhin dem Hause vor, sich mit der Aufklärung Attlees zu begnügen. Als sich Widerspruch hiergegen bemerkbar machte, ergab eine Abstimmung, daß der Antrag Chamberlains mit 410 gegen 250 Stimmen die Zustimmung des Hauses fand.

Ob aber die Ausführungen des Führers der Opposition die Kritiker hinreichend beschwichtigt haben, ist einstweilen noch nicht ersichtlich. Eine Zurückziehung des Tadelantrages durch Liddall brauchte an sich nicht zu bedeuten, daß die Gegner auf einen weiteren Angriff verzichten wollten. Im Gegenteil, eine Zurückziehung des Antrages würde nach parlamentarischem Brauch sogar erst die Möglichkeit dafür bieten, da Fragen, zu denen noch nicht erörterte Anträge eingereicht worden sind, nicht neu angeschnitten werden können, solange die betreffenden Anträge „eingereicht“ bleiben. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß konservative Abgeordnete den Angriff auf Attlee im Laufe einer außenpolitischen Debatte erneuern werden.

Nach einer Auskunft, die Viscount Cranborne einem Abgeordneten schriftlich erteilte, haben die britischen Passbehörden den Auftrag, sich vor der Ausstellung eines Passes nach Spanien davon zu überzeugen, daß der Antragsteller aus dringenden geschäftlichen Gründen oder aus besonderer Veranlassung, der Bedenken nicht entgegenstehen, die Reise unternimmt. Die Behörden sollen sich ferner nach Möglichkeit darüber vergewissern, daß der Antragsteller nicht beabsichtige, bei den spanischen Streitkräften sich anwerben zu lassen. Jeder britische Staatsangehörige muß zugleich bei dem Empfang eines für Spanien gültigen britischen Reisepasses eine Erklärung unterzeichnen, die folgenden Wortlaut hat: „Ich versichere, daß in dem Verlaufe meines Besuches nichts geschehen wird, was ausgelegt werden könnte, als bedeute es eine Einmischung von mir zugunsten einer der beiden Parteien in dem gegenwärtigen Streit in Spanien.“

Applikat. s. alle zu span

Attlee hegt

In unserer „Meinung“ zu der englischen Unterhausdebatte stellten wir fest, auf welch niedrigem Niveau die gegenwärtige Opposition in England steht. Einen weiteren Beweis dafür hat jetzt der englische Oppositionsführer Attlee in einer Rundfunkrede geliefert. Attlee hat bekanntlich die vor seiner Spanienreise unterzeichnete Verpflichtung, sich dort nicht einzumischen, auf seine eigene Weise ausgelegt. Die englische Regierung hat im Unterhaus bisher davon abgesehen, von einem Wortbruch Attlees zu sprechen, aber außerhalb des Parlaments haben englische Minister, besonders Duff Cooper, die Handlungsweise Attlees deutlich genug als einen Wortbruch charakterisiert.

Attlee stellt nun in seiner Unterhausrede die Behauptung auf, daß die rotspanische Regierung von Tausenden guter Katholiken unterstützt werde. Das ist eine wirklich freche Lüge, die durch den Rundfunk sogar nach Amerika verbreitet worden ist. Daß dieser Mann, der mit solchen Mitteln arbeitet, in der Lage ist, in Rundfunkreden in England und Amerika für die spanischen Bolschewisten Propaganda zu machen, ist eine Angelegenheit, mit der sich die Regierung in Downing Street beschäftigen sollte. Da in diesen Reden Angriffe auf Deutschland und Italien gemacht werden, ist der Fall Attlee nicht mehr eine innerparlamentarische Angelegenheit des englischen Volkes, sondern eine Belastung der internationalen Beziehungen. Der Pazifist Attlee fordert die demokratischen Staaten auf, die autoritären zu überfallen. Daß solchen Kriegshebern der Propagandaapparat des Rundfunks zur Verfügung gestellt wird, einen solchen Mißbrauch zu verhindern, dafür sollte es doch auch in solchen Ländern, die auf ihre „demokratischen Freiheiten“ stolz sind, gesetzliche Mittel geben.

Deutsche La Plata-Zeitung (Buenos Aires)

Nr. 179 - 6

Attlee

London, 26. September (N. B.)
Attlee, der Fraktionsvorsitzende der
Laboristen im Unterhaus, richtete ein
Schreiben an Chamberlain, in dem
er erklärt, daß der Inhalt des Hit-
ler-Memorandums, das er, Chamber-
lain, der tschechischen Regierung zu
übermitteln sich bereit erklärte, in der
britischen Öffentlichkeit eine tiefe
Erregung hervorgerufen habe. Die
tschechische Regierung habe nichts an-
deres tun können, als diese Bedingun-
gen abzulehnen, deren Annahme eine
völlige Zerstörung des tschechischen
Staates gewesen wäre. Dann fordert
Attlee, daß England einem etwaigen
Angriff Halt gebieten müsse.

In einer Rundgebung der Labori-
sten erklärte Attlee: „Wenn die
Kriegsschuld Hitler und den deutschen
Machthabern zuzuschreiben sein sollte,
dann werden wir keinen Groll gegen
das deutsche Volk hegen, wie es kei-
nen Groll gegen uns hegen wird.“

Deutsche La Plata-Zeitung (Buenos Aires)

Nr. 186

Als Ministerpräsident Chamberlain
unter starkem Beifall des Hauses um16.25 Uhr geendet hatte, sprach der
Führer der Laboristen,

Major Attlee,

der einleitend behauptet, daß der Herr Ministerpräsident auf die bemerkenswerten klaren Worte des Abgeordneten Duff Cooper nicht geantwortet habe. „Zum Schluß seiner Rede teilte uns der Herr Ministerpräsident dann mit, daß wir weiter rüsten müßten. Wie reimt sich das mit seinen Worten zusammen, daß unsere Generation Frieden haben werde? Sicher, wir alle sind froh, daß der Krieg nicht ausbrach, in mir kann aber nicht das Gefühl aufkommen, daß der Frieden hergestellt sei. Wir haben nichts weiter wie einen Waffenstillstand innerhalb eines Kriegszustandes. Aus diesem Grunde können wir uns nicht aufrichtig freuen. Wir fühlen uns erniedrigt. Vernunft und Menschlichkeit haben nicht gesiegt, hingegen die brutale Gewalt. Es wurde nicht über Bedingungen verhandelt, denn es wurden nur Bedingungen in Form eines Ultimatums gestellt.

Eine vornehme, zivilisierte, demokratische Nation ist verraten und dem rücksichtslosen Despotismus ausgeliefert worden.

Die Demokratie, die allein die Zivilisation ist, hat eine furchtbare Niederlage erlitten.

Die Ereignisse der letzten Tage sind eine der schwersten diplomatischen Niederlagen, welche dieses Land und Frankreich jemals erlitten haben.

Es besteht kein Zweifel, Herr Hitler hat einen gewaltigen Sieg errungen, ohne einen Schuß abzugeben, er brauchte nur seine militärische Macht zu entfalten und gewann für Deutschland die Vormachtstellung in Europa.

Herr Hitler hat das bisherige Gleichgewicht der Kräfte in Europa über den Haufen geworfen, er hat den letzten Stützpunkt der Demokratien in Südosteuropa vernichtet, und jetzt hat er den Weg frei zu den großen Lebensmittel- und Petroleum-Quellen in Südosteuropa, die er braucht, um seine Militärmacht zu festigen.

Erfolgreich hat er die Kräfte, die sich der Gefeklosigkeit und der Gewalt entgegenstellten, zersplittert und zur Ohnmacht verurteilt. Wir müssen genau untersuchen, wer das Land in den letzten Wochen in eine so große Gefahr brachte.

Dann sollte der Redner Herrn Benesch und dem tschechoslowakischen Volk die größte Anerkennung und fuhr fort: „Nicht die Lage der Sudetendeutschen beschwor die Krisis herauf, sie trat ein, weil Herr Hitler die Zeit für gekommen hielt, einen neuen Schritt auf dem Wege zur Beherrschung Europas zu tun.

Die Landkarte Europas wurde mit Gewalt geändert. Herr Hitler tut, was er will, er tut es mit Gewalt, und diesmal traf er die Lebenswurzel aller zivilisierten Völker mit einem furchtbaren Schlag.

Ganz Europa lebt heute unter beständiger Bedrohung durch eine bewaffnete Macht. Darum kann sich jetzt auch niemand aufrichtig freuen.“

leben hier nicht in Deutschland oder Italien, wo ein Staatsmann im Namen des ganzen Volkes spricht. Der Herr Ministerpräsident ist der erste Diener der Demokratie.

Jetzt sind wir endgültig isoliert, jetzt stehen wir mit Frankreich zusammen allein da. Frankreich, das die größte Schuld an dieser vernichtenden politischen Niederlage hat, hat sich zu einer zweitklassigen Nation degradiert. Wenn wir auf dem bisherigen Wege weiter gehen, dann werden auch wir bald am Abgrund stehen.

Es ist an der Zeit, eine neue internationale Friedenskonferenz einzuberufen. Wir wollen die Vermittlung der Vereinigten Staaten anrufen, damit sie es tun, und wir wollen die Sowjet Union dann nicht vergessen.

Die Münchener Verhandlungen waren keine wahre Friedenskonferenz, wir aber wollen eine wahre Friedenskonferenz und wir wollen einen neuen Völkerbund aufbauen.“

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Ganz Europa lebt heute unter beständiger Bedrohung durch eine bewaffnete Macht. Darum kann sich jetzt auch niemand aufrichtig freuen."

Dann wies der Redner darauf hin, daß kein Zweifel bestand, wo die Sowjet Union stand, aber man habe sie überhaupt nicht befragt.

Dann habe Herr Chamberlain mit Herrn Hitler ein Dokument unterzeichnet, ohne irgendjemanden zu fragen. "Dies ist gefährlich, denn wir

leben hier nicht in Deutschland oder Italien, wo ein Staatsmann im Namen des ganzen Volkes spricht. Der Herr Ministerpräsident ist der erste Diener der Demokratie.

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Attlee

Signatur

00740 0015 BEC

Datum 7. Okt. 1938

Deutsche La Plata-Zeitung (Buenos Aires)

Nr. 189

Attlee

im Namen der Opposition. Seiner Rede seien folgende Stellen entnommen:

„Die derzeitige Regierung muß die Verantwortung für die derzeitige Lage tragen. Die Regierung hat um ein Vertrauensvotum und um Unterstützung ihrer Bemühungen um Sicherstellung eines dauernden Friedens gebeten. Jedermann wünscht einen dauernden Frieden, aber der Frieden kann nicht gesichert werden, wenn wir den Methoden der Regierung und der

Politik folgen, die sie in den letzten sieben Jahren getrieben hat. Es herrscht eine tiefe Beunruhigung im Hinblick auf die Zukunft dieses Landes und der Zivilisation, und es ist die Forderung gestellt worden, daß die Nation sich bemühe, in diesem Sinne zu handeln. Kein Sprecher der Regierung hat während der Debatten irgendeine Politik auch nur in Umrissen angedeutet. Der Gedanke eines Viermächtepaktes ist verworfen worden, aber es wurde nichts Positives zum Ausdruck gebracht, ausgenommen, daß eine Vermehrung der Rüstungen notwendig sei. Rüstungen an sich sind keine Politik. Wir wünschen eine Friedenspolitik, und mit dem Frieden müssen wir zugleich die Freiheit haben. Sie werden niemals die Billigung des Volkes dieses Landes finden, wenn Sie die Methoden der Diktaturen nachahmen. Wir haben die Einberufung einer internationalen Konferenz und Schaffung einer kollektiven Sicherheit vorgeschlagen, um Gelegenheit zu haben, uns mit den etwaigen Ursachen eines Krieges zu befassen. Wir haben jedoch gesehen, daß wir auf die Einberufung einer Weltkonferenz verzichten müssen. Wir hatten uns mit den Beschwerden der Minderheiten zu befassen. Was sind wir der Welt zu geben bereit, um die Kriegsgefahr zu beseitigen? Haben wir uns im Herbst mit der Frage der Rückgabe der (früheren deutschen) Kolonien zu befassen, oder müssen wir warten, bis uns ein Ultimatum gestellt wird. Die Arbeiterpartei vertritt den Standpunkt, daß alle Kolonien unter den Mandaten bleiben sollten, und zwar gerade zum Segen der Völker jener Gebiete und der ganzen Welt. Die Arbeiterpartei glaubt, daß wir im Hinblick auf die Rohstoffmärkte zu einer Entscheidung gelangen müssen. Wir haben uns ferner mit der Frage der Zollschranken zu befassen. Ich hoffe, der Ministerpräsident wird in der Lage sein, etwas im Hinblick auf die kollektive Sicherheit und die Beseitigung von Mangelgründen zu sagen, weil die Welt auf irgendeinen Ausweg vor den Schrecken des Krieges wartet, der sie bedroht.“

In Verbindung mit den zuvor von dem Abgeordneten Benn gemachten Ausführungen über die Millionenanleihe für die Tschechoslowakei hatten die Laboristen ein Amendement eingebracht. Attlee erklärte hierzu:

„Die Arbeiterpartei hat ein Amendement eingebracht, weil sie glaubt, daß sich Schwierigkeiten durch ein Volk erheben haben, das ihrer nicht Herr wird.“

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„Die Arbeiterpartei hat ein Amendement eingebracht, weil sie glaubt, daß sich Schwierigkeiten durch ein Volk erheben haben, das ihrer nicht Herr wird.“

Der Zusatzantrag der Laboristen wurde, wie an anderer Stelle gemeldet wird, abgelehnt.

00740 0016

BEC

Datum 5. Nov. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48144

**"GROSS INCOMPETENCE"
OF MINISTERS**

**MR. ATTLEE AND PARTY
INTERESTS**

Mr. ATTLEE, Leader of the Opposition, said at Dartford last night that the suggestion that in these critical times they should sink all political differences meant only that they should all abandon what they thought right and support a Government they knew to be wrong. He referred to the National Government as "the most incompetent Government of modern times" still kept in power by party loyalty.

If there were any people in this country who put their party interests before the safety of their country they were the Government supporters in the House of Commons. Minister after Minister showed "gross incompetence and neglect." In former times the House of Commons would have revolted, but to-day the majority were content to register time after time their confidence in a set of men who had forfeited the confidence of the country.

A year ago the Opposition privately represented to the Government the deplorable state of our air defences, but as they could get no satisfaction they were forced to expose to the world the muddle and incompetence of the Air Ministry. It was only so that they could get a change of Minister.

On Wednesday night they had the lamest of apologies by the Home Secretary on A.R.P. The Secretary for War explained that the scarcity of anti-aircraft guns was due to his placing an order with a firm that went bankrupt. What a commentary on private enterprise in armaments. It was a lamentable story of failure and procrastination.

Attlee
Signatur.....

00740 0017 BEC

Datum 12. Nov. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48150

**MR. ATTLEE AND THE
NATION'S RESOURCES**

Mr. C. R. ATTLEE, Leader of the Opposition, speaking at Walsall last night in support of Mr. George Jeger, the Labour candidate in the by-election, said that the Labour Party had put forward an immediate programme for the utilization of our national resources in the interests of the people. They desired to base their economic organization on the standard of life of the people. To-day the standard of life came second to rent, interest, and profit. If the country was to be organized in order to face possible danger, he said, the first thing to get rid of was unnecessary luxury, and the standard of life of the masses must take priority before the luxuries of the rich. A nation which put profits first and human life second was weak and the only way a strong nation could be founded was by establishing social justice.

Attlee
Signatur.....

00740 0018

BEC

Datum 15. Nov. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48152

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

Mr. C. R. ATTLEE, speaking at Doncaster last night in support of Mr. John Morgan, Labour candidate in the by-election there, said that the economic depression of 1931-32 was the forcing house out of which came extreme nationalism, Nazism, anti-Semitism, and the relapse into barbarism which they saw to-day in Europe. The failure of the Government had been that they had never faced up to the need for dealing with the economic causes of war. They were out to blame Mr. Lloyd George for all their troubles, and they said that they were due to the people who made the Peace Treaty. But the Peace Treaty was not wholly bad, for one of the things created was the International Labour Organization. "We want," said Mr. Attlee, "to get the democracies together, not only on a political basis, but on an economic basis."

00740 0019

BEC

Datum 16. Nov. 1939

Dammann.28.11.39.

Attlee bleibt weiter im Amt.

(Mr. Attlee Continues)

"The Yorkshire Post", Leeds, 28794/16.11.39

(Leitartikel)

Obwohl dem Führer der Opposition jetzt aus Staatsmitteln ein Gehalt von 2 000 Pfd. St. im Jahre gezahlt wird, bleibt doch die Frage nach der Person des jeweiligen Oppositionsführers der zahlenmäßig stärksten Oppositionspartei überlassen. Attlee, der diesen Posten seit über vier Jahren innehat und der nun diesen Posten für ein weiteres Jahr bekleidet, ist ein Mann von beträchtlichem geistigen Vermögen und einer nicht unbeträchtlichen politischen Urteilskraft. Es ist nun aber kein Geheimnis, dass ~~er~~ er der Führer der Labour Party als eine Art Kompromisswahl wurde, weil sich die Partei nicht entschliessen konnte zwischen Greenwood und Morrison. Als der Krieg ausbrach war Attlee erkrankt. Wie so oft schuf die Gelegenheit den Mann, Greenwood stand vorübergehend auf dem Platze Attlees und ~~er~~ machte seine Sache gut. Er brachte es fertig, die andersgearteten Ansichten der Partei aufrechtzuerhalten und doch die Partei mit der nationalen Sache zu vereinigen. Dies geschah in einer aner

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Wenden

18. Nov. 1938

BEC

00740

-2-

ihn abzulehnen. Es wurde beschlos sen , dass Attlee
für weitere 12 Monate seinen Posten behalten sollt e
Greenwood, Morrison un, Dalton zogen ihre Kandidatur
zurück, Wenn man nach einer Erklärung für diesen
Wahdel in den^Ereignissen sucht, so wird man ihn
sie in dem Sentimentalität und in dem Gang zur
Sektenbildung finden, der immer schon die parla.
mentarische Vertretung der Laboru Party kennzeichne
te. Angesichts der Debatte, die bereits dieses
Malysich um die Wahl Attlees eingesetzt hat,
dürfte es das letzte Jahr gewesen sein, dass Attlee
Führer der Partei gewesen ist.

Attlee

Signatur

00740 0020 BEC

Datum 22. Nov. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48158

**"STONE-WALLERS" ON THE
FRONT BENCH**

MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM

Mr. C. R. ATTLEE, M.P., speaking at Forest Hill last night in support of Mr. A. M. Skeffington, the Labour candidate in the West Lewisham by-election, said to-day there was widespread disillusionment, pessimism, and distrust. Recently in the House of Commons, on a major issue of policy, a large number of Conservatives abstained from voting, and most of them were outstanding members of the back benches.

"We found a difficulty in learning what it was in the House of Commons," said Mr. Attlee. "There are some good stone-wallers on the front bench of the Government."

He had yet to see any signs or actions making for appeasement from the other side. Therefore we were left merely with armaments, and armaments were not a policy. Insecurity was now more widespread than at any other period in our history; this was because the economic machine was getting out of control. His indictment of the Government was not so much for the stupid things it had done in regard to A.R.P. and armaments and the rest, but for shamefully neglecting the real vital organization for defence, and that was the strength of the people.

00740 0021 BEC

Datum 28. Nov. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48163

HATRED OF WAR

MR. ATTLEE ON DICTATOR COUNTRIES

MUNICH AFTERMATH

Mr. C. R. Attlee, M.P., Leader of the Opposition, speaking at Spennymoor, Co. Durham, on Saturday night, said he believed that conditions might be far more critical in the dictatorship countries than we imagined. One good thing that came out of Munich was the revelation of the hatred of war among the peoples of Germany and Italy.

"We in the Socialist movement to-day," he said, "stand for the union of all peoples for the common ideal, and we must never allow ourselves to be betrayed into thinking that other people are different from ourselves. The ordinary men and women of all countries are much the same, with the same needs and the same wishes."

Mr. ATTLEE referred to the possibility of an early General Election, and urged that the Labour Party should be prepared, as this might come sooner than they expected.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY

SIR ARNOLD WILSON, M.P., speaking at York on Saturday at the annual conference of the Yorkshire Women's Advisory Committee of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, said that Germany could not be definitely kept in a position of inferiority but, because she was in a position of great strength, it did not follow in the least that we were bound to be enemies for all time. Germany's growth as a great central Power was bound to happen sooner or later. The lesson of history was that we should never assume that any one country was our inveterate enemy, and it was equally true that we should never assume it was possible to trust anybody to

maintain us in our position.

LIBERALS AND THE LEAGUE

Mr. MILNER GRAY, chairman of the Liberal Party organization, addressing a conference of Bradford Liberals on Saturday, advocated a League of Nations open to all countries willing to join as the only way to peace. Mr. Gray said that if the National Government had given the League of Nations their real support, the recent crisis could not have arisen. There was no merit in maintaining peace by surrender, and it was a legitimate criticism of the Government that if they were prepared to accept the conditions that now prevailed in Europe, there should have been no crisis at all.

"JEWISH ARMY OF 100,000"

A Jewish army of 100,000 organized and armed for their own defence by the British Government was one solution of the Palestine problem suggested by LORD STRABOLGI, speaking at Hull last night. He said that while it was true that Palestine could not absorb all the Jews from Germany and other countries, nevertheless a far larger scale of immigration should be allowed. The rich but empty lands of Transjordan were lying practically fallow and should be utilized. Lord Strabolgi considered that combined pressure should be brought to bear on the German Government in the economic field to compel them to allow the Jewish minority to take a reasonable amount of their financial resources with them.

MANDATED TERRITORIES POOL?

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., speaking at Cambridge on Saturday, suggested that all mandated territories should be pooled and administered by a League of Nations Commission. Saying that the Germans were demanding colonies because of their loss of prestige, Mr. Lansbury said he was sure that if Great Britain and France and other countries who owned colonies not self-governed and held mandates would agree that these should all be pooled and administered by a Commission responsible to a newly constituted League of Nations Germany would be on a level with everybody else and her prestige would be the same as that of Britain and France.

Attlee, C. R.

Signatur *J*

00740 0022 BEC

Datum 12. Dez. 1938

The Times (London)

Nr. 48175

MR. ATTLEE

Speaking at Bury yesterday, Mr. C. R. ATTLEE, Leader of the Labour Opposition, said that a peace policy must have an economic side as well as a political side. In the world to-day we could not successfully defend our British traditions of liberty, freedom of conscience, and freedom of speech, unless we founded them on the rock of social justice.

00740 0023 BEC

Datum 19. Jan. 1939

Hamburger Tageblatt

Nr. 19

Chamberlain an Attlee: Nein!

Von unserem Korrespondenten

F. B. London, 19. Januar.

Der englische Marxistenhüptling Attlee hat in einem Schreiben Chamberlain aufgefordert, sofort das Unterhaus einzuberufen, damit es die Lage in Spanien diskutieren könne. Attlee behauptete in seinem Schreiben unter anderem, daß die Ehre Englands auf dem Spiel stehe und daß es sich in erster Linie darum handele, Barcelona mit Nahrungsmitteln zu versorgen. Chamberlain hat noch gestern abend die Forderung Attlees abgelehnt.

Der Ministerpräsident erklärte in seinem Antwortschreiben, daß eine Revision der Nichteingriffspolitik und die Aufhebung des Waffenausfuhrverbots nach Spanien unweigerlich zu einer Ausdehnung des spanischen Konflikts führen müßten. Die Regierung sei bereit, alles zu tun, um die Nahrungsmittelschwierigkeiten in Spanien zu beseitigen, könne aber angesichts der gegenwärtigen Kampfhandlungen nichts unternehmen.

In Downing Street — der Regierungsstraße — kam es gestern abend zu heftigen kommunistischen Demonstrationen zugunsten einer Waffenhilfe für Barcelona. Die Polizei sah sich schließlich genötigt, die Straße unter Anwendung des Gummiknüppels zu säubern. Die Tatsache, daß der Luftfahrtminister Sir Kingsley Wood gestern mehrmals bei Chamberlain war, hat ziemliches Aufsehen erregt. Der Luftfahrtminister vertritt eine sehr starke Gruppe in der Regierung und in der Konservativen Partei, die dem Ministerpräsidenten zur sofortigen Auflösung des Parlaments und zu Neuwahlen im Februar veranlassen möchte.

00740 0024 BEC

Datum 3. Juni 1939

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 278

Greenwood vertritt Attlee.

London, 2. Juni. Es bestätigt sich, daß sich der Leiter der Labour Party, Attlee, wegen einer Magenkrankung, die nach seiner Ankunft in Southport in Erscheinung trat, einem chirurgischen Eingriff unterziehen muß. Attlee richtete gestern trotz seiner Erkrankung an die Jahresversammlung der Labour Party eine kurze Ansprache. Wegen der Operation wird er sich bis zur Rückkehr des Parlaments aus den Sommerferien, also bis zu Anfang November, nicht politisch betätigen können. Sein Vertreter wird der stellvertretende Parteileiter Greenwood sein, der schon kürzlich wegen Erkrankung seines Chefs für diesen eine Zeitlang einspringen mußte. Das monatelange Ausscheiden Attlees aus der Politik wird im Labourlager sehr bedauert, da in Labourkreisen ziemlich bestimmt damit gerechnet wird, daß es bei einer weiteren Besserung der internationalen Lage — im Herbst zu Generalwahlen kommen werde.

Datum 16. Nov. 1939

00740 0025 BEC

Dammann.28.11.39.

Attlee bleibt weiter im Amt.

(Mr. Attlee Continues)

"The Yorkshire Post", Leeds, 28794/16.11.39

(Leitartikel)

Obwohl dem Führer der Opposition jetzt aus Staatsmitteln ein Gehalt von 2 000 Pfd. St. im Jahre gezahlt wird, bleibt doch die Frage nach der Person des jeweiligen Oppositionsführers der zahlenmäßig stärksten Oppositionspartei überlassen. Attlee, der diesen Posten seit über vier Jahren innehat und der nun diesen Posten für ein weiteres Jahr bekleidet, ist ein Mann von beträchtlichem gesitigen Vermögen und einer nicht unbeträchtlichen politischen Urteilskraft. Es ist nun aber kein Geheimnis, dass ~~xxxx~~ er der Führer der Labour Party als eine Art Kompromisswahl wurde, weil sich die Partei nicht entschliessen konnte zwischen Greenwood und Morrison. Als der Krieg ausbrach war Attlee erkrankt. Wie so oft schuf die Gelegenheit den Mann, Greenwood stand vorübergehend auf dem Platze Attlees und ~~xxxx~~ machte seine Sache gut. Er brachte es fertig, die andersgearteten Ansichten der Partei aufrechtzuerhalten und doch die Partei mit der nationalen Sache zu vereinigen. Dies geschah in einer aner

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wenden!

ihn abzulehnen. Es wurde beschlossen, dass Attlee für weitere 12 Monate seinen Posten behalten sollte. Greenwood, Morrison und Dalton zogen ihre Kandidatur zurück, wenn man nach einer Erklärung für diesen Wandel in den Ereignissen sucht, so wird man ihn in der Sentimentalität und in dem Hang zur Sektenbildung finden, der immer schon die parlamentarische Vertretung der Labour Party kennzeichnete. Angesichts der Debatte, die bereits dieses Malysich um die Wahl Attlees eingesetzt hat, dürfte es das letzte Jahr gewesen sein, dass Attlee Führer der Partei gewesen ist.

00740 0026 BEC

Signatur.....

Datum

18. Dez. 1939

Hamburger Tageblatt

Nr. 349

Labour-Opposition bläst Kriegsanfaren

„Freiheit der Welt“ nach britischem Muster — Untaugliche „demokratische“ Methoden

Von unserem Korrespondenten
boe, Amsterdam, 18. Dezember. Oppositionsführer
Attlee hielt am Sonntag in Durham eine Rede,
in der er sich erneut mit den britischen Kriegsebenen
befaßte. Zur Beruhigung seiner Anhänger hielt
er es bei dieser Gelegenheit für zweckmäßig zu be-
tönen, daß seine Partei die gegenwärtige Regie-
rung nicht unterstütze, sie billige nur deren Haltung
gegen die „Aggression“. Selbstverständlich war
Attlee nicht in der Lage, den hierin angeblich be-
stehenden Unterschied zu erläutern. Statt dessen
blies der Oppositionsführer um so lautere Kriegs-
reden, als er sich den sogenannten britischen Kriegs-
zielen wandte, die nach seiner Version in der Er-
richtung der „Freiheit der Welt“ und einer „logi-
schen Gerechtigkeit“ bestünden. Aus begrifflichen Grün-

den gab er allerdings in diesem Zusammenhang
keine Auskunft darüber, weshalb England in den
Jahren nach dem Weltkrieg nichts zur Bewirt-
schung dieser menschenfreundlichen Ideale getan
hat. Attlee befaßte vielmehr indirekt das dauernde
Bestreben der englischen Politik, sich in Dinge ein-
zumischen, die sie durchaus nichts angehen, indem
er behauptete, daß kein Mitglied der britischen Ge-
werkschaften Isolationist sein könne.

Aber zum großen Leidwesen der Londoner Kriegs-
treiber funktioniert die englische Kriegsmaschine noch
lange nicht münchgemäß. Mit bitterer Kritik
legte sich deshalb A. G. A. in im „Observer“ mit
der sogenannten „Schlacht der Industrie“ ausein-
ander, wobei er als Kardinalfrage das Problem
aufwirft, wie die „Totalorganisation der Wirtschaft
und Industrie auf demokratischer Basis“ erreicht
werden könne, um die Kluftungen möglichst zu be-
schleunigen. Der grösste Widerspruch zwischen
einer „Totalorganisation“ und „demokratisches
Grundlagen“ scheint Garvin immerhin erhebliches
Kopfschmerzen zu bereiten. Dabei entschlüpft ihm
das bemerkswerte Eingeständnis, daß sämtliche
Aktienposten der bisherigen Kriegsbilanz auf das
deutsche Konto entfallen, und zwar aus drei Grün-
den: 1. wegen seiner militärischen Kraft zu Lande,
2. wegen der U-Boote und Seeminen, 3. wegen
Deutschlands Überlegenheit in der Luft und seinen
reichen Reserven. In jeder technischen Hinsicht, so
heißt es an anderer Stelle des erwähnten Artikels,
werde das deutsche System durch kühle, fähige
und machtvolle Persönlichkeiten geleitet. Eng-
lands Kriegschancen werden daher von Garvin
nur skeptisch beurteilt. Umso dringender ist sein
Appell, „das Gesetz des Handelns den Nazis aus

den Händen zu reißen“. Aber auch das wird Mr.
Garvin niemals erleben. Die Entwicklung der
letzten drei Monate ist Beweis genug, wie wenig
England hierzu in der Lage ist.

Attlee, Oppositions-
führer

00740 0027 BEC

2. März 1940

The Times (London)

Nr. 48554

PEACE PRINCIPLES

MR. ATTLEE ON TRUSTEESHIP FOR POSSESSIONS

Mr. ATTLEE, M.P., speaking on war aims at the London School of Economics yesterday, said that the biggest fear in the minds of the German people to-day was that if they deserted Hitler they would experience what they experienced after the last war. Hitlerism was a quack remedy for a very serious disease. It was not a real remedy, and the disease had grown worse. He did not think the Germans would ever have taken the remedy if the disease had not been so severe.

He thought it was very important, in discussing peace principles, that if we wanted to get a satisfactory peace we must be prepared to act in the same way as we expected others to act. If we denied the right of Germany to dominate the world, we certainly could not assert our own right to dominate the world. We believed that, while Germany certainly had the right to live, the Czechs, the Poles, and other nations in Europe had equally the right to live. If we objected to Imperialism in others we had got to free ourselves from Imperialism. The essence of Imperialism was not so much the fact that they painted part of the map red as that they treated certain portions of the world as belonging solely to this country. On the other hand, we had in this country shown how Imperialism could move from the Imperialistic idea to the idea of trusteeship, from the dominance of one country over others to a partnership in a great cooperative commonwealth; we had set an example in showing how peoples of divers races and tongues could become politically united, but with self-government.

He suggested that it was right that this country, as other countries, should hold its possessions under the principles of the mandate, and we should definitely regard our possession of those territories as a trusteeship for the inhabitants of those areas, and afterwards in the interests of the whole people in the world, and not to the exclusive advantage of our own people. If we asked that of other nations, we must be prepared to accept it ourselves. The world of the future must move towards a commonwealth of nations.

Signatur.....

Datum 3. Apr. 1940

00740 0028 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 48580

MR. ATTLEE WITH THE FLEET

Mr. Attlee visited the Fleet during the week-end as the guest of Admiral Sir Charles Forbes, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet.

00740 0029 BEC

Datum 12. Apr. 1940

Hamburger Fremdenblatt

Nr. 100

Erbärmliche Sandlanger

Berlin, 12. April

Einer der verlogensten Hilfsmänner der Plutokraten, der angebliche „Arbeiterführer“ Attlee, der selbst genauestens die Methode englischer Politik kennt und weiß, welchen Wert britische „Garantien“ und „Hilfsversprechungen“ besitzen, wenn ein Volk erst einmal den Opfergang für England angetreten hat, dieser Attlee scheute sich nicht, im Unterhaus zu erklären, er hoffe, daß für Norwegen englisch-französische Hilfe voll und ganz gegeben werde und auch eiligst zur Durchführung komme, denn man müsse zurzeit kommen und alles tun, was man tun könnte, um die Freiheit der norwegischen Nation zu bewahren.

Wir erinnern uns bei diesen heuchlerischen Worten Attlees jener Formulierungen, die vor zehn Tagen Molotow in seiner Rede vor dem Obersten Sowjet gebraucht hat, als er die kriegsbeherische, der Plutokratie hörige Politik dieser „Führer“ der Zweiten Internationale am Beispiel Finnlands brandmarkte. Molotow sagte:

„Man muß hinzufügen, daß aus dem wütenden Geheul der Feinde fortwährend die kreischenden Stimmen all dieser prostituierten „Sozialisten“ der Zweiten Internationale herausklangen, die Stimmen all dieser Attlee und Blum, Citrine und Jouhaux, Tranmaäl und Höglund, dieser Lakaien des Kapitals, die sich restlos an die Kriegsbrandstifter verkauft haben, diese „Sozialisten“ vom Schlage eines Attlee in England und eines Blum in Frankreich, die mit solchem Eifer daran sind, den Krieg zu schüren und auszubreiten. In Äußerungen der englischen und französischen imperialistischen Presse und ihrer „sozialistischen“ Nachbeter vernimmt man die Stimme des vertierten Imperialismus, der den sozialistischen Staat haßt.“

Diese Charakterisierung, die Molotow für Attlee und dessen Genossen gefunden hat, ist so erschöpfend, daß wir uns mit ihr begnügen können!

Attlee
Major

00740 0031 BEC

Datum 10. Mai 1940

Südost-Echo (Wien)

Nr. 19

M. Attlee als Zeuge

Major Attlee hat gegen Chamberlain einen Vorwurf erhoben, der, objektiv betrachtet, mehr wiegen müßte als alles andere, was dem Premierminister von unzufriedenen Oppositionellen und eigenen nicht weniger unzufriedenen Parteimitgliedern im Laufe dieser letzten Tage vorgehalten worden ist. Er hat wörtlich erklärt, daß der Chef der englischen Regierung, seit er an der leitenden Stelle sitzt, alle Friedenschancen verpaßt habe, so wie er jetzt alle Kriegschancen verpaßt. Für den Nichtengländer wird es nicht schwer fallen, dieses Urteil zu unterschreiben und, sofern er nur einigermaßen in der Geschichte der allerjüngsten Vergangenheit Bescheid weiß, eine ganze Reihe von Beweisen für seine Richtigkeit stellig zu machen. Die englische Politik hat seit Jahr und Tag eine mehr als unglückliche Hand bewiesen. Sie hat sich immer wieder von ideologischen Ressentiments und von der Rücksicht auf die Bedürfnisse mächtiger Wirtschaftsinteressen leiten lassen. Sie hat in der abessinischen Frage und dann desgleichen in der spanischen Fehler auf Fehler begangen und schon damals die gleiche Unaufrichtigkeit bewiesen, die jetzt zuletzt eben wieder die Norweger am eigenen Leibe erfahren mußten. M. Attlee, der heute für den Premierminister wahrhaftig ein bequemer Oppositionsredner ist, hat durch sein Urteil über die von Chamberlain verpaßten Friedenschancen nicht nur der britischen Regierung, sondern auch der englischen Politik unserer Tage überhaupt ein vernichtendes Zeugnis ausgestellt.

Attlee, Major

Signatur

00740 0032 BEC

Datum 13. Juni 1940

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt a. M.)

Nr. 296

Churchill Schweigt.

srp Berlin, 12. Juni.

Für den Dienstag war im englischen Unterhaus ein Bericht des Premierministers über die neueste Entwicklung der Kriegslage angekündigt worden. Der Bericht ist ausgeblieben. Winston Churchill hatte keine Zeit, im Unterhaus zu erscheinen. Er hat es vorgezogen, zu schweigen und dem Unterhaus durch seinen Stellvertreter, den kürzlich aus der Führung der Opposition zum Lordiegelbewahrer aufgerückten Major Attlee von der Labour Party mitteilen zu lassen, daß Churchill und die anderen Mitglieder des Kriegskabinetts ihre ganze Zeit den Angelegenheiten der nationalen Verteidigung widmen müßten. Die Begründung ist einleuchtend. Das Schweigen Churchills freilich spricht lauter und eindringlicher als eine noch so lange Rede.

Die Rede hat also der Major Attlee halten müssen. Er hat das neueste Ereignis behandelt, das zwar die Engländer nicht überraschen konnte, aber gleichwohl tief getroffen hat: die Kriegserklärung Italiens. Attlee hat unter dem Eindruck dieses Ereignisses ebenso wenig die Haltung und Fassung eines Gentleman bewahren können wie am Tage vorher der Informationsminister Duff Cooper. Er hat sich darauf beschränkt, die schlechten Manieren seines Kollegen zu kopieren und nachdrücklich zu beweisen, daß er auch als Mitglied der Regierung den engen Horizont seiner Reden aus der Oppositionszeit nicht erweitert hat. Seine maßlosen Angriffe auf Mussolini fallen auf ihn selbst zurück und enthüllen die empfindlichste Schwäche Englands: die Unfähigkeit seiner führenden Männer, den Zustand des Kontinents gegen die Bevormundung und Kontrolle der Engländer zu begreifen. Wie konnte Italien sich unterstellen, zu den Waffen zu greifen, um seine nationalen Lebensrechte gegen England und Frankreich zu erzwingen? Darüber kommt Attlee nicht hinweg. Die Engländer, meint er, seien doch immer bereit gewesen, „jede wirkliche Beschwerde Italiens zu erörtern und wieder in die Reihe zu bringen“. Daß Italien seit zwanzig Jahren seine Beschwerden angemeldet und vergeblich darauf gewartet hat, daß man sie berücksichtige; daß Italien schon vor Jahren an die Seite Deutschlands getreten ist, um eine Revision des für beide Völker unerträglich gewordenen und von den Westmächten gegen jede Verbesserung blind verteidigten status quo durchzusetzen; daß Italien seine Ausdehnung in Abyssinien nur gegen den harten englischen Widerstand der Sanktionen erzwingen konnte; daß allen Italienern noch das berühmte französische „jamais“ in den Ohren klingen muß — das alles hat ein Mann wie Attlee ebenso wenig zur Kenntnis genommen wie alle anderen englischen Politiker, die in den letzten Jahren etwas zu sagen hatten. Er mag zwar dunkel spüren, daß auf dem Kontinent eine große revolutionäre Bewegung entstanden ist, die Vorherrschaft, Selbstergerechtigkeit und Anmaßung der Engländer zu brechen; aber für einen Attlee können hinter einer solchen Bewegung, die eine geschichtlich notwendige und unaufhaltsame Korrektur der herrschenden Machtverhältnisse anstrebt, im allgemeinen nur „völlig niedrige und materielle Motive“ und bei Mussolini nur „die Argumente eines Schafals“ stecken.

lischer Sieg mehr zu erhoffen. Im letzten Teil seiner Rede hat Attlee dies selbst ungewollt bezeugt. Er hatte noch über den Rückzug aus Narvik zu berichten. Dort habe den Engländern, meinte Attlee, fast schon der Sieg gewinkt. „Nur wegen des militärischen Drucks an den anderen Fronten“ hätten sie das Feld räumen müssen. Das „nur“ ist ein verräterisches Wort. Es hat, auf die Kriegslage im Westen bezogen, ein schlechthin erdrückendes Gewicht. Es tönt nicht minder laut wie die Tatsachen und Ereignisse, die Churchill bewogen haben, zu schweigen.

Das Stichwort vom „Dolchstoß in den Rücken“, das auf der anderen Seite des Ozeans ausgegeben worden ist, hat natürlich auch in der Rede Attlees nicht fehlen dürfen — obwohl es wahrhaftig nicht an englischen Versuchen gefehlt hat, den Dolch gegen einen anderen Rücken zu führen. Es ist die alte englische Melodie des „Cant“: Was England tut, ist gut und schön und ideal; was gegen England geschieht, können sich nur böse, abgründig schlechte und verworfene Menschen ausgedacht haben. Trotzdem sind die Engländer, hat Attlee hinzugefügt, „dem italienischen Volk nicht böse“. Sie sind lediglich besorgt darüber, daß es in einen vernichtenden Sturm gestossen wird, um dem übertriebenen Ehrgeiz und dem Muthurst seines Führers zu steuern.

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lischer Sieg mehr zu erhoffen. Im letzten Teil seiner Rede hat Attlee dies selbst ungewollt bezeugt. Er hatte noch über den Rückzug aus Marit zu berichten. Dort habe den Engländern, meinte Attlee, fast schon der Sieg gewinkt. „Nur wegen des militärischen Drucks an den anderen Fronten“ hätten sie das Feld räumen müssen. Das „nur“ ist ein verräterisches Wort. Es hat, auf die Kriegslage im Westen bezogen, ein schlechtthin erdrückendes Gewicht. Es tönt nicht minder laut wie die Tatsachen und Ereignisse, die Churchill bewogen haben, zu schweigen.

Hamburger Fremdenblatt

Nr. 211 A

Spanische Abfuhr für den „Arbeiterführer“ Attlee

Meldung unseres Vertreters

b-d. Madrid, 2. August

Wenn England dazu übergehen möchte, den ganzen Kontinent zu blockieren, wenn England nun auch die Iberische Halbinsel unter Druck setzen möchte und wenn ausgerechnet aus dem Munde eines Labour-Party-Führers die spanische Forderung auf Gibraltar hochmütig abgelehnt wird, dann wird dies hier im südwestlichen Teil des europäischen Kontinents als ein neuer plastischer Beweis der völligen britischen Fehlbeurteilung der Lage erkennbar. Insbesondere was die vom Staatschef General Franco persönlich angemeldete Gibraltar-Forderung betrifft, so faßt man die Worte Attlees, der Erklärung General Francos sei keine allzu große Bedeutung beizumessen, als Beweis dafür auf, daß England seit dem 1. September 1939 nichts gelernt hat und immer noch glaubt, die natürlichen Ansprüche der ausgenutzten Völker mit Füßen treten zu können.

Spanien nimmt die britischen Erklärungen zur Kenntnis und zeigt sich entschlossen, sich durch kein noch so starkes Druckmittel beeinflussen oder in seinen Forderungen wankend machen zu lassen. Dies bezieht sich auch auf die Blockademahnahmen, die Londoner Linkskreise mit aller Schärfe und Härte auch gegen Spanien angewandt wissen wollen. Der Preis des Brotes werde den spanischen Weg nicht bestimmen, meint das Blatt der spanischen Falange, „Arriba“. In den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten ließen sich genug Namen und Daten finden, die von Erpressungen, Demütigungen und Verrat erzählen. Der Egoismus gewisser reicher Völker habe genug gefeilscht und Markt gehalten unter Ausnutzung guter Beziehungen zum spanischen Volk. „Nur starke und ihres Schicksals bewußte Völker können ihren Volksgenossen gleichzeitig den Stolz der historischen Nation und die materielle Sicherung der Lebensnotwendigkeiten geben. Wenn unser Volk heute leidet, weil es ein Volk ist, das nur auf seine Arbeit und seine Lebenskraft zählt, dann müssen wir das Wert unseres Starkwerdens und unserer gerechten Ausdehnung, die Wiedererlangung von Würde und Macht als Grundlage dafür betrachten, unserem Volk Brot und Wohlstand zu schaffen. Das Brot hat man im Vaterlande. Aber das Vaterland hat man nur, wenn es handelt und triumphiert im Spiel des Universums.“

Attlee
Lord Privy Seal

00740 0034 BEC

25. Jan. 1941

The Times (London)

NO IDLE RICH CLASS

MR. ATTLEE ON POST-WAR CHANGES

Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, addressing a meeting arranged by the Oxford University Democratic Socialist Club last night, indicated some of the changes which the post-war period should bring.

In a reference to Communism and the suppression of the *Daily Worker* he said:—"We do not like to have to do it, but we are not prepared, in face of what they have done in other countries, to allow them, under the plea of the rights of free speech and democratic liberty, to try to destroy us from within while our enemies from without attack us."

Mr. ATTLEE said he hoped that after the war the securing of adequate food for all the people would become a permanent part of national policy. Just as we could not afford to waste human resources in war-time, so he saw no reason why, after the war, anyone should be able to "contract out" of the duty of rendering service to the community by reason of wealth. He did not think that after this war we should be able to afford an idle rich class. Equally, we should not be able to afford to have those who were willing and able to work denied the opportunity. Unemployment must go. Distribution of wealth in this country was changing rapidly and was bound to have wide repercussions on our social system. One result would be to carry further the process already begun of making our educational system more democratic.

Mr. Attlee compared the planning of the post-war national life with that of restoring war-scarred London. We had lost beautiful Wren churches, but we had also lost ill-planned houses and streets. He hoped that much of the finest buildings would survive in a worthier setting just as, in our national life, we were striving to preserve our liberties.

"We shall have swept away some evil things, such as the family means test, widespread malnutrition, and unemployment," he said. "We must see to it that they never come back. We shall have brought a good deal more orderly planning into our economic system. We shall have progressed towards greater equality."

00740 0036 BEC

14. Juni 1941

The Times (London)

LAW OR BRUTE FORCE

MR. ATTLEE ON AIMS OF A NEW WORLD

Speaking at Chesterfield last night, Mr. C. R. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, referred to the gathering of Allied representatives in London on Thursday, and said that it was a very moving spectacle.

Those men, our guests here, our comrades in the struggle, had all of them suffered. They had been witnesses of the cruelty and destruction wrought in their countries. They had seen their friends killed. No one of those countries had given any cause for attack. Each had been assailed without warning, as a man walking in a jungle might be suddenly pulled down by a tiger. That was what the world had been made by the Nazis—a jungle where no man was safe, a place where no law of God or man prevailed, but only brute force and greed.

Real national unity sprang from the things which we had in common; the greater that common interest, the stronger the nation in peace as well as in war. It is because in this country all enjoyed freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the right to choose and change our Governments that we were united. The continent of Europe had fallen before Hitler because of its disunity. By playing on the rivalries and jealousies of the nations he had divided them and devoured them in detail. There was not enough realization of the common interest of all in our civilization to overcome sectional ambitions and fears. Had Europe been united in spirit the Nazi monster would have been strangled at birth.

The aim of the Nazis was to enslave all the peoples of Europe, who were to be the mere instruments of the Germans, the Herrenfolk, the master class. To that we opposed the democratic ideal, whereby we saw the world as a community of nations, differing in their qualities but united in a comity of nations like the citizens of a town, but recognizing each other's rights and uniting for common purposes.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Nr. 10

Attlee über die Kriegslage
Erklärungen im britischen Unterhaus

London, 8. Jan. ag (Reuter) Als Stellvertreter des Premierministers sprach Lord-Siegelbewahrer Attlee im Unterhaus über die Entwicklung der Kriegslage. Er führte dabei u. a. aus:

„Ich bin überzeugt, daß das Haus die Gründe versteht, weshalb Churchill sich über den Atlantik begeben hat. Der Eintritt der Vereinigten Staaten in den Krieg machte es notwendig, die Pläne so rasch als möglich in Einklang zu bringen, und zwar durch Persönlichkeiten, die fähig sind, die Anstrengungen der beiden großen Demokratien beidseitig des Atlantiks nach Möglichkeit zu koordinieren. Durch den Besuch Churchills, Lord Beaverbrooks und hoher Generalstabsoffiziere konnte ein Grad der Zusammenarbeit herbeigeführt werden, wie er nur durch persönliche Fühlungnahme erreicht werden kann. Das Haus kennt bereits die wichtigsten Ergebnisse. Da ist zunächst die gemeinsame Erklärung der 26 Nationen. Dann sind die Vorschläge der Generalstabschefs Großbritanniens und der Vereinigten Staaten zu erwähnen. Ferner wurde beschlossen, im südwestlichen Pazifik ein einheitliches Kommando zu schaffen, durch das alle Land-, Luft- und Seestreitkräfte dieser Gebiete unter ein Oberkommando gestellt werden. General Wavell, der auf diesen hohen Posten berufen wurde, wird in seinem Generalstab Offiziere der australischen, niederländischen, britischen und amerikanischen Streitkräfte um sich haben. Generalissimo Tschiang Kai-shek hat sich einverstanden erklärt, das Oberkommando über alle Luft- und Landstreitkräfte der Mächte zu übernehmen, die gegenwärtig oder künftig auf dem chinesischen Kriegsschauplatz kämpfen.“

Auf eine Anfrage Gore Belisha erklärte Attlee, das Kommando Wavells umfasse Burma, indessen nicht Indochina. Es dehne sich auf den Norden der Philippinen aus, folge der Nordküste Australiens und gehe rings um den Malaisischen Archipel. Sein Kommando erstreckte sich weder auf Indien noch auf Australien.

Es wurden Fragen nach der Organisierung des Reichskriegskabinetts und der Schaffung eines Obersten Kriegsrates gerichtet. Attlee antwortete, daß es im jetzigen Zeitpunkt verfrüht wäre, über die genauen Koordinierungsmaßnahmen Aufschluß geben zu wollen. Er fügte jedoch bei, daß diese Probleme die volle Aufmerksamkeit der Regierung in

Anspruch nähmen. Er sei sicher, daß das Unterhaus die großen Dienste nach ihrem Werte einschätze, die der Staatsbesuch Churchills in Washington der gemeinsamen Sache geleistet habe.

Der britische Außenminister sei von seinem Staatsbesuch bei der russischen Regierung zurückgekehrt. Auch das stelle ein Beispiel für die enge persönliche Zusammenarbeit dar. Wie das Unterhaus wisse, habe General Wavell Marschall Tschiang Kai-shek besucht und mit ihm die Kriegspläne der nächsten Zeit besprochen. Der Erfolg der chinesischen Streitkräfte über die Japaner in Tschangtscha sei von guter Vorbedeutung für die Zukunft.

Beim Überblick über die Kriegereignisse auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen in den vergangenen vier Wochen müsse die Bilanz zwischen Gewinnen und Verlusten gezogen werden. In Libyen hätten die Truppen General Auchinlecks den Truppen der Achse weitere schwere Schläge versetzt. Als der Premierminister verkündete, daß Tobruk entsetzt sei, leistete der Feind noch kräftigen Widerstand auf einer Linie, die von Gazala bis westlich der Festung Tobruk ging. Bardia, Solum und Galfaha bildeten noch feindliche Stützpunkte, die kräftigen Widerstand leisteten. In der darauffolgenden Woche habe General Rommel trotz den von ihm eingeleiteten Gegenangriffen seine Stellungen nicht halten können. Bengasi mußte vom Feinde aufgegeben werden. Im Süden seien leichte britische Truppenabteilungen auf der Straße nach Tripolis vorgerückt. Die Operationen seien von denkbar schlechtestem Wetter behindert worden. Nun ständen die Truppen General Rommels in der Gegend von Agadabia, wo sie starke Panzerkampfwagenangriffe abzuwehren haben. Die feindlichen Truppen in Bardia hätten kapituliert. Damit seien 8000 Gefangene und große Mengen Kriegsmaterial in die Hände der Briten gefallen. Widerstandsnester bildeten noch Galfaha und Solum, die aber beide umzingelt seien. So sei die Lage in Libyen.

Attlee führte aus, daß diese Erfolge dank der erfolgreichen Zusammenarbeit der Landtruppen, der Seestreitkräfte und der Luftwaffe erzielt worden seien. Die Marine habe dabei eine große Aufgabe zu erfüllen gehabt: Erstens habe sie für die Verproviantierung der britischen Streitkräfte sorgen müssen; zweitens sollte sie die Verproviantierung der feindlichen Streitkräfte verhindern und drittens Ziele an der Küste bombardieren, um dadurch den Vormarsch der Landtruppen zu erleichtern. Bei der Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe sei die britische Flotte von der Luftwaffe kräftig unterstützt worden. Einer der hervorstechendsten Erfolge der britischen Flotte bestand in der Versenkung von zwei italienischen Kreuzern auf der Höhe der tunesischen Küste durch britische Zerstörer.

Die Zähigkeit und Ausdauer, die die britischen Streitkräfte und die Truppen der Dominions im nordafrikanischen Feldzug bewiesen hätten, seien über jedes Lob erhaben. Attlee erwähnte dann die Tapferkeit und Unererschrockenheit der Garnison von Malta unter der Leitung von General Dobbie, wie auch der maltesischen Bevölkerung. Sie hätten bei den ständigen feindlichen Luftangriffen einen bewundernswerten Mut an den Tag gelegt.

Inzwischen gehe die Schlacht im Atlantik weiter. Die britischen Verluste an Handelsschiffen hätten sich weiter vermindert.

Ein anderer Gewinn sei der ständige Vormarsch der russischen Armeen. In diesem Front-

abschnitt hätten die Russen nun die Initiative ergriffen. Bei der Behandlung der Feldzüge wolle er die Bombardierungsflüge über Deutschland und den besetzten Ländern nicht vergessen, die trotz den im allgemeinen schlechten Wetterverhältnissen ihren Fortgang nehmen.

Attlee kam dann auf Ostasien zu sprechen. Er führte aus, daß die bisherigen Ereignisse die Voraussage Churchills bestätigt hätten, wonach ziemlich schwere Rückschläge zu erwarten sein würden. Der Eintritt der Vereinigten Staaten in den Krieg habe alle Zweifel über das Endergebnis beseitigt. Aber die amerikanische Mitarbeit habe noch nicht den Vorteil auf, den Japan aus seiner strategischen Lage gezogen habe, als es Großbritannien und Amerika plötzlich angriff. Die Tatsache, daß Japan zu Beginn der Feindseligkeiten auf britischen Territorien nur kleine und mangelhaft ausgerüstete Garnisonen vorgefunden habe, sei nicht auf einen Mangel an Voraussicht zurückzuführen, sondern allein darauf, daß es Großbritannien unmöglich sei, jetzt schon überall in gleicher Stärke aufzutreten. Großbritannien habe nicht genügend Landstreitkräfte nach Ostasien entsenden können. Es habe auf der malayischen Halbinsel rund fünfzehn Flugplätze verloren. Aber in keinem Falle seien diese Verluste auf Fallschirmabspringerangriffe oder Luftlandetruppen zurückzuführen gewesen. Die Flugplätze seien verloren gegangen, weil die Gebiete, in denen sie lagen, aufgegeben werden mußten.

Attlee sprach dann über die Verteidigung der Flugplätze in Großbritannien. Es sei beschlossen worden, die Verteidigung der Flughäfen in die Hand der Royal Air Force zu legen. Zu diesem Zwecke werde ein spezielles Schutzkorps zur Verteidigung der Flugplätze geschaffen, das dem „Luftstabsrat“ unterstellt sein werde. Generalmajor Dardet sei

zum Generaldirektor dieser speziellen Schutztruppen für Flughäfen ernannt worden. Die Regierung sei überzeugt, so schloß Lordfiegelbewahrer Attlee seine Ausführungen, daß der neue Plan zu einer bedeutenden Verbesserung der Verteidigung für die britischen Flughäfen führen werde. Der Plan sei von den Generalstabschefs der drei Wehrmachtsteile gebilligt worden.

00740 0038 BEC

Hamburger Fremdenblatt

Nr. 269

Nur ein Schlagwort?

Stockholm, 29. September

Die immer lebhafter werdende Agitation Moskaus für die zweite Front brachte den stellvertretenden britischen Ministerpräsidenten Attlee, der sich zurzeit in Kanada aufhält, in die unangenehme Lage, Rede und Antwort zu stehen. Peinliche Fragen eines Pressevertreters suchte er mit dem Hinweis zu parieren, die Frage der zweiten Front in Europa sei „etwas wie ein Schlagwort“ geworden. Es sei nötig, die „Schlacht im Atlantik“, die britischen Luftangriffe sowie die Kämpfe im Mittleren Osten und an anderen Orten in Betracht zu ziehen. Alle militärischen Unternehmungen bildeten die zweite Front, und die Kämpfe an allen Fronten würden davon berührt. Vielleicht übersteigere man in der öffentlichen Meinung die Bedeutung der zweiten Front, doch sei es notwendig, ihre Beziehung zur gesamten Kriegslage nicht zu vergessen.

Attlee stiehlt nationalsozialistische Parolen

DAZ Berlin, 14. 9.

Einen eklatanten Beweis dafür, wie hoffnungslos das plutokratische England sich im Laufe des Krieges in eine sozialpolitische Sackgasse verrannt hat, lieferte dieser Tage der stellvertretende britische Ministerpräsident Attlee. Er hielt bei Eröffnung einer Konferenz von Wirtschaftsvertretern Englands und der Dominien eine Rede, in der er als Parole für die wirtschaftspolitische Nachkriegsordnung des Empire den Fundamentalsatz des nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftsaufbaues empfahl: „Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz.“

Wörtlich lautete der betreffende Passus in der Rede Attlees: „In England und zweifellos auch in ihrer Heimat haben Tausende von Menschen eingesehen, daß sich der Sieg im Kriege nur durch die Anwendung des Grundsatzes „Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz“ erringen läßt, und sie erkennen jetzt auch, daß dies der Schlüssel zum Wiederaufbau nach dem Kriege ist.“

Man braucht nicht viel Worte darüber zu verlieren, wie grotesk es ist, daß ein Minister des plutokratischen England sich diesen Kernsatz der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung zu eigen macht. Aber man sollte daran erinnern, daß Churchill und seine Clique, d. h. also die Stützen des alten britischen plutokratischen Feudalsystems, den Krieg inszenierten, um den nationalsozialistischen Grundsätzen Paroli zu bieten, und vor allen Dingen ihr Uebergreifen nach England zu verhindern. Man muß auch daran erinnern, welch brutales Spiel mit allen sozialreformerischen Plänen und Ideen während des Krieges in England getrieben worden ist. Es ist ganz klar, daß sich des gesamten arbeitenden englischen Volkes infolgedessen ein abgrundtiefes Mißtrauen gegen die Regierung hinsichtlich ihrer künftigen sozialpolitischen Absichten bemächtigt hat. Diesem Mißtrauen möchte nun der stellvertretende britische Ministerpräsident begegnen, und da sich im Gedankengut der britischen Tories und der britischen Labourpartei

keine Parole findet, die dem arbeitenden Volk in dieser Hinsicht Vertrauen einflößen könnte, machte Attlee bedenkenlos die Anleihe beim nationalsozialistischen Gedankengut.

Dabei verfiel er allerdings einem doppelten Irrtum: der eine besteht in der Hoffnung, daß die arbeitenden Klassen Englands den vielfältigen Betrug vergessen haben könnten, den Churchill und seine Gesinnungsgenossen in den verflossenen Jahren an ihnen verübt haben. Der andere Irrtum liegt in der an sich durchaus richtigen Argumentation Attlees, daß sich der Sieg im Kriege nur durch die Anwendung des Grundsatzes „Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz“ erringen lasse. Gewiß ist die Anwendung dieses Grundsatzes eine der wesentlichen Voraussetzungen dafür, daß ein Volk sich mit voller Energie und aller nationalen Leidenschaft dieses Grundsatzes nach so viel gebrochenen sozialpolitischen Versprechungen schafft jene Voraussetzungen, sondern seine ehrliche Durchführung und jahrelange Betätigung in der Praxis, wie sie Deutschland seit 1933 erfahren hat.

Attlee und seine Gesinnungsgenossen als Renegaten der Arbeiterpartei wissen natürlich sehr wohl um die Ueberzeugungskraft, die eben jene in Deutschland vollzogene Verwirklichung des Grundsatzes „Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz“ bei den arbeitenden Klassen Englands entfaltet hat. Nun glauben sie mit der Uebernahme dieses Stückes nationalsozialistischen Gedankengutes sich aus ihrer Sackgasse retten zu können.

Auch dies wird sich als Irrtum erweisen, und die Reaktion des arbeitenden britischen Volkes wird eines Tages um so heftiger sein, wenn es am eigenen Leibe erfahren wird, daß es abermals um die Erfüllung seiner berechtigten Forderungen gebracht wurde mit der betrügerischen Proklamierung eines Grundsatzes, dessen Durchführung sich in Deutschland als eine der entscheidenden Grundlagen des nationalen und sozialen Aufstieges erwiesen hat.

*Attlee, Major
Clement Richard*

00740 0040 BEC

Datum 14. Okt. 1944

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (Berlin)

Nr. 280

Attlee wieder Führer der Arbeiterpartei

ep. Stockholm, 13. 10.
Clement Richard Attlee ist am Donnerstag erneut
zum Führer der englischen Arbeiterpartei gewählt worden.

Duplikat

*Attlee
Lapin
5a*

Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

24

Nr.....

Attlees erste Wahlrede

Der Führer der britischen Arbeiterpartei, Attlee, hielt im Rundfunk als erster Redner seiner Partei über deren Politik und Ziele eine Wahlrede.

Attlee sagte: Ich hoffe, wir alle sind uns weiterhin einig über die Hauptpunkte der Außenpolitik. Die Arbeiterpartei begrüßt den Versuch, der jetzt in San Francisco gemacht wird, eine Weltorganisation zu errichten, — ausgestattet mit entsprechenden Machtmitteln, um jeden Angreifer abzuschrecken. Es ist unserer Überzeugung nach entscheidend für den Weltfrieden, daß die enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen der britischen Völkerfamilie, den USA und Rußland weitergeführt wird.

Die Hauptgegensätze der englischen Parteien bestehen auf dem Gebiet der Innenpolitik. Die Arbeiterpartei tritt für eine weitgehende staatliche Lenkung des Wirtschaftslebens im Interesse der Allgemeinheit ein. Während die Konservativen glauben, daß unser Wirtschaftsleben auf privaten Unternehmen, die geleitet vom Gedanken des persönlichen Gewinns, aufgebaut sein muß, muß nach Ansicht der Arbeiterpartei das Gemeinwohl allem anderen vorangestellt werden. Die Arbeiterpartei ist überzeugt, daß wie es im Kriege möglich war, Nahrung, Kleidung und Arbeit für das ganze britische Volk zu schaffen, es auch im Frieden möglich sein muß, die gleichen Leistungen zu erreichen, vorausgesetzt, daß die Regierung den Willen und die Macht hat, zu handeln. Die vorhandenen Mittel unseres Landes müssen in vollem Ausmaß nutzbar gemacht werden und Privatinteressen dürfen nicht der allgemeinen Wohlfahrt des Landes im Wege stehen.

Die innerpolitischen Gegensätze, die in den Stunden der nationalen Gefahr und des Krieges in den Hintergrund getreten waren, stehen jetzt, wenige Wochen vor den Wahlen, wieder im Brennpunkt der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit.

Landauf, landab werden Wahlversammlungen vorbereitet. Die Parteien vervollständigen ihre Kandidatenlisten. Die Arbeit im Parlament, dessen Auflösung am 15. Juni bevorsteht, beschränkt sich auf die notwendigen abschließenden und Übergangsmaßnahmen.

Am Rundfunk werden alle Parteien mit mehr als zwanzig Kandidaten zu Worte kommen. Churchill nahm für die konservative Partei und die von ihm neugebildete Regierung in Anspruch, daß sie die nationale Sache über Parteivorteile stelle, zum Unterschied von der Liberalen und Arbeiterpartei.

Während über die außenpolitischen Fragen grundsätzlich Einigkeit herrscht und nur die größere Zweckmäßigkeit des einen oder anderen Schrittes zur Gewährleistung des Weltfriedens in Frage steht, geht es innerpolitisch um sehr viel tiefere Gegensätze: um Sozialisierung gewisser Wirtschaftszweige oder Privatwirtschaft, Aufrechterhaltung oder Aufhebung von im Kriege geschaffenen Kontrollen, Fragen der Sozialversicherung, der Zollpolitik, der Bodenwirtschaft usw.

In London und der Provinz finden in den 640 Wahlkreisen, um die insgesamt rund 1500 Kandidaten kämpfen, täglich Wahlkundgebungen statt, in denen die Parteigegensätze mit wachsender Stärke zum Ausdruck kommen.

Die Kandidaten fahren von einem Versammlungslokal zum andern, beantworten Fragen und besuchen die Wähler in ihren Häusern und Wohnungen. Millionen von Flugblättern und Werbeschriften werden täglich versandt, zum großen Teil an die drei Millionen englischer Soldaten, die mitwählen werden. Jeder Kandidat, der einer der Parteien angehört, hat eine Zuteilung von einer Tonne Papier erhalten. Kandidaten, denen nicht die Unterstützung der Parteipresse zur Verfügung steht, erhalten ein Viertel mehr.

Die Parteipresse selbst arbeitet in ihren Stellungnahmen zu den Reden Churchills und Attlees die großen Gegensätze heraus, um die es in dieser Wahl geht, der ersten Parlamentswahl, die England seit zehn Jahren gehabt hat: sozialistische Wirtschaftskontrolle oder Rückkehr zu einem individualistischen Wirtschaftssystem. Aber auch die Konservative Partei, die sich gegen ein sozialistisches Wirtschaftssystem wendet, anerkennt die Notwendigkeit, eine gewisse Preiskontrolle und Bewirtschaftung von Mangelwaren bis auf weiteres aufrechtzuerhalten.

In einem Leitartikel zur Rede Attlees schreibt der „Daily Express“, das Organ der Konservativen: Man darf sich durch die scheinbar harmlosen Erklärungen Attlees über zentrale Wirtschaftspläne und dergleichen nicht hinters Licht führen lassen. Unter einem sozialistischen Regime kann es keine Freiheit geben. Je mehr die Kontrolle des Staates ausgedehnt wird, desto näher wird Großbritannien dem Faschismus gebracht.

Das Organ der Arbeiterpartei „Daily Herald“ wirft Churchill und der Konservativen Partei vor, daß sie die Absichten der Arbeiterpartei verfälscht und verdreht habe und erklärte: Attlee habe „Churchills verrückter Rede eine kräftige Abfuhr gegeben“. Typisch dafür, wie Churchill, der während des Krieges keiner Kritik ausgesetzt war, jetzt als Führer der Konservativen angegriffen wird, ist die Erklärung des „Daily Herald“: Das große Ansehen, das Churchill sich während des Krieges erworben hat, gehört jetzt der Vergangenheit an und ist bedeutungslos für die Fragen, deren Lösung der Friede jetzt erfordert.

Auch der liberale Politiker Viscount Samuel, der Mittwochabend im englischen Rundfunk für die Liberale Partei sprach, bezeichnete Churchills Idee als „bedauerlich“ und erklärte, daß die britische Delegation auf der kommenden Friedenskonferenz aus Vertretern aller Parteien bestehen solle. „Wie immer die Wahlen ausfallen mögen“, so sagte er, „ich bin überzeugt, daß Winston Churchill seine Dienste einer solchen Delegation zur Verfügung stellen wird“.

Britische Opposition eingeladen

Besprechungen der großen Drei

Der britische Premierminister Winston Churchill gab bekannt, daß der Führer der Opposition, Attlee, auch an den Besprechungen mit Präsident Truman und Marschall Stalin teilnehmen werde.

Diese Entscheidung ist ein neuer Beweis für die Übereinstimmung der englischen Parteien auf außenpolitischem Gebiete.

Eine Einheit in dieser Hinsicht besteht auch während eines regen Wahlkampfes weiter, obwohl sie ihre Funktion — dem Wähler die Möglichkeit einer Wahl zwischen mehreren Ansichten zu bieten — ausführen.

Der demokratische Staatsgedanke entnimmt der Erfahrung immer neues Lebensblut und Stärke. Demokratische Völker, demokratische Regierungen, demokratische Parteien lernen von ihren Fehlern. Demokratische Traditionen und Gesetze schaffen die Vorbedingungen für eine bessere Zukunft. Sie schaffen die Regeln, die für die Austragung des Wahlkampfes und für ein ungestörtes politisches Leben notwendig sind.

Eine demokratische Verfassung stagniert nie. Neues, frisches Wasser strömt ständig von den Quellen hoch in den Bergen herab.

Winston Churchill hat bewiesen, daß er es auch versteht, demokratische Gedanken und demokratische Gebräuche weiter auszubauen.

London: Premierminister Churchill hat den Führer der Opposition im englischen Unterhaus, Clement Attlee, eingeladen, ihn zur bevorstehenden Konferenz mit Stalin und Präsident Truman zu begleiten, damit ohne Rücksicht auf das Ergebnis der am 5. Juli stattfindenden englischen Parlamentswahlen die Kontinuität der britischen Außenpolitik gewahrt bleibt.

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Über die Lage im Nahen Osten sagte Churchill: „Wir denken gar nicht daran, unsere französischen Freunde aus Syrien verdrängen zu wollen. Es wird uns sehr freuen, wenn Frankreich sich allein mit Syrien und dem Libanon einigen kann. Im Augenblick, da ein Vertrag zustande kommt, werden wir unsere Truppen aus diesen Ländern zurückziehen. Es kann daher in dieser Angelegenheit keinen wirklichen Anlaß

zu Mißverständnissen zwischen uns und Frankreich geben.“

Britische Opposition eingeladen

Besprechungen der großen Drei

Der britische Premierminister Winston Churchill gab bekannt, daß der Führer der Opposition, Attlee, auch an den Besprechungen mit Präsident Truman und Marschall Stalin teilnehmen werde.

Diese Entscheidung ist ein neuer Beweis für die Übereinstimmung der englischen Parteien auf außenpolitischem Gebiete.

Eine Einheit in dieser Hinsicht besteht auch während eines regen Wahlkampfes weiter, obwohl sie ihre Funktion — dem Wähler die Möglichkeit einer Wahl zwischen mehreren Ansichten zu bieten — ausführen.

Der demokratische Staatsgedanke entnimmt der Erfahrung immer neues Lebensblut und Stärke. Demokratische Völker, demokratische Regierungen, demokratische Parteien lernen von ihren Fehlern. Demokratische Traditionen und Gesetze schaffen die Vorbedingungen für eine bessere Zukunft. Sie schaffen die Regeln, die für die Austragung des Wahlkampfes und für ein ungestörtes politisches Leben notwendig sind.

Eine demokratische Verfassung stagniert nie. Neues, frisches Wasser strömt ständig von den Quellen hoch in den Bergen herab.

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P

Attlee
Clement

Datum 16. Juni 1945

Neue Hamburger Presse

Nr. 2

Dreier-Konferenz in Berlin

London: Das neue Dreiertreffen zwischen Truman, Churchill und Stalin wird in Bälde in Berlin stattfinden.

Der Führer der Labour-Party, Clement Attlee, der am Donnerstag von Churchill eingeladen wurde, ihn zur Konferenz zu begleiten, hat die Einladung des Premierministers angenommen.

In dem Brief, in dem Attlee die Einladung annimmt, heißt es: „Zweifelsohne ist es von großem Werte, die seit den letzten fünf Jahren bewahrte Einheit des britischen Volkes in Fragen der Außenpolitik auch weiter aufrechtzuerhalten und sie der Weltöffentlichkeit gerade im gegenwärtigen Augenblick zu bekunden.“

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Signatur.....

Datum.....

18. Juni 1945

Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

Nr. 31

Zur Einladung Churchills an Attlee

Am 1. August wird das neue Parlament zusammentreten, das am 5. Juli gewählt wird. Zwischen der eigentlichen Wahl und dem Zeitpunkt der Bekanntgabe des Ergebnisses am 26. Juli liegt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Zusammenkunft der großen Drei. Die Einladung Churchills an den Führer der Arbeiterpartei Attlee, an dieser Zusammenkunft teilzunehmen, wird in der Presse allgemein so ausgelegt, daß dadurch die Kontinuität der britischen Außenpolitik gewahrt werden soll, wie immer die Wahl ausfallen mag.

Die konservative „Sunday Times“ schreibt, die Einladung Churchills an Attlee noch kurz vor dem Ende der Sitzungsperiode des Parlaments sei eine Geste, die an die Zeit seiner größten Erfolge erinnert. „Attlee wird an den Besprechungen der drei führenden Staatsmänner teilnehmen. Er teilt selbstverständlich nicht die Verantwortung der britischen Regierung für die hier gefaßten Beschlüsse; er wird aber bei den Beratungen anwesend und über sie informiert sein. Auch wird er zu Rate gezogen werden, wenn er es für richtig hält, Rat zu erteilen.“

Ein Leitartikel der „Reynolds News“, der Zeitung der Genossenschaften, nimmt zur Frage der Arbeiterpartei und Außenpolitik wie folgt Stellung: „Der Beschluß, Attlee zur Teilnahme an diesen entscheidenden Besprechungen als Freund und Berater beizuziehen,

ist eine notwendige Vorbedingung für deren Erfolg.“

Reynolds
Kapit. 218 21

Die englischen Wahlergebnisse

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Premierminister Attlee verbrachte den ganzen Tag mit eingehenden Besprechungen über die Bildung der neuen Regierung, deren Zusammenstellung so rasch wie möglich bekanntgegeben werden soll.

Unter den führenden Politikern der Arbeiterpartei, die Attlee empfing, befanden sich Ernest Bevin, Arbeitsminister der früheren nationalen Koalitionsregierung, Herbert

liche Ämter innehatten und für die Aufgaben des Krieges gegen Japan gründliche Erfahrungen aus ihrer Amtstätigkeit während des Krieges in Europa mitbringen.

Um eine Wiederaufnahme der Dreimächtekonferenz in Potsdam mit größter Beschleunigung zu ermöglichen, dürfte Premierminister Attlee dem König zunächst eine vorläufige Ministerliste für die wichtigsten Posten unterbreiten. Die Besetzung der anderen Ämter würde dann schrittweise erfolgen.

In welcher Zusammenstellung die britische Delegation nach Potsdam zurückkehren wird, ist noch nicht bekannt. Der neue Premierminister Attlee war zu den Dreimächtebesprechungen von Anfang an zugezogen, ein Beschluß, der angesichts der Ungewißheit des Wahlausganges im Interesse der Kontinuität der britischen Außenpolitik gefaßt worden war.

Auf innerpolitischem Gebiet wird die nächste Aufgabe des neuen Premierministers die Vorbereitung der Rede des Königs sein, mit deren Verlesung die erste formelle Sitzung des neuen Parlaments am 8. August eröffnet werden wird sowie die Ausarbeitung der ersten Gesetzesvorlagen, die im neuen Parlament eingebracht werden sollen. Das Arbeitsprogramm der Arbeiterpartei sieht u. a. vor: Ein großzügiges Bauprogramm zur Behebung der Wohnungskrise. Umfassende Reformen auf industriellem Gebiet. Dazu gehören Pläne für die Verstaatlichung des Kohlenbergbaus und wichtiger Schlüsselindustrien, eine fortschrittliche Neugestaltung der allgemeinen nationalen Sozialversicherung.

Während Premierminister Attlee mit seinen Kollegen Besprechungen über die Regierungsbildung abhielt, empfing Winston Churchill die Mitglieder seiner zurückgetretenen Regierung, um die Abwicklung der Geschäfte vor Übergabe der Ministerien an die neuen Männer zu regeln.

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Die Ergebnisse in den 624 Wahlkreisen zeigen, daß sich das Kräfteverhältnis der beiden stärksten Parteien im neuen Parlament, das am 8. August erstmalig zusammentritt,

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Die Beteiligung an den Wahlen, den ersten englischen Parlamentswahlen seit zehn Jahren, war außerordentlich groß. Es wurden über 25 Millionen Stimmen abgegeben, davon neun Millionen für die Regierung Churchill und mehr als 14 Millionen für die Oppositionsparteien, darunter etwa 11 1/2 Millionen für die Arbeiterpartei. In einer Erklärung sagte der Führer der Arbeiterpartei und Nachfolger Churchills als Premierminister Attlee u. a.: „Zum erstenmal hat die Arbeiterpartei in England eine klare Mehrheit gewonnen, die uns in die Lage versetzen wird, die Politik der sozialistischen Partei wirksam auszuführen. Ich bin überzeugt, daß die britische Demokratie einen gewaltigen Beitrag zur Sicherung des Weltfriedens und des wirtschaftlichen Wohlstandes der Welt leisten wird. Ich gebe mich keinen Illusionen hin über die Schwierigkeiten, die vor uns liegen, aber ich bin überzeugt, es wird gelingen, eine Wiederholung des Weltkrieges oder einer Weltwirtschaftskrise zu vermeiden.“

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Neue Hamburger Presse

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Die „Times“ schreibt: „Mit ihrem großen und unerwarteten Wahlsieg hat die Arbeiterpartei sich nicht nur eine klare Majorität im neuen Unterhaus gesichert, größer als die Partei sie je besessen hat. Sie hat darüber hinaus jetzt so viel Spielraum gewonnen, daß sie mehrere Jahre lang sicher im Sattel sitzen wird.“

Das Blatt der Arbeiterpartei „Daily Herald“ schreibt unter dem Titel: „Der Sieg des Volkes“: „Die Demokratie hat gewonnen. Diese Tatsache ist mehr als jede andere der wahre Inhalt des Wahlergebnisses.“

Attlee
Clement

00740 0046 BEC

Datum 28. Juli 1945

Neue Hamburger Presse

Nr. 9

Clement Attlee

Clement Attlee, Englands neuer Premierminister, ist mit großer Stimmenmehrheit als unbestrittener Sieger aus dem erbittert geführten Wahlkampf hervorgegangen. Als Führer der Oppositionspartei vom englischen König verfassungsmäßig mit der Bildung einer neuen Regierung betraut, wird er den Kurs, den England in nächster Zukunft zu steuern hat, entscheidend bestimmen.

Attlee verfügt über eine ausgezeichnete Schulbildung. Er wurde im Universitätskollege Oxford erzogen. 1910 lernte er als Sekretär der Toynbee-Hall-Kolonie in Ost-London die sozialen Verhältnisse der Arbeiterbevölkerung kennen und wurde Sozialist. Den Weltkrieg machte er als Offizier bei einer Panzereinheit mit, kämpfte in Gallipoli, wurde schwer verwundet zum Major befördert. Das Kriegserlebnis stempelte ihn zum Pazifisten.

Nach dem Krieg war er Dozent an der Londoner Handelshochschule. Die Arbeiterpartei sandte ihn 1922 in das Unterhaus, wo ihn Mac Donald zum Parlament-Privatsekretär machte. 1924 wurde er Unterstaatssekretär im Kriegsministerium.

Von da an geht sein politischer Weg steil aufwärts. 1927 geht er nach Indien, um sich gemäß seiner gründlichen Art an Ort und Stelle ein Bild von den Verhältnissen und Problemen zu machen. 1935 wurde er endlich Führer der Labour Party, der er bis heute geblieben ist. Mit Leidenschaft verfolgte er den Freiheitskampf der spanischen Republik gegen Franco. Ihm zu Ehren wurde eine Abteilung der Internationalen Brigade „Attlee-Brigade“ genannt.

Datum 4. Sep. 1945

Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

- 75
Nr.

Duplikat

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Rasche Demobilisierung in England geplant

London: Die Anspannung aller Kräfte für das Wiederaufbauwerk, um nach der siegreichen Beendigung des Weltkrieges auch den Frieden zu gewinnen, forderte der britische Premierminister Attlee in einer Rundfunkansprache, die er im Anschluß an die japanische Kapitulation am sechsten Jahrestag des Kriegsbeginns in Europa hielt. „Nach sechs Jahren der Verwüstung und des Blutvergießens“, führte Attlee aus, „müssen wir geloben, eine neue Weltordnung aufzubauen, die allen Völkern Sicherheit gewähren wird. Die Entwicklung von Vernichtungswaffen, die mit der Erfindung der Atombombe einen neuen Höhepunkt erreicht hat, macht dies nicht nur wünschenswert, sondern zu einer unerläßlichen Voraussetzung für die Erhaltung der menschlichen Kultur.“

Attlee sprach über die internationalen Verpflichtungen Großbritanniens, die eine sofortige Demobilisierung der britischen Streitkräfte nur im begrenzten Rahmen zulassen und erklärte: „Solange die Verhältnisse in Europa ungeklärt sind, wie jetzt, werden wir starke Kräfte für die Besetzung der britischen Zone Deutschlands aufrechterhalten müssen. Die schwierigste Periode der Besetzung ist im Winter zu erwarten, in dem der unvermeidliche Mangel an Lebensmitteln, Brennstoffen und Rohstoffen zweifellos ein störender Faktor sein wird. Wir müssen unseren Beitrag leisten zum Wiederaufbau Europas, der ohne jede Gewaltanwendung vor sich gehen muß. Großbritannien hat als Siegermacht Verpflichtungen in Südosteuropa, im Mittelmeerraum und im Nahen Osten. Unser Bestreben ist es, überall den Völkern zur freien Willensäußerung zu verhelfen und die Schaffung von Regierungen, die auf dem Willen der Völker beruhen, zu fördern.“

Dazu kommen die Verpflichtungen Großbritanniens im Fernen Osten.“ Obwohl Großbritannien zur Erfüllung dieser Verpflichtungen beträchtliche Streitkräfte aufrechterhalten müsse, würde die Demobilisierung so rasch wie möglich und in gerechter Weise durchgeführt werden. Das Tempo der Demobilisierung habe sich im letzten Monat fast verdoppelt und bis zum Ende des Jahres würden jede Woche durchschnittlich 45 000 Männer und Frauen aus den britischen Streitkräften entlassen werden. Außerdem würde die Entlassung von Fachkräften für die Schlüsselindustrien beschleunigt werden. „Alle, die demobil gemacht werden, können mit Arbeit rechnen“, fügte Attlee hinzu. „Großbritannien braucht für den

Duplikat

443 13 84

Rasche Demobilisierung in England geplant

London: Die Anspannung aller Kräfte für das Wiederaufbauwerk, um nach der siegreichen Beendigung des Weltkrieges auch den Frieden zu gewinnen, forderte der britische Premierminister Attlee in einer Rundfunkansprache, die er im Anschluß an die japanische Kapitulation am sechsten Jahrestag des Kriegsbeginns in Europa hielt. „Nach sechs Jahren der Verwüstung und des Blutvergießens“, führte Attlee aus, „müssen wir geloben, eine neue Weltordnung aufzubauen, die allen Völkern Sicherheit gewähren wird. Die Entwicklung von Vernichtungswaffen, die mit der Erfindung der Atombombe einen neuen Höhepunkt erreicht hat, macht dies nicht nur wünschenswert, sondern zu einer unerläßlichen Voraussetzung für die Erhaltung der menschlichen Kultur.“

Attlee sprach über die internationalen Verpflichtungen Großbritanniens, die eine sofortige Demobilisierung der britischen Streitkräfte nur im begrenzten Rahmen zulassen und erklärte: „Solange die Verhältnisse in Europa ungeklärt sind, wie jetzt, werden wir starke Kräfte für die Besetzung der britischen Zone Deutschlands aufrechterhalten müssen. Die schwierigste Periode der Besetzung ist im Winter zu erwarten, in dem der unvermeidliche Mangel an Lebensmitteln, Brennstoffen und Rohstoffen zweifellos ein störender Faktor sein wird. Wir müssen unseren Beitrag leisten zum Wiederaufbau Europas, der ohne jede Gewaltanwendung vor sich gehen muß. Großbritannien hat als Siegermacht Verpflichtungen in Südosteuropa, im Mittelmeerraum und im Nahen Osten. Unser Bestreben ist es, überall den Völkern zur freien Willensäußerung zu verhelfen und die Schaffung von Regierungen, die auf dem Willen der Völker beruhen, zu fördern.“

Dazu kommen die Verpflichtungen Großbritanniens im Fernen Osten.“ Obwohl Großbritannien zur Erfüllung dieser Verpflichtungen beträchtliche Streitkräfte aufrechterhalten müsse, würde die Demobilisierung so rasch wie möglich und in gerechter Weise durchgeführt werden. Das Tempo der Demobilisierung habe sich im letzten Monat fast verdoppelt und bis zum Ende des Jahres würden jede Woche durchschnittlich 45 000 Männer und Frauen aus den britischen Streitkräften entlassen werden. Außerdem würde die Entlassung von Fachkräften für die Schlüsselindustrien beschleunigt werden. „Alle, die demobil gemacht werden, können mit Arbeit rechnen“, fügte Attlee hinzu. „Großbritannien braucht für den Wiederaufbau seiner Friedensproduktion mindestens 5 Millionen Arbeitskräfte.“

Wir haben rückhaltlos unser Alles gegeben, um den Sieg zu erringen“, schloß Attlee. „Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Regierung und Volk wird auch in Zukunft über alle Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren triumphieren.“

Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

79

Nr.....

Attlee über Innen- und Außenpolitik

London: Die Erklärung, daß im Winter auf dem europäischen Festland schwere Not herrschen und auch in Großbritannien die Lage nicht günstig sein wird, machte Premierminister Attlee vor dem Jahreskongreß der britischen Gewerkschaften in Blackpool in einer großen Rede, in der er die Grundlagen der britischen Innen- und Außenpolitik für die nahe Zukunft umriß.

Zur Außenpolitik Großbritanniens erklärte Attlee unter anderem: „Ein gutes Einvernehmen zwischen Großbritannien, den USA und Rußland ist der Grundstein zum Gebäude der Weltsicherheit.

Wirklicher Friede in der Welt kann aber nicht durch die Macht der Großmächte allein, wie überwältigend sie auch sein mag, errichtet werden.

Eine Gesinnungsänderung muß stattfinden, wenn Frieden etwas Besseres sein soll, als ein bloßes Zwischenstadium zwischen Kriegen.“

Zur Beendigung des zweiten Weltkrieges führte Attlee aus: „Der Krieg war ein unmittelbares und unvermeidliches Ergebnis dessen, daß das



Attlee

deutsche Volk niedrige und böse Ideen annahm und den Grundsatz vertrat, daß alle Mittel recht sind, wenn sie zum Ziele führen. Infolgedessen ist heute eine große Leere in Europa, wo früher Deutschland war, und gleichfalls eine große Leere in der deutschen Vorstellungswelt. Ihre falschen Götter haben die Deutschen im Stich gelassen und sie haben nichts, was sie an deren Stelle setzen können. Wir müssen diese Leere ausfüllen.“

Zur Schaffung der Weltorganisation der Vereinten Nationen erklärte Attlee: „Wir werden bald ein großes Unternehmen wagen, einen erneuten Versuch, ähnlich wie er nach dem ersten Weltkrieg gemacht wurde, um alle Völker der Welt unter die Herrschaft des Rechts zu bringen, den Krieg abzuschaffen und die Sicherheit für alle zu bringen. Wie vollkommen die Maschinerie für diesen Zweck auch immer sein mag, sie könnte doch nichts ausrichten, ohne die Macht des Geistes. Eine neue Weltordnung kann nicht von den Regierungen allein geschaffen werden, — sie muß von den Völkern selbst errichtet werden.“

Die Bevölkerung Großbritanniens darf nach Attlees Rede in der nächsten Zukunft nicht mit wesentlichen Verbesserungen rechnen. „Die Weltlebensmittelknappheit kann in der nächsten Zeit unmöglich beseitigt werden. Wir können unseren Wohnungsmangel für die nächsten Monate und Jahre nicht gutmachen. Die Regierung wird alles tun, um die knappen Vorräte an Haushaltswaren und Bekleidung aufzubessern, aber auch da muß Zeit vergehen, ehe die Mängel behoben werden können.“

Premierminister Attlee über die Sicherung des Friedens

Ottawa: „Der intensive Glaube an die großen Grundsätze der wechselseitigen Abhängigkeit der Nationen und der brüderlichen Verbundenheit aller Menschen muß die treibende Kraft für die Arbeit des Sicherheitsrates der Vereinten Nationen sein.“

Mit diesen Worten kennzeichnete Premierminister Attlee am Montag auf einer Sondersitzung des kanadischen Parlaments das Hauptproblem der Gegenwart — die Sicherung des Friedens.

Auch die Konferenz, die kürzlich in Washington zwischen Präsident Truman, dem britischen Premierminister Attlee und dem kanadischen Premierminister Mackenzie King stattfand und sich mit dem Problem der Atombombe befaßte, bezeichnete Attlee als ein Mittel zur Lösung der Frage, wie der Frieden gesichert werden kann.

Als Beispiel von Einheit und gegenseitiger Hilfe führte Attlee das britische Weltreich an, dessen Mitgliedsstaaten im Augenblick der Gefahr sich zum ge-

meinsamen, freiwilligen Einsatz aufrafften.

Dieppe war Wegweiser

Seine Rede nahm Premierminister Attlee zum Anlaß, seine Anerkennung für die kanadischen Streitkräfte auszusprechen. Pläne für die großangelegten Landungen in Sizilien und Nordafrika, die 1944 im größten Invasionsunternehmen des Krieges in der Normandie gipfelten, gründeten sich auf Erfahrungen, die während des kanadischen Landungsmanövers bei Dieppe im Jahre 1942 gewonnen wurden. Die Durchführung gleichzeitiger Operationen zu Wasser und zu Lande und die Verwendung der Luftstreitkräfte zum Schutz der Erdtruppen stützten sich, wie Premierminister Attlee ausführte, auf das, was bei Dieppe gelernt wurde.

Premierminister Attlee begab sich kurz nach seiner Rede zum Flugplatz Rockliffe bei Ottawa, von wo aus er noch am gleichen Tage die Heimreise nach England antrat.

2. März 1946

Neue Hamburger Presse

Nr. 71 -

Duplikat

Ministerpräsident Attlee über die Wirtschaftslage

London, 28. Februar.

„Es ist eine bittere Tatsache, daß dieses Land wirtschaftlich sowohl wie menschlich sehr teuer für seinen Sieg zu bezahlen hat.“ Mit diesen Worten kennzeichnete der englische Premierminister Attlee in seiner Rede vor dem Unterhaus die Lage Großbritanniens.

Im Export habe sich England für das laufende Jahr ein Ziel von 750 Millionen Pfund Sterling gesetzt, gegen 258 Millionen Pfund 1944 und 471 Millionen Pfund 1936. Im Januar wurde ein Exportwert von 57 Millionen Pfund Sterling erreicht. Man hofft, diese Zahl Monat für Monat steigern zu können, in dem Maße, wie Arbeitskräfte von der englischen Wehrmacht freigelassen und die Industrie Fortschritte machen würde.

Die Regierung habe, wie Attlee weiter ausführte, einen Arbeitsplan für 1946 aufgestellt. Die Streitkräfte seien gebeten worden, ihre Anforderungen herabzusetzen. Aber als endgültige Ziffer müßten 1,1 Millionen ausgebildete Kräfte und eine weitere halbe Million gelernter Leute in der Wirtschaft für die Streitkräfte produzieren. Man habe gehofft, diese Zahlen herabsetzen zu können, „aber in mancher Hinsicht ist es gerade jetzt keine leichte Welt“, führte Attlee aus. Die Zahl der Arbeitskräfte, die in der Munitionsfabrikation belassen wurde, sei notwendig, um das Kriegspotential aufrechtzuerhalten.

Nach dem aufgestellten Plan sollen Ende 1946 direkt für den Export 1 555 000 Arbeitskräfte beschäftigt werden, 405 000 mehr als im Mai 1939. In dem Zeitraum von Juni bis Dezember 1945 stieg die Zahl dieser für den Export beschäftigten Arbeitskräfte von 435 000 auf 920 000. Heute würden bereits gleich viel Arbeitskräfte für den Export beschäftigt wie im Juni 1934.

Die Regierung werde neue In-

dustrien anregen. Die Produktion sei in allen Industriezweigen gestiegen, mit Ausnahme der Kohlenförderung. Die Zahl der für den Binnenmarkt produzierenden Arbeitskräfte habe sich von 2 634 000 auf 3 684 000 erhöht. Die Regierung hoffe, die Herstellung von Verbrauchsgütern im laufenden Jahr sehr viel über den Stand von 1945 zu steigern.

Attlee appellierte zum Schluß an alle Betriebe und Beschäftigten, in der schwierigen Zeit alle Kräfte einzusetzen. Das Land habe der Welt durch sein Beispiel in Kriegszeiten einen unermesslichen Dienst geleistet. Es könne nun zeigen, daß es mit seinen Methoden, den Methoden einer freien Demokratie, die Ergebnisse, auf die es ankomme, wirklich zu erzielen vermöge. Er rufe jeden auf, in diesem Feldzug für den Wohlstand mitzuwirken. Von den englischen Streitkräften würden wöchentlich annähernd 100 000 Mann entlassen, es bestehe begründete Hoffnung, daß der von der Regierung aufgestellte Demobilisierungsplan bis Ende des Jahres durchgeführt wird, vorausgesetzt, daß keine äußeren Störungen dies vereiteln.

5. März 1946

Hamburger Nachrichten-Blatt

Nr. 150 Duplikat

Attlee fordert Mehrarbeit

London, 4. März: In einer Rundfunkansprache an alle englischen Volksschichten forderte Ministerpräsident Attlee alle Kräfte zur Erhöhung der Produktion von Friedensgütern auf. England stehe heute mit zu wenig Arbeitskräften vor einem Übermaß an Produktionsaufgaben. Bis zur Klärung der weltpolitischen Lage müsse Großbritannien mehr Kräfte unter den Waffen halten, als es normalerweise der Fall sein würde. Darum sollten die Frauen ihre Arbeit weitermachen oder an ihre Arbeitsstellen zurückkehren. Attlee erinnerte daran, wie die englische Wirtschaft im kritischen Jahr 1940 durch den gesunden Mannschaftsgeist aller Beteiligten eine leistungsfähige Kriegsindustrie aufgebaut habe. Eine ähnliche Aufgabe, aber auf dem umgekehrten Wege vom Krieg in den Frieden, müsse in diesem Jahr bewältigt werden.

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29. Apr. 1946

Hamburger Allgemeine Ztg.

Nr. **9**

Attlee über den Kommunismus

London, 29. 4. Premierminister Attlee befaßte sich auf einer Bezirkstagung der Labour-Partei in Newcastle u. a. mit innerpolitischen Fragen. Er führte dabei aus, daß die Labour-Partei, die nicht auf materialistischen, sondern auf moralischen Werten aufgebaut

sei, nicht mit jenen Kräften zusammenarbeiten könne, die die Ideale der Partei verwerfen. Er sagte in diesem Zusammenhang: „Die Kommunistische Partei gibt zwar ein Lippenbekenntnis zur Demokratie ab, sie ist jedoch im wesentlichen nicht demokratisch. Die Methoden, mit denen sie die Macht zu gewinnen sucht, schätzt die Verpflichtungen gering ein, die der Führung gegenüber eingehalten werden müssen, und die das Leben in einer zivilisierten Gesellschaft allein lebenswert machen.“ Attlee spielte dann auf die vier erörterten Satzungsänderungen der Labour-Partei an und erklärte, er sei davon überzeugt, daß auf der kommenden Konferenz der Labour-Partei in Bournemouth die Einwände jener Kreise zurückgewiesen werden würden, die die Parteigrundsätze verwerfen und die allein um ihrer eigenen Vorteile willen in die Labour-Organisation einzudringen suchten. Zur außenpolitischen Lage führte Attlee aus, er wolle nicht behaupten, daß man über die gegenwärtige internationale Lage befriedigt sein könne. Es sei schwer, eine Gemeinschaft zu stabilisieren, wenn Hunger und Not regierten. Es werde alles getan, um die Not zu erleichtern, aber die eigenen Möglichkeiten seien nach fünf Kriegsjahren ebenfalls begrenzt und die wirtschaftliche Situation Großbritanniens alles andere als leicht. Großbritannien sei bemüht, mit seinen Verbündeten so eng wie möglich zusammenzuarbeiten, fuhr Attlee fort, jedoch könne das nicht dazu führen, den eigenen Weg zu verlassen.

12. Juni 1946

Hamburger Freie Presse

Nr. 21

Attlee über Politik der Arbeiterregierung „Wir werden Demokratie und Freiheit überall in der Welt unterstützen“

Bournemouth, 11. Juni.

Premierminister Attlee legte auf dem Labour-Parteitag in Bournemouth die Grundzüge der Innen- und Außenpolitik Großbritanniens dar: Planwirtschaft im Innern und Friedenspolitik auf der Grundlage der kollektiven Sicherheit in den außenpolitischen Fragen. „Wir haben noch einen langen Weg zu gehen, bis wir das Britanien unserer Träume und die Welt unserer

Wünsche erreichen, und wir werden vor allem harte Arbeit und Mut in den Jahren fordern müssen, die vor uns liegen“, so kennzeichnete der Premierminister die realistische Haltung, die von der Labour-Regierung den innerpolitischen Aufgaben der Zeit gegenüber eingenommen wird.

In der Außenpolitik werde Großbritannien den Frieden der Welt durch kollektive Sicherheit zu sichern suchen. „Auch in außenpolitischen Fragen führen wir unsere Parteipolitik durch. Wie im Innern, so ist auch in den Angelegenheiten der Außenpolitik unser sozialistischer Glaube der Prüfstein“. Demokratie und Freiheit würden überall unterstützt. England versuche nicht, seine Ideen anderen Ländern aufzuzwingen. Seine Regierung glaube an die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Völkern verschiedener Lebensanschauungen und halte nichts von einem Versuch, eine dumpfe Gleichförmigkeit herbeizuführen.

Zu der Frage einer europäischen Blockpolitik nahm auf dem Kongreß der Arbeiterpartei der britische Generalstaatsanwalt Sir Hartley Shawcross Stellung:

In der Vergangenheit habe die Außenpolitik zu oft zu der Bildung getrennter Lager in Europa geführt. Man habe sie Mächteblocks genannt. Jeder sei von einer Großmacht beherrscht worden, und jeder habe gerüstet, einer gegen den anderen. Für eine gewisse Zeit sei dann das Gleichgewicht hergestellt und ein unsicherer Friede gewahrt worden. Letzten Endes aber habe die Machtpolitik zum Kriege geführt.

„Wir erkennen natürlich an“, sagte Sir Hartley dann, „daß zwischen Sowjetrußland und seinen Nachbarstaaten eine engere Gemeinschaft der Interessen bestehen kann als zwischen jenen Staaten und Großbritannien, genau so wie wir unsere engsten Beziehungen zu Holland, Belgien und Frankreich haben. Das ergibt sich aus den geographischen Tatsachen. Aber es ist kein Grund, Europa in getrennte feindliche Lager zu zersplittern, und wenn sich solche feindseligen Gruppen bilden, werden sie nicht von uns geschaffen worden sein.“

P Attlee
Herrn

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Die Welt / Hamburg

№ 70 - 12. Nov. 1946

Attlee: „Deutsche Frage entscheidend“

DPD. London, 11. November

„Die Regelung der Zukunft Deutschlands ist entscheidend für die Lösung des europäischen Problems“, erklärte Premierminister Attlee auf dem traditionellen Bankett des Londoner Oberbürgermeisters in der Guildhall.

„Für den Frieden der Welt muß“, so sagte Attlee, „ein Europa geschaffen werden, in dem seine vielen Völker hinfort in Frieden zusammen leben und sich gemeinsam an seiner unvergleichlichen Erbschaft ideeller und kultureller Werte erfreuen können. Wir können uns einen Haufen armer, unterernährter und ausgebeuteter Arbeiter in Mitteleuropa nicht leisten. Sie könnten unseren eigenen Lebensstandard drücken, wenn wir nicht mit großer Vorsicht handeln. Deutschlands Industrie darf jedoch nie wieder ein Arsenal für Angriffe eines neuen Deutschlands auf seine Nachbarn oder zur Förderung eines neuen Krieges werden. Dieses endgültige Gleichgewicht muß nun sorgfältig ausgearbeitet und ein vernünftiges Kontrollsystem muß errichtet werden.“

Wir haben alle Möglichkeiten in Betracht gezogen. Wir haben unseren Plan vorgelegt. Wir wollen, daß er nun durch die Schmiede der Erörterungen gehe. Der Schlüssel zu Reichtum, Frieden und Ruhe in Europa ist die Regelung der deutschen Frage.“

Zu den Problemen der UNO übergehend, erklärte Attlee: Wenn die UNO zum Forum für das Ausfechten weltanschaulicher Differenzen wird, muß sie versagen. Wir glauben, die rechte Art für die Behandlung eines Problems gefunden zu haben, wenn wir uns fragen: Wird diese Lösung den Frieden und die Verständigung fördern?

Aus diesem Grunde hat Außenminister Bevin bei der Beantwortung von Angriffen auf Großbritannien, wie sie in Reden vor der UNO, in Rundfunksendungen und in der Auslandspresse vorkamen, größte Zurückhaltung geübt. Es ist besser, mit Taten als mit Worten zu antworten. Unsere Handlungsweise in Indien, in Burma, im Kolonialreich und anderswo widerlegt die Behauptung, daß das britische Weltreich vom Imperialismus geleitet wird. Wir werden weiter für unsere Friedensideale kämpfen, um die schwere Last der Rüstungen von den Völkern der Welt zu nehmen. Doch weise ich darauf hin, daß Abrüstungen nicht einseitig vorgenommen werden können und daß wir, während das allgemeine Vertrauen und die Sicherheit in der Welt hergestellt werden, unsere Verteidigungsmacht aufrechterhalten und stark bleiben müssen.“

The Manchester Guardian

Datum: 14. Feb. 1947

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten

№ 31309

THE COAL SITUATION

"STILL CRITICAL"

Premier's Statement

Mr. Attlee, in a statement on the fuel position in the House of Commons yesterday, said that as a result of the restrictions imposed on Monday there had been a total saving of 78,000 tons of coal by Wednesday at power stations. At power stations in the restricted areas the savings compared with the corresponding days last week was Monday 33 per cent, Tuesday 36 per cent, and Wednesday 36.7 per cent.

In the three restricted areas generally power stations' stocks stand at about nine days' consumption for average weather without the present restrictions, but in the big London power stations there is only about a week's consumption. Coal stocks for gas undertakings gave particular anxiety, especially in London, where stocks in general amounted to nine days' consumption.

"The rebuilding of stocks to safety level depends on the movement of coal by sea and rail, but ships are already moving. Twelve, carrying 21,000 tons, reached London in the past 24 hours. Between noon on Tuesday and noon on Thursday 51 ships, carrying 104,000 tons, left North-east ports for London, and a further 30 ships, carrying 25,500 tons, were also leaving North-east ports for other ports. A further 31 are loading to-day. Railway companies expected a bigger movement of coal to-day as a result of the drastic cutting of passenger services."

THE DANGER SPOTS

Although cold weather was expected to continue, the latest forecast was no gales and no fog. This meant that they would be able to keep seaborne coal moving. The position should improve provided production at the pits was not held up through lack of wagons. The danger spots were the North-east and Midlands districts. The situation, however, remained critical.

The increase in unemployment this week in regions where the use of electricity for industrial purposes had been restricted was estimated to be about 1,750,000. Of these about 1,000,000 had not claimed unemployment benefit, and the total was about one-third of the number of insured workers employed in the manufacturing industries in these regions—rather more than a quarter of the corresponding number for the country as a whole. So far there had been no serious congestion at Labour Exchanges and with the con-

tinued co-operation of employers and workers it was hoped the situation would be maintained.

"I propose to make further statements from time to time," added the Prime Minister.

Answering members, Mr. Attlee said the question of summer-time was under consideration, but one had to consider in imposing summer-time whether they would not lose at one end what they gained at the other at this time of the year. Obviously, this was not the time for putting on summer-time. They were arranging for paraffin to be more widely distributed for people with no other means of keeping warm or cooking when electricity was turned off.

Asked whether arrangements could be made for unemployed to draw benefit on Friday this week instead of Friday next week, Mr. Attlee said "Arrangements are being made as far as we can that no one shall suffer."

Mr. J. S. Maclay (L. Nat.—Montrose) asked if the Prime Minister was satisfied that inter-departmental arrangements were now such as to obviate the risk of another situation like that of the night of Thursday-Friday in connection with bunkering.

Mr. Attlee replied that the inter-departmental arrangements were satisfactory.

Mr. Oliver Stanley (C.—Bristol W.) asked whether emergency arrangements had been made for the abnormal repayments under the P.A.Y.E. scheme which would become necessary owing to the large unemployment.

Mr. Attlee replied that he understood Mr. Dalton was issuing a statement.

HOW LONG?

Mr. Stanley Prescott (C.—Darwen) asked whether the savings as a result of the cuts had allowed the Government to make any estimate as to how long it would be necessary to close down industry. He also asked if the Government would make a statement on what advice they would give to employers who had gone on paying men in a most co-operative manner. Many industries could not make those payments indefinitely. Had Mr. Attlee any observations on the suggestions that employers, after a certain period, should not dismiss men but make up their pay above unemployment benefits to previous levels?

Mr. Attlee replied that it was impossible to say at present when we should be able to get back to supplying electricity to industry, but that was the first thing to be done after we had piled up the necessary coal stocks. That would depend on the weather, both in the North-east and in London, and on the sailing of ships. The last point was under consideration and there had been conversations with individual employers.

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The Manchester Guardian

No 31322

1. März. 47

**PREMIER'S FUEL
NEWS****Building Up Stocks**

Mr. ATTLEE made a further statement on the fuel position in the House of Commons yesterday. He said:

The building up of stocks at power stations has continued. The average level throughout the country is now sixteen and a half days' consumption. In South-east England stocks have reached the same average level, but at five out of 27 generating stations stocks are still below the minimum level of two weeks' consumption. In these circumstances the Government does not feel able to decide a date on which it will be safe to allow a general resumption to power stations in the South-eastern area. The position will be reviewed again this evening. [Last night's decision is reported on page 5.]

On Wednesday, February 26, there were 1,520,321 insured persons who were registered as unemployed in the country as a whole. There were in addition 228,700 persons unemployed who were not claiming unemployment benefit. The combined figure shows a decrease of 624,200 since Saturday, February 21.

In the Midlands and North Midlands region, which covers the Central area where the use of electric power by industry was resumed on Monday, the total drop of unemployment up to Wednesday was 528,000, or 75 per cent of the number of February 22.

In the other regions where the use of electricity for industrial purposes has been restricted there has been an increase of 4,000 in the numbers registered as unemployed, but a drop of over 93,000 in the estimated numbers unemployed but not claiming benefit.

Answering Mr. Eden (C.—Warwick and Leamington), Mr. Attlee said he hoped to be able to give figures next week showing what saving had been effected by the cuts.

Mr. Attlee was questioned by Mr. Eden about a statement from the miners that the fuel breakdown had been due to transport. He said the breakdown was not solely due to transport. There had been difficulties over the repair of rolling stock and engines after the war and also in the supply of wagons, but it was wrong to put it all down to transport.

Mr. EDEN: From reports arising out of conversations between you and members of the coalmining industry, is there any agreement that the minimum target laid down by the Government can be achieved, in view of the fact that the minimum target is still below what it was in 1941 with the same number of men but less equipment?

The PRIME MINISTER: We believe it can be achieved, and the miners' representatives are with us and we are going all out to get it.

PREMIER ON TRADE RECOVERY

New Methods Required to Increase
Production

The Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, speaking in Manchester on Saturday, expressed confidence that the country would win through its present crisis. Though the position was still difficult, he said, it was improving; and he paid tribute to the co-operative efforts of everybody, particularly miners, railwaymen, seamen, and transport workers.

Mr. Attlee was addressing a special industrial conference called by the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils, held at the Albert Hall. He was accompanied by Mrs. Attlee, and was welcomed to the city by the Lord Mayor (Alderman T. H. Adams). Mr. Ellis Smith, M.P., presided over a crowded meeting of delegates.

They were meeting, said Mr. Attlee, at a critical time, when the adverse forces of nature had struck us a severe blow. "I know that you here are suffering from the effects of this spell of hard weather which has had such serious repercussions on our industry, and I know that you are standing up to it with characteristic Lancashire grit."

After a tribute to all engaged in the production and distribution of coal, he continued: "We have the power now to organise this great fuel industry as a national service. This shortage of stocks in winter must never happen again."

He referred to "some very unfair attacks on my colleague, Shinwell"—(Applause)—and added, "The Minister of Fuel and Power has done a great work in the last eighteen months."

Government's Task

We had to face the effect of the war on the mining industry and its manpower, but still more serious must be the long-term effects of disorganisation and of the depressed condition of the miners, and of the failure of Liberal and Tory Governments to deal effectively with the basic industry.

The present could not shake off the blunders of the past. In industry they had some sections where management had been good and up-to-date, and where workers had been given a fair deal. There were others which had obstinately refused to put their houses in order. Some industries had gained in reorganisation through the war, others had been violently upset.

The task which faced the Labour Government on taking office was formidable. It had to change over from war to peace economy. This

from whatever cause might bring stoppages and disorganisation—they had in fact made great progress. "I think that progress," said Mr. Attlee, "reflects immense credit upon the people of this country."

One of the biggest of the problems was a shortage of man-power. We had not enough men and women workers to do all that we needed to do unless we could succeed in increasing individual output.

"We must develop new methods in industry. The great cotton industry is an outstanding example of an industry which has experienced a complete change since 1939. Production is now the problem. We are not producing enough to meet the needs of our domestic consumers, nor enough for industrial needs or exports. Increased production is essential. It requires not only more labour in the cotton industry but also the most efficient management and the most efficient utilisation of labour. We cannot afford to have labour wasted or misused."

Old Prejudices

"The President of the Board of Trade has already announced the Government's offer to make an important financial contribution towards the cost of re-equipping spinning mills as its share of a joint effort—a partnership between the Government, the workers, and the employers to re-establish this industry. It is natural that both employers and workers should consider the scheme carefully before coming to final decisions. But we cannot wait too long. I urge you all not to let old prejudices or old interests stand in the way of rebuilding the industry. The workers have a great responsibility, and I am sure they will not hang back. We are looking to them for a lead."

In these hard times, Mr. Attlee continued, the country could not afford to have employers restricting output for private profit, or workers restricting their efforts by continuing traditional practices which were legitimate enough in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, when the fear of unemployment was hanging over everyone.

"We need," he said, "very careful planning if we are to use to the best advantage our resources in labour, raw materials, and fuel, and if we are to keep a balance between what we can have for our internal consumption and what we must export to buy things we need from abroad. If that planning is to be successful it must be based on the

assurance that all the people, consumers and producers, are doing their best, each in his own sphere."

Mr. Ellis Smith, explaining the reason for calling the conference, the first of many to be held, said it was imperative that a great increase in the volume of production should be brought about. As far as he was concerned, he was not prepared to ask people to work any harder. Those who knew industry well knew that supervision and piece-work prices determined how hard and how fast people worked. What he was prepared to do was to appeal to his fellow-countrymen to take a greater interest in our economic affairs in order, under a "real people's Government," to bring about that increase by scientific organisation and planning.

Purchasing Power

Dame Anne Loughlin, national organiser of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union, and Mr. Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, also addressed the conference. Mr. Deakin said, "I want to suggest to you at this critical period that the danger signal is set against us. Not that our Government has failed; no; but because all the forces of reaction are being mobilised against us." It was, no time for stoppages of work. (Hear, hear.) This was the time when they had got to get on with the job. It had been said that the machinery of negotiation was out of date. It was not the machinery of negotiation that was wrong; it was not the slowness of the machinery. "You can always get a decision in very quick time. The real problem is to get a right decision."

Mr. Deakin invited Mr. Attlee to consider the possibility of creating economic conditions which would improve the purchasing power of wages. If they could get an easement from that point of view—even a reduction in the income-tax, but above all an increase in the purchasing power by a reduction in prices—it would be an immeasurable advantage to the weekly wage-earner in this country. (Cheers.)

The chairman read messages of support for the Government's policy in the present emergency from trades councils and trade unions.

Mr. A. Hatton, district secretary of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, said that if mobile sets at the Manchester docks, destined for abroad, were commandeered, many workers at the biggest engineering factory in the country could be re-employed. Many Diesel sets manufactured by Manchester firms, which had been taken over by the Army and the Air Force, could be utilised.

Mr. Attlee: They have all to be mobilised. I gave orders about this a few days ago. (Applause.) [It was later made clear that Mr. Attlee's reference to the release of generators did not include generators for export to Russia.]

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PREMIER ON TRADE RECOVERY

New Methods Required to Increase Production

The Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, speaking in Manchester on Saturday, expressed confidence that the country would win through its present crisis. Though the position was still difficult, he said, it was improving; and he paid tribute to the co-operative efforts of everybody, particularly miners, railwaymen, seamen, and transport workers.

Mr. Attlee was addressing a special industrial conference called by the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils, held at the Albert Hall. He was accompanied by Mrs. Attlee, and was welcomed to the city by the Lord Mayor (Alderman T. H. Adams). Mr. Ellis Smith, M.P., presided over a crowded meeting of delegates.

They were meeting, said Mr. Attlee, at a critical time, when the adverse forces of nature had struck us a severe blow. "I know that you here are suffering from the effects of this spell of hard weather which has had such serious repercussions on our industry, and I know that you are standing up to it with characteristic Lancashire grit."

After a tribute to all engaged in the production and distribution of coal, he continued: "We have the power now to organise this great fuel industry as a national service. This shortage of stocks in winter must never happen again."

He referred to "some very unfair attacks on my colleague, Shinwell"—(Applause)—and added, "The Minister of Fuel and Power has done a great work in the last eighteen months."

Government's Task

We had to face the effect of the war on the mining industry and its man-power, but still more serious must be the long-term effects of disorganisation and of the depressed condition of the miners, and of the failure of Liberal and Tory Governments to deal effectively with the basic industry.

The present could not shake off the blunders of the past. In industry they had some sections where management had been good and up-to-date, and where workers had been given a fair deal. There were others which had obstinately refused to put their houses in order. Some industries had gained in reorganisation through the war, others had been violently upset.

The task which faced the Labour Government on taking office was formidable. It had to change over from war to peace economy. But in spite of shortages of man-power and material, and the fact that there was no surplus of any essential commodities to build up reserves—which meant keeping the pipe-line open knowing that even a temporary interruption of the supply of food, of coal, of raw materials

from whatever cause might bring stoppages and disorganisation—they had in fact made great progress. "I think that progress," said Mr. Attlee, "reflects immense credit upon the people of this country."

One of the biggest of the problems was a shortage of man-power. We had not enough men and women workers to do all that we needed to do unless we could succeed in increasing individual output.

"We must develop new methods in industry. The great cotton industry is an outstanding example of an industry which has experienced a complete change since 1939. Production is now the problem. We are not producing enough to meet the needs of our domestic consumers, nor enough for industrial needs or exports. Increased production is essential. It requires not only more labour in the cotton industry but also the most efficient management and the most efficient utilisation of labour. We cannot afford to have labour wasted or misused."

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Vertrauensvotum für Attlee

Churchills Mißtrauensantrag mit 337 : 198 abgelehnt

Von unserem Berichterstatter

J. R. London, 12. März

Nachdem Premierminister Attlee das Schlußwort in der dreitägigen Wirtschaftsdebatte im Unterhaus gesprochen hatte, wurde über den am Nachmittag von Churchill eingebrachten Mißtrauensantrag abgestimmt. Der Antrag der Opposition wurde mit 337 zu 198 Stimmen verworfen und der Wirtschaftsplan der Regierung mit 337 zu 204 Stimmen gutgeheißen.

*

Der dritte Tag der Unterhausdebatte über die Wirtschaftspolitik der Regierung begann mit der mit großer Spannung erwarteten Rede Churchills, an deren Ende er den offiziellen Mißtrauensantrag der Konservativen Partei gegen die sozialistische Regierung und ihre Politik stellte. Das Haus war bis auf den letzten Platz gefüllt.

„Die wirtschaftliche Lage, in der sich Großbritannien nach Beendigung des Krieges befand“, begann Churchill, forderte eine geeinte Nation. Aber die sozialistische Regierung beschloß in der Stunde ihrer unerwarteten politischen Erfolge, die Herrschaft einer Partei, ja, sogar einer Sekte innerhalb einer Partei zu errichten. Dies war ein Verbrechen am britischen Volk und am britischen Staat.“

Über die Verstaatlichungspolitik der Regierung sagte Churchill: „Bevor sie daranging, unsere Industrie zu nationalisieren, hätten sie sich selbst nationalisieren sollen!“ Die Regierung hätte das Wohl des Landes vor das der Parteien setzen und zeigen sollen, daß sie zuerst britisch und erst in zweiter Linie sozialistisch ist. In weniger als zwei Jahren ist unser Land von seiner stolzen und rühmlichen Stellung, die es in der Welt innehatte, in die jämmerliche Lage herabgestoßen worden, in der es sich heute befindet.“

Was die Ernährungslage angehe, erklärte Churchill, so müsse er feststellen, daß das britische Volk heute unterernährt sei. Dies sei die Folge einer Politik, die eigenen Bestände an Lebensmitteln wegzugeben, bevor der Bedarf zu Hause gedeckt sei. Nach einer offiziellen Schätzung der Regierung betrage die tägliche Kalorienzahl in Großbritannien für rationierte Nahrungsmittel etwas weniger als 1400, wozu noch 200 Kalorien für Nahrungsmittel kämen, die auf Punkte erhältlich seien. In Deutschland aber erhielten zwei Drittel der Bevölkerung höhere Rationen, zwischen 2550 und 3990 Kalorien.

„Wir geben im Jahre 120 Millionen Pfund aus, um die deutschen Probleme zu lösen, während wir nicht in der Lage sind, unsere eigenen zu lösen. Außerdem versuchen wir, die Deutschen zu lehren, daß sie die Nazis hassen sollen; aber der

einzigste Erfolg, den wir bis jetzt gehabt haben, ist, daß sie uns hassen.“

Churchill erklärte ironisch: „Ein Recht ist uns unter allen Umständen sicher, nämlich, daß wir uns wegen Palästinas in der ganzen Welt lächerlich und verhaßt gemacht haben.“

Über die in Großbritannien befindlichen Polen sagte Churchill, es wäre klüger gewesen, 180 000 Polen in Deutschland und dafür die gleiche Anzahl Engländer in der Heimat zu haben. „Uns wurde erzählt, daß dies vielleicht eine Herausforderung gegenüber der Sowjetunion hätte bedeuten können“, fuhr Churchill fort. „Die Regierung ist allerdings sehr erfolgreich in der Nichtherausforderung der Sowjetunion gewesen, und ich glaube, sie wird mir erlauben, ihr dafür meine Glückwünsche auszusprechen.“

Heftige Diskussionen

Zu heftigen Auseinandersetzungen kam es am Ende des zweiten Tages der Unterhausdebatte, als Verteidigungsminister Alexander Churchills Absicht glossierte, einen Mißtrauensantrag gegen die Regierung zu stellen. Er zitierte Stellen aus Churchills Vorkriegsreden und erklärte, daß die Regierung kein Vertrauen zu den Mitgliedern der konservativen Opposition habe.

Zwischen Abgeordneten beider Parteien ergab sich ein scharfer Wortwechsel. Schließlich verließ eine Gruppe von zwanzig konservativen Abgeordneten, geführt von dem früheren Erziehungsminister Butler, unter Protest den Saal.

Isaacs' Maßnahmen

Im Vordergrund des Interesses steht die Rede des Arbeitsministers Isaacs, in der er Maßnahmen für die Beschaffung zusätzlicher Arbeitskräfte ankündigte.

Aus Deutschland und Österreich werden wöchentlich 4000 versprengte Personen, die bereit sind, in England zu arbeiten, nach England gebracht und in den britischen Produktionsprozeß eingegliedert werden. Zu diesem Zweck wird in den britischen Zonen in Deutschland und Österreich eine Rekrutierungsorganisation geschaffen werden.

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**SURVIVAL BY
OUR
OWN EFFORT**

**Premier's Appeal
to the Nation**

WORK TO A PLAN

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, last night made the first of a series of broadcasts in which Government and Opposition speakers will give their views on controversial subjects. He explained at the outset that he was to speak "rather from the national than from the party political point of view," and went on:

"The difficulties which face this nation are too serious and the challenge too immediate to allow me to indulge in party scores.

"The Government have just published a survey which sets out the progress made in reconstruction since the war, the present position of the nation, the tasks which face us all, and a plan of action. It deals with the everyday things of life. The nation's problems are the same as those which you all have to face in your families. How can we produce or get the food, clothing, shelter, fuel, education, and all the things needed for a full life for all members of the family? What work and how much work should each member contribute? How much leisure and amusement can we afford? In a word, how can we gain our living in the conditions of the present day and what standard of life can we afford?"

"Now it takes longer and it is more difficult to solve these problems for a nation than for a family, especially when that nation has been at war for six years and has saved itself and others by dedicating everything to victory.

"After victory we had to reverse the process of mobilisation. The survey shows how vigorously we have turned over to the ways of peace. Millions of men and women have returned from the forces and from munitions to civilian life. Industries have been restarted with great energy. As a result the number of employed persons is greater than in 1938, the output of goods had by the

end of 1946 almost reached pre-war level, and exports had exceeded that level. A fine start has been made by workers and management. It is a record of which you may well be proud."

The Prime Minister continued:

We could have recovered quicker if we had brought all our men home from abroad—but then we should have failed in our duty to our friends. We could have got more food, timber, and other things if there had not been world shortages and if we had been selfish and grabbed all we could with no thought of others. We should have had a better start if we had not been blitzed or if we had kept everything up to a perfect standard of maintenance instead of putting all our effort into the war.

As a result we now have not enough men and women or materials to do all the jobs which need doing, and those industries which for various reasons are less attractive than others are short of workers. It has therefore been hard to get the right balance between the various parts of our industrial machine. The most striking example is coal, the production of which has not kept pace with the increased needs of industry. We also require more electricity, and the plant takes a long time to make. But I have seen the makers, who are doing all they can to speed it up.

Let us now look at our present position. As a nation we have two tasks; the one is to provide goods and services for our home needs, the other is to pay for the food and raw materials which we must get from abroad. Before the war we were rich, we owned money and railways, and so forth abroad. The income from these helped to pay for our imports, but we sold these in order to help to win the war. We have therefore borrowed large sums from Canada and the United States to tide us over while we build up again, but when this money runs out we must pay for what we want from our own resources.

To do this we must devote a far larger part than ever before of the wealth we produce to pay for imports. We are like a man who has for years had an income partly derived from savings, partly from his work. He has now lost his interest and dividends. He must either earn more or cut down his standard of life.

WHERE THE PLAN COMES IN

This is the question which now faces Britain. Can we maintain and increase our standard of life, or must we reduce it? I believe that we can maintain it and in course of time raise it, provided that we organise intelligently, make full use of science and invention, avoid waste, and above all work well. We want, therefore, a sustained effort by the nation, but to be effective this effort must be well directed.

We are short of workers and of raw

materials. We must then use our limited resources in the best way. This is where the plan comes in. During the war the Government planned for victory. It took control of the whole life of the nation, used all its resources, requisitioned property and so on. It rationed food and clothing and directed men and women where and how to serve. The nation as a whole willingly accepted all this regulation and interference because everyone wanted victory and realised that private interests must give way to the supreme needs of the community.

In peace-time we need the same willingness and public spirit and we need a plan. But we cannot compel people. That is the point you must realise. The plan must be run on lines which accord with our democratic ways and ideas and which suit the complicated economic structure of this country. We want the utmost freedom for the individual compatible with the general good of the community.

We must ration food and goods while they are scarce to ensure fair shares, but we have let up on a great many war-time controls. Businesses have been returned to their owners and men and women are no longer directed where to work. Nevertheless the Government can lay down the general plan and must take steps to see that the really vital needs of the community are satisfied.

A democratic plan cannot be put into effect by a Government simply issuing its commands, but only by the willing co-operation with the Government of citizens who understand the aim in view and the parts which they are asked to play. The aim of the plan is to give all our citizens, and not just a section of them, social security and the opportunity for living full and fine lives. Your part as citizens is by your work to provide the goods and services on which the plan depends. The Government's part is to see to it that those needs which are most urgent come first, and to plan the future development of the country on sound lines.

Coal, power and transport were the foundations on which the plan was built, said Mr. Attlee. They were to be nationalised because the Government believed that this was the most efficient way to deal with them. The Prime Minister went on:

I am not going into the melancholy history of the coal industry except to say that if the advice of the commissions of inquiry had been taken years ago we should not now have our present critical position.

Victory in the battle for coal will be a decisive factor in our campaign for national prosperity. The justifiable demands of the miners for better conditions have been met. Management and

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workers to-day are friends—they have not always been friends in past years. I saw the miners' representatives again this morning and they told me that the miners will go all out to reach the target; their record during these recent weeks has been magnificent, but they need reinforcement. I join in the appeal of the miners' leaders to all skilled men who have left the pits for other occupations to return to help the country in this hour of need.

And they need the help of the rest of the community. Just as the fighting men depended on the workers in the factories, so miners and workers in gas and electricity are to-day looking to them for the tools to do the job.

We want all the mining machinery we can get as quickly as possible. We want the employers and the workers in the engineering and other industries to help. We want more plant for power stations and more engines and trucks to move the coal and more supplies for the gas industry. I have myself seen some of the makers of these things, and we propose to see others. They have promised their help, and the Government is doing its part by giving priority and every assistance it can.

DISTRESSED AREAS

Next, how do we deal in the plan with two of the great evils of the past—distressed areas and bad town planning?

We must never again have distressed areas with rotting pockets of unemployment, so under the plan factories and works are being put up where the workers are available. We must never again have the haphazard expansion of towns and the ruin of the countryside, so under the plan town planning has been pushed forward and new towns designed. These are human matters, not dry, academic planning.

What about housing? There is a great leeway to make up. We had to decide what was wanted most, and we decided that the provision of houses for those who need them most and the putting up of factories and works and public buildings such as schools should come first.

Then we come to agriculture. Like the miners, the men and women who work on the land and did such a splendid service in the war are still in the front line. But they badly need reinforcements if we are to get the food which we so urgently need. We must have more workers on the land.

The wet autumn had already held up work on the land, and now snow, frost, and floods have damaged crops already sown, delayed spring sowing, and killed many thousands of cattle, sheep, and lambs. This is a loss which will take a long time to make good.

It is vitally important that these basic industries of fuel, agriculture, transport, and I would add iron and steel, should have all the workers and equipment they need. Their efficiency is the foundation of our national plan, although our economic future depends also on how intelligently and well we work in the vast range of other industries. We are short of everyday things like china, sheets, towels, and household goods generally. We are

also short of machinery, factories, houses, and materials. We must increase our exports. Finally, we are very short of workers. We just have not enough people to do all we want. We are getting some help from foreign workers, but that is not enough.

The moral is clear. All who can work should work. There should be no waste of labour. Labour should be effectively used with all the help that science, invention, and management can provide, and should give of its best.

We must all bear in mind that apart from bringing us our wages, salary, or profit our work, whether for a public or a private employer or in our home, is our individual contribution to all those goods and services which we live and on whose increase our standard of living depends. I believe that the home and home life is essential to good production, and the housewife, who always does her share so well, deserves the best we can give. But everyone must contribute their share. If not, the sum total will be smaller and all will suffer.

THE RIGHT TO COMPLAIN

Ask yourself whether you are doing the kind of work which the nation needs in view of the shortage of labour. Your job may bring you in more money, but be quite useless to the community. You may, if you are a man, complain of the shortage of coal or houses, due to lack of labour in the mines or the brickyards. You may, if you are a woman, complain of the shortage of towels and clothing, due to lack of women workers in the textile industry, but have you any right to complain if you are content to do some better paid but quite useless work?

You may ask for shorter hours, but are you justified in asking for this unless you do a real job while you are at work? You may be an employer of labour. Are you attracting labour from useful to unimportant work for your own profit? Then we are all consumers. Are we doing our best not to waste the national resources—for instance, by carelessly wasting light or fuel?

Some people abroad are suggesting that the day of this country is over. Some of them thought so in the war, but they discovered their mistake. The British people are never daunted by difficulties. The greater the emergency the more readily they respond to the call for service. We shall win in peace just as we did in war. Let us all work together cheerfully. We understand teamwork from the games we play. We will continue to play our games, but we must not let them take precedence of work. Let us take our work in the spirit in which we take our play, remembering that belief in victory is half the battle.

Britain showed the world that she could stand up to terrible odds in defence of the British way of life. We will show the world to-day that British democracy can by self-discipline and the team spirit overcome our economic troubles, and so move on to better times for all.

The Manchester Guardian

Datum

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REPLY TO MR. CHURCHILL'S
"TORRENT OF ABUSE"

Century's "Most Disastrous Chancellor"

—The Premier

Mr. Attlee, speaking at the Scottish T.U.C. at St. Andrew's yesterday, replied to Mr. Churchill's Primrose League speech with the allegation that the Conservative leader had brought untold misery on the people of Britain and that much of the present troubles could be traced to "his error of ignorance." He said:

"I remember very well when Mr. Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer," he said, "the most disastrous Chancellor of the century. It was he that brought us back on the gold standard, which led to the crisis in the coal industry from which we are suffering to-day. He inflicted untold misery on the people of this country. Of course he did not intend this, but he accepted the advice he got from the Bank of England. He sinned no doubt in all ignorance, but much of our troubles to-day can be traced back to that error of ignorance and to his simple trust of others in a field where he had little knowledge."

"It is not my habit to sit down under attacks," the Prime Minister continued. "I am prepared to defend and also counter-attack. I have observed that Mr. Churchill has been addressing the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League. It was a speech only too characteristic of the Leader of the Conservative party. There was not a drop of policy in the torrent of abuse in which he indulged."

"He started off with a wail about the scattering and squandering of the Empire. He talked of India being shamelessly cast away. This is the kind of language he has been using for years about India. He seems to imagine that in India we can go back fifty years. He ignored the great movement for self-government which has been spreading throughout Asia for decades. He abandons the democratic principle for which we fought in the war."

EMOTIONAL IMPERIALISM

"It is significant that when I announced in the House of Commons that Indians had the right to choose the future of their country whether to stay in the British Commonwealth or go out, there was not a single speech in opposition. Mr. Churchill was away. I do not know of any responsible person of recent experience in India who believes that you can put the clock back. Nor do I believe that in the British Commonwealth or in the United States there is any support for the obsolete imperialism that Mr. Churchill seems to support. The fact is that on this subject Mr. Churchill never thinks, he only gives way to his emotions."

"Look at his next statement—'The Socialist Government are living upon the American dole.' This from the man who again and again has paid tribute to the great assistance we received in the war from lend-lease. If the Labour Government is living on the dole, much more was the Coalition

these great services on a basis of national ownership.

Take transport (said the Premier). London Transport had to be brought under the unified control of a public board, and the same reasons which impelled a Conservative Government to consummate the London Transport scheme of a Labour Government are equally cogent in the national sphere. Yet these are what are called squalid Socialist schemes by Mr. Churchill. The fact is that the Opposition has no policy and no plan for meeting the problems of the country. They take refuge in mere abuse and the attempt to place responsibility for the inevitable hardships of the present time at the door of the Labour Government.

FROM WAR TO PEACE

I do not subscribe to the dreary jeremiads which are all too frequent to-day which suggest that this country is down and out and that we are, to use Mr. Churchill's phrase, "being driven into ruin." On the contrary, I believe that, in facing the great difficulties of the post-war period, this country has set a great example of energy and has shown the same qualities in peace as it displayed in war. I am happy to know that this is the impression made on many distinguished visitors from countries overseas, as they have told me.

"I therefore wish first of all to pay my tribute to what the people of Britain have done, and not least the people of Scotland, during the past twenty months. The task has been an immense one, involving the whole turnover from war to peace and making demands upon hundreds of thousands of individuals who have had to exercise patience and fortitude, despite the inevitable reaction from the heights that the imminent danger of the country called forth during the war."

"These qualities have been shown by men and women of all classes, by the men and women in the Services during the necessarily gradual process of demobilisation; by the women in the home, who have realised that it was quite impossible that immediately the war ended clothing, food, houses, and all other things should be available in abundance; by employers who have had to turn over their businesses from war work to peaceful production or, in many instances, to restart them despite the handicap of shortage of raw materials, fuel, and labour; and last, but by no means least, by the workers of this country."

1918 AND 1940

Mr. Attlee recalled the conditions after the 1914-1918 war—the chaos, the unemployment, the disruption of the armed forces, the staggering rises of prices, the high interest rates, the short boom and the long slump and the mass unemployment and as a consequence the industrial unrest and the series of big strikes. We had not had these things after this war, partly due to wise action taken by the war-time Government in which Labour had borne its full share, but much more to the wise leadership and steadiness of the rank and file of the trade unions and to the work of the Labour Government.

Our troubles are due in the main to the actual conditions which any Government would have had to face at the close of the war and partly to the vigour with which reconstruction has been initiated. If we had been content to allow industry to proceed at a languid pace, if we had been content to have over two million unemployed, we should not have been finding

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Churchill
W

ter-attack. I have observed that Mr. Churchill has been addressing the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League. It was a speech only too characteristic of the Leader of the Conservative party. There was not a drop of policy in the torrent of abuse in which he indulged.

"He started off with a wail about the scattering and squandering of the Empire. He talked of India being shamelessly cast away. This is the kind of language he has been using for years about India. He seems to imagine that in India we can go back fifty years. He ignored the great movement for self-government which has been spreading throughout Asia for decades. He abandons the democratic principle for which we fought in the war.

EMOTIONAL IMPERIALISM

"It is significant that when I announced in the House of Commons that Indians had the right to choose the future of their country whether to stay in the British Commonwealth or go out, there was not a single speech in opposition. Mr. Churchill was away. I do not know of any responsible person of recent experience in India who believes that you can put the clock back. Nor do I believe that in the British Commonwealth or in the United States there is any support for the obsolete imperialism that Mr. Churchill seems to support. The fact is that on this subject Mr. Churchill never thinks, he only gives way to his emotions.

"Look at his next statement—'The Socialist Government are living upon the American dole.' This from the man who again and again has paid tribute to the great assistance we received in the war from lend-lease. If the Labour Government is living on the dole, much more was the Coalition Government. It is incredible that he should stoop to such meanness. He says that the American loan could only be justified as a means of equipping our industries. What does he mean? He means that we are wrong to use it to buy food from the only place we can get it? If he does, let him say so."

The difficulty in providing food for our people during the war (the Prime Minister continued) was not shortage of supplies or any difficulty about dollars, it was a question only of shipping and of enemy attacks on our shipping and ports. There were no financial difficulties. If Mr. Churchill had been returned to power he would have had to provide food for our people and find the dollars to pay for it. I should like him to tell us just how, with the conditions which he lays down of spending dollars only on industrial equipment, he would have got the food. The food problem which we have to solve is infinitely more difficult than anything Lord Woolton, in the Coalition Government, had to face.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. Churchill also attacked the Civil Service. He says that the numbers have increased, in which he is right, and also suggests that they have been taken from productive work and are a hindrance to the nation. In this he is wrong. One of his followers, Major Spence, member for Aberdeen Central, took up the cry in the House the other day more crudely and called the civil servants parasites. I resented this hotly. It is a gross aspersion on men and women who did a great work in the war and are doing a great work to-day.

The employees of the Bank of England or of civil aviation do not turn into parasites because they become State servants any more than would the employees of Major Spence's companies. We are not ashamed that an increasing section of our people is employed by the people for the people instead of for private profit. Then in an era of shortages we have to have rationing. This involves an increased staff, but does anyone suppose that at present one can do without rationing? While there are shortages we are resolved there should be a fair share for all.

A considerable Civil Service is directly the result of the very system of democracy and the protection of the individual which Mr. Churchill said he was so anxious to preserve. A great proportion of the work of the Civil Service consists in replying to letters from the general public. A totalitarian Government could ignore

tribute to what the people of Britain have done, and not least the people of Scotland, during the past twenty months. The task has been an immense one, involving the whole turnover from war to peace and making demands upon hundreds of thousands of individuals who have had to exercise patience and fortitude, despite the inevitable reaction from the heights that the imminent danger of the country called forth during the war.

"These qualities have been shown by men and women of all classes, by the men and women in the Services during the necessarily gradual process of demobilisation; by the women in the home, who have realised that it was quite impossible that immediately the war ended clothing, food, houses, and all other things should be available in abundance; by employers who have had to turn over their businesses from war work to peaceful production or, in many instances, to restart them despite the handicap of shortage of raw materials, fuel, and labour; and last, but by no means least, by the workers of this country.

1918 AND 1940

Mr. Attlee recalled the conditions after the 1914-1918 war—the chaos, the unemployment, the disruption of the armed forces, the staggering rises of prices, the high interest rates, the short boom and the long slump and the mass unemployment and as a consequence the industrial unrest and the series of big strikes. We had not had these things after this war, partly due to wise action taken by the war-time Government in which Labour had borne its full share, but much more to the wise leadership and steadiness of the rank and file of the trade unions and to the work of the Labour Government.

Our troubles are due in the main to the actual conditions which any Government would have had to face at the close of the war and partly to the vigour with which reconstruction has been initiated. If we had been content to allow industry to proceed at a languid pace, if we had been content to have over two million unemployed, we should not have been finding our coal supplies insufficient. If we had allowed prices to rise and interest rates to go up to 6½ per cent we should not have had so many complaints from the rentiers and the profit-makers, if we had got rid of controls and allowed those who could afford it to scoop the pool of available commodities we should have not had so many complaints about Government interference from our opponents, but we should have betrayed the people of this country. Had that been the policy followed there would have been chaos in this country, great industrial strife, and we should have offered a miserable spectacle to the world.

I am, therefore, not ashamed of this record of this Government, but it is quite natural that the Government should be attacked, especially when an exceptionally hard winter inflicts hardships on the people which can easily be exploited by those who have no alternative policy to offer. It is not surprising that people who regard themselves as the natural rulers of the country by divine right should resent it when they see in the seats of power and for the first time with the backing of a great Parliamentary majority a Government drawn largely from the ranks of the workers. I say largely but not entirely, for the Labour Government and the Labour party in the House of Commons are far more truly representative of all the people of this country than any previous Government or Parliament. In the course of nearly twenty-five years in the House of Commons I could count on one hand the Conservative members who could in any sense be regarded as working men and not one who could possibly have been made a Minister.

DIFFICULT TIMES

Mr. Attlee said that the fact that the Labour Government was being attacked did not worry him. I should indeed be worried if everything which we did met with nothing but praise from our opponents. It would mean that we were not carrying out the Labour policy. The Labour policy is a policy which we believe is that which will most make for the welfare of this country and our people.

Governments have to operate in the conditions of the times in which they live, and these are difficult times. I never suggested at the time of the general election that things would be easy. On the contrary, I said that we should need courage, determination, and hard work to get through the difficult post-war period. We all knew that after six years of war there would be world shortages. We knew the extent to which the efforts of

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A considerable Civil Service is directly the result of the very system of democracy and the protection of the individual which Mr. Churchill said he was so anxious to preserve. A great proportion of the work of the Civil Service consists in replying to letters from the general public. A totalitarian Government could ignore these; a democratic Government is concerned to protect the individual. The same M.P.s who rail against hordes of civil servants are themselves responsible through their questions for a great addition to the work of Government Departments. We are rightly proud of our Civil Service, which is second to none in the world for devotion to duty and for efficiency. I resent, and I know civil servants resent, the cheap sneers and base attacks based on ignorance and prejudice.

TORY "POLICY"

It was interesting, Mr. Attlee said, to see that Mr. Churchill said that the great heart of the nation was returning to Conservative and Liberal principles. "It is clear that Mr. Churchill sees no difference between Liberal and Conservative, which may account for the ease with which from time to time he changes his allegiance, though this has not prevented him from assailing Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum in turn with all the robust epithets of which he is such a master. He seeks to confront Socialists with a policy which will appeal to Conservatives and their Liberal allies. What is this policy?" The Premier said he had looked in vain for a policy. "There must be free competition upwards, not downwards. We must have a floor but no ceiling. That's all. Let's hope it keeps fine for him."

After the captain there was the cabin boy, Sir Walter Womersley. He said, "Mr. Attlee, stop nationalising and get on with urgent work." "It is pathetic to see how often Tories return to this ridiculous attempt to represent nationalisation as something entirely outside the work of reconstruction. It is, of course, fundamental."

"I do not know any serious student of our affairs who would deny that the only way to deal with the coal industry, which has been bedevilled so long by the neglect of past Governments, was to nationalise it. Does anyone suppose that, having regard to the psychology of the miners induced by years of hard and unfair treatment, that a return to full-blown private enterprise would have resulted in anything but loss of production and industrial strife? Commission after commission has reported on the industry and exposed the glaring defects of the past system. They all showed that the old system would not do. If we had acted on these commissions before the war we would not have a fuel crisis to-day. It is the same with gas and electricity; authoritative committees have reported on the need for reconstructing

great industrial strife, and we should have offered a miserable spectacle to the world."

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Governments have to operate in the conditions of the times in which they live, and these are difficult times. I never suggested at the time of the general election that things would be easy. On the contrary, I said that we should need courage, determination, and hard work to get through the difficult post-war period. We all knew that after six years of war there would be world shortages. We knew the extent to which the efforts of Britain in the war had strained her resources.

We all knew that recovery would be slow, and we told our people so. What we also knew was the spirit of the people of this country in peace as in war. We knew that they would endure. I know that this is true of organised labour. I do not believe that the Scottish workers will be affected by the stream of interested propaganda against the Government. I believe that they are far too well informed to imagine that if the Conservatives had been returned to power they would now have abundance of everything.

All of us in the Government recognise that times are still hard. We are striving in every way to improve things, but we cannot do the impossible. We have had to face courageously the everyday problems of the post-war period, but we have not been content with that. In the short 21 months of our tenure of office we have been laying the foundations of the future.

We have carried through the greatest and most comprehensive social insurance scheme ever devised. We have changed a whole system of dealing with industrial injury. We have passed a great health bill for England; its Scottish counterpart is now going through. We are dealing with the planning of town and country in a far bolder way than ever before. We have taken or are taking in the hands of the nation the basic institutions and industries on which the economic life of the country depend—the Bank of England, coal, transport, electricity, to say nothing of civil aviation and cables and wireless.

We have restored freedom to the trade unions. We are in process of legislating to give the citizens the right of action against the State, a reform long demanded but never conceded by those who profess to be so anxious for the rights of the individual. It has been left to a Socialist Government to do this. These are only the major measures which we have undertaken, but I challenge comparison with any other like period. Yet our opponents claim that we are doing too much. We have to work at high speed to make up for the years of neglect.

At the conclusion of Mr. Attlee's address the delegates sang "For he's a jolly good fellow" and cheered him loudly. The conference carried by a large majority a resolution calling upon the Government to set up a joint administrative board for nationalised industry, on which trade union representatives would sit in equal number and status with Government representatives.

00740 0063 BEC

P. Miller
The Manchester Guardian

31366 23 April 47

PREMIER'S LETTER TO TORY M.P.

A Sharp Exchange

Some publicity was given last evening to a sharp exchange between the Prime Minister and Sir Waldron Smithers, the Conservative M.P. for Orpington, in the course of correspondence.

Sir Waldron, it is stated, wrote to Mr. Attlee about the Suez Canal shares. Mr. Attlee, in reply, said such questions should be put to the Treasury. The Prime Minister's letter went on:

I am also in receipt of your further letter about the Lord Chancellor's remarks at the Lord Mayor's banquet. It must have been, I should have thought, obvious to anybody that a remark with regard to the attitude of the Bar could not possibly be interpreted as a statement of H.M. Government's policy. Obviously the policy of the Bar is for the Bar and not for the Government.

Mr. Attlee ended his letter:

May I, in conclusion, suggest that both myself and my staff are very busy, and that a little thought would enable you to answer these questions without troubling me.

Sir Waldron, in a long reply, says he feels "bound to enter the strongest protest against the terms of the last sentence of your letter," and adds:

You are a public servant, and I am informed that a leading chartered accountant has worked out that to obtain your own resulting salary of some £6,500 a year the country would have to pay you, if you were liable to income tax and surtax in the same way as an ordinary citizen is, £119,000 a year. Am I to understand that a member of Parliament is not free to write to the Prime Minister of the day without being subjected to such criticism?

Your attitude is on "all fours" with that of the Minister of Food and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from whom I cannot extract straightforward answers to simple questions. I am determined to combat this dictator tendency by every means in my power. The last paragraph of your letter is unworthy of a British Prime Minister.

Signatur.....

Datum.....

00740 0064 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31376

5-Mai 47

PREMIER ON THE CHALLENGE TO LABOUR

Changes in the Social Structure

The Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, at a May Day celebration at the London Coliseum yesterday said they had had a long winter of discontent. Now they had the promise of summer, but the seeds which had been sown were only beginning to spring up, and much hard work remained to be done before the reaping.

To the young there might be some disappointment. Youth was rightly full of impatience, but those who were growing old in the movement and who recalled how great the progress had been in their lifetimes and how severe were the obstacles which had been overcome were impressed more with what had been accomplished than by any slowness of fulfilment. To-day they had still to face the difficult transition period coming out of darkness into light.

"To-day," continued Mr. Attlee, "we are responsible and we are not afraid to take responsibility. I believe that the members of our party and, indeed, of the whole Labour movement have responded magnificently to the challenge of responsibility, a challenge which has come to us in most arduous times. We are engaged in making great changes in the social and economic structure of this country. We are making them without disturbance and with due regard to the rights of the individual and the community. The nationalisation of basic industries, schemes of social insurance, a just division of wealth are only means to an end.

Servants of the Community

"Many of the attributes of freedom were formerly the prerogative of the privileged few, though spiritual freedom was possible for all. There is a danger of people being contented with material advance alone. Many men and women are now becoming freed from working for private profit and are servants of the

community. Those who still work under private enterprise are realising perhaps as never before that, in addition to working for a particular employer, they are providing goods or services essential for the economic life of the community.

"Our appeal to-day to all men and women of goodwill is, 'realise the part which you are playing in the national life.' I should like the message of May Day to all in our movement and to the nation at large to be, 'Work, for the day is dawning.'

"To the peoples of all lands we send a message of goodwill and hope, for it is our belief that their prosperity and happiness are also our concern."

Lord Latham, leader of the London County Council, said they must not ignore the whispering campaign of the reactionaries, both at home and abroad, which was directed towards sabotage and, if possible, destroying the Labour Government. Abroad, some were, to adopt the jargon of the City, trying to sell Britain short in the market of national values.

Reasoned Discipline

"We cannot enjoy Socialism unless we first create it," he said. "The era of 'soaking the rich' has gone. What matters now is the size of the national cake; the problem of fair shares among the people has been, or is being, dealt with by the Labour Government in a measure unequalled anywhere else in the world.

"Socialism means that we must all play our part with reasoned discipline and eager willingness in the planned economy we seek. It is idle to believe that we can redress the injustices of uncontrolled private enterprise by ourselves acting in an anti-social way, as private capitalism has so often done. Socialism is ultimately a high moral endeavour—not a policy of revenge for the social inequities of the past."

In a reference to the future development of London, Lord Latham said the City Council had decided on a great scheme of reconstruction which would put an end to the use of the words "East End" as terms of social reproach.

00740 0065 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31380

9-Mai 47

"THESE ARE DANGEROUS TIMES"

Mr. Attlee's Warning: We Cannot Afford to Let U.N. Fail

Mr. Attlee, speaking yesterday at a meeting at No. 10, Downing Street in connection with the United Nations Association, said: "The dangers to world civilisation from another world war are greater to-day than they were between the wars."

"We cannot afford to let the United Nations fail. The issues have grown more serious. We shall never get a lasting peace if it depends only upon agreements between Governments. We shall only get it by agreement between peoples; and it must not be a passive agreement, but an active, constructive promotion of peace. I want to see a relationship growing up between the peoples of all countries towards the United Nations such as we have in our own country between the people and Parliament."

"In the problems we are facing to-day, of the shortage of food for many millions, the raising of the standard of life all over the world, the problems created by the demands of Asiatic and African peoples for a full share in all the good things of the world, I think the Governments feel more than they ever did before that a solution does not lie with the individual Government, but depends upon the co-operation of all countries."

"If we are to avoid the disasters that we realise only too acutely are possible, we have got to get together, but fear is a very poor motive. You don't really do much by shivering in fear, but by building peace and by positive achievements, not merely by the warding away of war."

Mr. Anthony Eden said it was impossible to some extent not to be disappointed by the setbacks in the work of the United Nations. He could say, with greater freedom than the Prime Minister, that in part those difficulties were due to the power of veto. But whatever the difficulties and disappointments, they in no way lessened the imperative need for an international organisation on which the world could rely. If the nations found that the United Nations could give them material advantages, as well as the chance of peace, they might be more willing to play a more vigorous part in the political work of maintaining peace.

Lady Megan Lloyd George, appealing for new recruits to the "citizen army of U.N.A.," said that support for the United Nations was the best gilt-edged security against war that they could get on any market of the world.

Air Vice-Marshal D. Bennett, chairman of U.N.A., said, "We are supporting the United Nations not blindly or pacifistically, but in a tough, hard-boiled, and realistic way."

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM WAY TO PROSPERITY

"No Alternative to Labour's Plan"

—The Premier

From our Special Correspondents

MARGATE, TUESDAY.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, opened to-day's session of the Labour party's annual conference by moving the adoption of the Parliamentary report—a record of achievement of which he thought the Government and the party could be proud.

The Government admittedly placed before Parliament a heavier and more important programme of legislation than had ever been committed to any previous Parliament. Their opponents said that it was too heavy, but the times in which we lived demanded great changes, and there was a great legacy of past neglect with which they had to deal. The most obvious instance of neglect was the problem of the mines, a problem which had been over-ripe for attention for decades. It had been left for the Labour Government to deal with the muddles of the past. The Government had taken action, and there was now a change in the scene.

There were great measures of social reform prepared during the Coalition Government. Many of those could have been brought forward during the war, but they were not brought forward and the present Government had had to do the work. In fact, during the last 22 months, the Government had had to undertake the entire programme put forward by the Conservative party at the previous general election.

The Civil Service

He made no apology for giving Parliament plenty of hard work. After all, work was what they were asking for from the nation, and it was as well that they should set an example. He had to meet the criticisms of too much legislation and rushed legislation. Well, the work of opposition took a great deal of learning. The Government had to make the best use of their time and they had resolved to give the Conservative party every opportunity to learn the work of opposition. (Laughter and "Hear, hear.") Expressing thanks to his colleagues and to the members of the party in the Commons and the country generally for their help and co-operation in the work of the Government, in every sphere of which could be seen the Socialist impulse and outlook, Mr. Attlee had a word to say for the Civil Service, who got far more kicks than halfpence. The strain on the members of the Civil Service had been heavy and they had responded magnificently. "When I see demands from this conference that this and that should be done immediately, I want to warn you not to overstrain the machine and to

tion of the wealth and resources of this country in the interests of all the people. None of these could be achieved in a few days or a few months. But they had three advantages—their Socialist faith, a clear programme integrated in a definite plan, and a fine majority in Parliament.

An integrated plan was not the result of some academic theory, but was framed in view of the actual problems they had to solve and the economic conditions of to-day. They had to have controls as long as there were shortages, and that was admitted by their opponents, who liked to clamour for taking them off.

Indicating the general lines of the controls, the Premier said there was control of finance, control of land, and planning of the country not only to the best economic advantage but with the aim of making it a happy and beautiful place for our people to live in. They were not going to have distressed areas again. An agricultural policy was going forward and it was the first time in his recollection that such a policy had been approved by workers and farmers alike.

Overseas they had been carrying out Labour's policy. They had set out to extend self-government to their fellowmen and to develop higher economic planning. They had sought earnestly to deal with the great problems of India and Burma and with the other great problems of our colonial empire.

Confidence in Mr. Bevin

In foreign affairs the Government had followed a policy based upon support of the United Nations. A great many Ministers besides Mr. Bevin were going overseas and taking part in international conferences. People's eyes were too apt to be fixed on certain political discussions and to ignore the work that was going on in the social and economic councils. Expressing his confidence in Mr. Bevin and his collaborators, the Prime Minister repudiated the charge made by some people "whose subservience to one Great Power makes them charge us with subservience to another. We are subservient to none," he said, "but seek collaboration with all. "We are not yet half-way through the Parliament, and in spite of prognostications in some newspapers, we intend to complete our programme, and that programme is only an instalment of our long-term plan." The carrying out of that plan did not depend upon the Government alone, on Parliament alone, or on the Civil Service. It depended upon the co-operation of all the people in the country.

The Government had gone far towards encouraging a fairer distribution of the national cake. It had now to increase the size of that cake. "It is for us to demonstrate to the world that

Attlee
Chamberlain

Labour
ca. 1947

TO POSTAL OFFICE

"No Alternative to Labour's Plan"

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A Socialist Economy

Mr. Attlee went on to say that the Government came into power with a double purpose—to deal with the internal and external difficulties resulting from the war; to lay the foundations of a new social order evolving from the old; to make the transfer from a war to a peace economy and from a capitalist system based on private enterprise and private profit to a Socialist economy based on the control and direc-

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The Government had gone far towards encouraging a fairer distribution of the national cake. It had now to increase the size of that cake. "It is for us to demonstrate to the world that democratic Socialism is the way to peace and prosperity, the way to freedom, and the way to happiness."

"To-day there is no coherent alternative policy to Labour in this country. Our opponents are bankrupt of ideas. They seek to deck out the shabby garment of competitive capitalism and organised servitude with shreds and patches taken from our programme, but they lack the essential inspiration and the moral ideas that inform our policy. They lack, in a word, our Socialist faith—the faith that can move mountains, the faith that can build a world of peace, justice, and freedom and happiness for all. In that faith we are confident."

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Hamburger Echo

№ 4 2

28. Mai 1947

Hamburg, 28. Mai (Eigenbericht.) Unter stärkster Aufmerksamkeit der gesamten britischen Öffentlichkeit ist am Pfingstmontag der 46. Parteitag der Labour Party eröffnet worden. Mehr als 1250 Delegierte nehmen an ihm teil. Über 500 Anträge sind in einer 67seitigen Schrift zusammengefaßt.

Luftfahrtminister Noël Baker, der diesjährige Vorsitzende der Labour Party, wies in seiner Eröffnungsansprache auf die Notwendigkeit der Erfüllung von vier Forderungen hin:

Die Herstellung neuartiger Beziehungen zwischen den Völkern der Erde, — ein geeintes Europa, — eine die ganze Welt umspannende interkontinentale wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, — die Behebung der Furcht vor dem Kriege.

Es wird darauf hingewiesen, daß die Labour-Regierung seit 1832 die erste britische Regierung ist, die nach zweijährigem Bestehen noch bei keiner Nachwahl eine Niederlage erlitten hat.

Premierminister Attlee sprach am Dienstag über die Politik der Labour-Regierung. Die Regierung werde die vollen fünf Jahre ihrer Amtszeit an der Arbeit bleiben, um das Wahlprogramm der Labour Party zu verwirklichen. Die im Sinne dieses Programms durchgeführte fortschreitende Verstaatlichung der Industrien sei nicht einfach ein Plan trockener Theorien, sondern eine Notwendigkeit. Trotz der Knappheit werde es auf diese Weise bald keine Notstandsgebiete mehr geben. Wenn der Kuchen auch nicht in kurzer Zeit größer gemacht werden könne, so werde er doch gerechter verteilt. Attlee wies nach, daß die Arbeiterregierung bei der Übernahme der Regierung ein vernachlässigtes Erbe angetreten habe, vor allem im Bergbau.

Gegenüber der Kritik, die von Vertretern eines „linken Flügels“ an der Außenpolitik der Regierung geübt wird, erklärte Attlee, daß die Außenpolitik Großbritanniens (über die Außenminister Bevin am Donnerstag speziell sprechen wird) auf der Unterstützung der Vereinten Nationen basiere. „Manche Leute sind der einen Großmacht so hörig, daß sie behaupten, wir seien der andern Großmacht hörig. Aber Großbritannien ist niemand hörig, sondern will mit allen zusammenarbeiten.“ Der Premierminister drückte Außenminister Bevin sein volles Vertrauen aus.

Am Mittwoch wird die Debatte über die Wirtschaftspolitik fortgesetzt. Im Vordergrund wird die Vertretung der Arbeiterschaft bei der Verwaltung der verstaatlichten Industrien stehen.

In der Debatte über die Anträge zur allgemeinen Wehrpflicht vertraten mehrere Redner die Ansicht, die allgemeine Wehrpflicht sei mit den Grundsätzen der Arbeiterpartei unvereinbar. Im Namen des Parteivorstandes erwiderte Professor Laski den Kritikern, daß Großbritannien imstande sein müsse,

seine Freiheit zu verteidigen. Mit 2 332 000 gegen 571 000 Stimmen wurde der Antrag, der die Aufhebung der Wehrpflicht forderte, abgelehnt.

Deutsche Kriegsgefangene unter den Gästen

Hamburg, 28. Mai (Eigenbericht.)

Eine Gruppe von fünf deutschen Kriegsgefangenen hat am Dienstag erstmalig dem Labour-Parteitag beigewohnt. Zwei von ihnen äußerten sich im Londoner Rundfunk über ihre Eindrücke und hoben besonders hervor, wie sehr sie durch die sachliche Führung der Debatte beeindruckt seien. Die Minister sind auf diesem Parteitag tatsächlich Gleiche unter Gleichen, und die einfachen Delegierten haben ebensoviel Rechte wie sie.

In den Kommentaren zur Geschäftsführung des Parteitags wird betont, daß die Minister und Vertreter des Parteivorstands im Interesse der Aussprache der Delegierten eine begrenzte Redezeit haben und in der Regel erst gegen Schluß der Behandlung der einzelnen Tagesordnungspunkte in die Debatte eingreifen.

Verstärkung der Organisationsarbeit

Hamburg, 28. Mai (Eigenbericht.)

Auf dem Parteitag wurde auf das starke Wachstum der Mitgliederzahl der Labour Party hingewiesen. In nichtöffentlichen Sitzungen wurden Beschlüsse zur Verstärkung der Herausgabe von Flugschriften und Aufklärungsmaterial über die Politik der Labour Party gefaßt.

Bei den Wahlen der Mitglieder des Vollzugausschusses erhielten der Gesundheitsminister Bevan und der Schatzkanzler Dalton die höchsten Stimmenzahlen.

00740 0068 BEC
The Manchester Guardian
31412 16.Juni 47

PREMIER'S APPEAL FOR U.N.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) at a meeting in support of the United Nations Association at Chilham Castle, near Canterbury, on Saturday, said that if United Nations was to be a success it was necessary to make people look upon it as something which affected their daily lives. During the last two years there had been a great development of all the sides of United Nations dealing with the social and economic life of the nations.

"We are far too apt to look on United Nations as a place where statesmen go and disagree; we are apt also to concentrate on the political side of their work and not on the economic side; we are apt to think too much of the failures and too little of the successes."

He asked for the same fervour for the United Nations Association as was given to the League of Nations. "The last war was ghastly enough," he said. "Modern inventions make it certain that in future wars will be even more destructive. It is not merely a matter of the life and death of the individual; it is a matter of the life and death of civilisation."

Following are points from other week-end speeches:

Mr. Emrys Roberts, M.P., president of the National League of Young Liberals, at a meeting of the executive committee of the league in London: British prosperity could not be built up without a revived Europe, and Europe could not be revived without American aid. In spite of the Attorney General's statements we were facing a threatened collapse in our standard of living.

The British Government had been slow to take up the Marshall plan. The extraordinary thing was that Mr. Marshall's inspiration came from Mr. Henry Wallace.

Mr. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education, at a conference organised by the National Association of Labour Teachers in London: This year we have more teachers than in the year before the war, and we shall be able to meet the urgent need of reducing the size of classes. The number of full-time teachers in primary and secondary schools increased from 173,000 in October, 1945, to 188,000 in January, 1947.

In the first three months of this year £8,750,000 worth of work on permanent building schemes had been approved. That was the beginning. He hoped for something like £23,000,000 of work completed by September, 1948.

Sir Frank Soskice, Solicitor-General, at Litherland, Lancashire: There was a world shortage of food supplies and a world expansion of demand, but thanks to proper distribution, poorer families who did not get enough before the war, were now getting a not unreasonable amount. Furthermore, with supplies of milk and other commodities we were building a better and healthier nation.

00740 0069 BEC

Attlee, Clements L.
The Times (London.)

№ 50809 | 10. Juli 1947

**MR. ATTLEE'S FAITH IN
BRITAIN'S FUTURE**

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary were among the guests last night at a dinner of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, in St. Pancras Town Hall. Mr. Attlee said that the Government were spreading the demand for goods far more widely among the people, but to satisfy demand they had to increase supply. "We are confident we shall come through our difficulties and we shall do so, I believe, because we are working for the whole of the people," he added.

Mr. Bevin, referring to the Bill for the Independence of India, said Mr. Attlee deserved great tribute for carrying out a change which might, without such careful handling, have resulted in civil war and probably endangered the peace of the world.

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The Manchester Guardian

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India

If Campbell-Bannerman stands out in British history for his great work of conciliation in South Africa, so Mr. Attlee may stand out as the Englishman who, above all others, was responsible for the grant of Indian self-government. South Africa remained within the Commonwealth; it is early yet to know whether the Indian Dominions in their turn will adopt the same device of complete freedom within a larger unity. But of British goodwill and sincerity there can now be few (except the professional scoffers in Moscow) to doubt. We have handed over India to the Indians; they have chosen what to the warmest friends of India, Indian and British, seems a second best—a divided India. But it is their choice; if they come together well and good, but their destiny is in their own hands. It is idle now to express the forebodings we may feel that in the great transfer the quality and justice of the administration is suffering; that happens wherever a nation assumes self-government; it can only be remedied by time and experience. But the Indian leaders know that the help of experienced British civilians will be theirs for the asking if they desire it.

Mr. Attlee was able to announce yesterday that Lord Mountbatten will, by the desire of Congress, be Governor General of the new India and Mr. Jinnah, by the desire of the Moslem League, be Governor General of Pakistan. It would have been more helpful had the League's choice been the same as that of Congress, but we must remember that Mr. Jinnah was Pakistan's creator; he sees his ambitions realised and on him appropriately falls the responsibility for making an artificial entity work—if it will work. It is gratifying that both sides have agreed that Lord Mountbatten should be chairman of the Joint Defence Council during the difficult transition period. The Indian Independence Bill has, as yesterday's debate showed, the support of all parties in the British Parliament. Mr. Macmillan, however, was less than realistic when he said that the Government had destroyed the prospect of unity when it made its decision to leave India by a fixed date. It would be more reasonable to argue that it was the fixed date

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00740 0071 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31438

16. Juli 1947

MR. ATTLEE'S "UNQUENCHABLE HOPE" FOR INDIA

Historic Occasion in the Commons

INDEPENDENCE BILL GOES TO THE LORDS

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, TUESDAY.

So far as the House of Commons can order it India to-day ceased to be subject in any respect either to the British Parliament or to the Crown. Sir Stafford Cripps's first words in moving the third reading of the Indian Independence Bill to-day reminded members that he was introducing the last debate in the House of Commons on Indian affairs.

Nothing said during the debates on this measure has brought home so forcibly the momentous significance of the Act which the British Parliament is now engaged in putting on the Statute-book. Also it set the tone to all that followed in this debate. No deliberative assembly is less given to displaying its feelings than the British House of Commons, but most speakers to-day attempted to put into words the pathos and pride inseparable from this decisive moment.

The House was as well attended as for the second reading. The Prime Minister was again in his place ready to wind up the debate. Many Indians were in the side galleries and could measure the transformation that has come about in these last few months from the fervent welcome they could hear Sir Stafford Cripps give the new Dominions into the British Commonwealth. This speech of Sir Stafford's was every bit as worthy of the occasion as Mr. Attlee's was of the second reading. Sir Stafford is usually chary of eloquence, but to-day he rose to a true and grave eloquence more than once.

Mr. Butler is something of a cold realist, and yet even he was stirred and in an effective peroration finely expressed the hope that the sun that to-day was rising on the independence of India and Pakistan might never set on their freedom and prosperity. Fervour comes naturally to Mr. Clement Davies, the Liberal Leader, and he clothed a eulogy of the British achievement in India with a genuine warmth of feeling.

HONESTY OF PURPOSE

Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Butler struck one common note. Both claimed that the present measure had established before the world the honesty of our democratic purposes, as Sir Stafford put it. Sir Stafford considered that this must still any doubts abroad in our democratic professions, while Mr. Butler said we had been true to ourselves and what we believe in and had strengthened rather than weakened the British

exaggerated when he declared that success in this effort may profoundly affect world history? Neither Sir Stafford nor Mr. Butler was inclined to minimise the difficulties that confront the two new Dominions, but both gladly engaged that Great Britain would give all the help she could.

PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN STATES

Where the two men fell short of an otherwise complete agreement was over the Indian States. Sir Stafford wants them to throw in their lot with the new Dominions, though, of course, he was quite clear that they must make a free choice subject to no interference or pressure from outside. Mr. Butler, who recalled that he bitterly regretted that the States did not join the Federation in 1935, nevertheless did not feel quite sure that the Government was as ready as it should be to face up to the fact that some of the States will almost certainly desire to remain independent and enter into direct relations with us, in which case, Mr. Butler urged, it was for the British Government to enter sympathetically into such relations.

Mr. Butler thought the Government's attitude to the States was being influenced over much by the dread of balkanisation, or "parcelation" of India as he alternatively called it. It was evident that Mr. Butler shrank from dwelling on any critical note on the present occasion and he pressed his point no farther. In an equally delicate way he expressed his disappointment that the minorities had received what he called such scant treatment.

It is interesting to note, since it may foreshadow a permanent change in nomenclature, that Sir Stafford Cripps called India and Pakistan "Commonwealth States" and not Dominions.

THE GOODWILL OF ALL

As showing that the eloquence was by no means confined to the front benches, one may mention Lord John Hope's valedictory to India, in the course of which he entreated her to keep burning the torch of law and order, justice, tolerance, and freedom that "we gave you." And then there was Mr. Godfrey Nicholson's "Hail and farewell" to India and his "Hail again" to the new Dominions.

Mr. Attlee brought the debate to a close with a felicitous short speech delivered in an atmosphere of universal goodwill and in the presence of many members of the Cabinet. His last words well sum up his speech. He said he took farewell of the bill not with

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Sir Stafford seized, as no other speaker has done, on the new aspect the Commonwealth now wears by the inclusion in it for the first time of peoples of Asia. Thus, he remarked, we have begun to build a bridge between the two great world civilisations, and who would say that the President of the Board of Trade

exaggerated when he declared that success in this effort may profoundly affect world history? Neither Sir Stafford nor Mr. Butler was inclined to minimise the difficulties that confront the two new Dominions, but both gladly engaged that Great Britain would give all the help she could.

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Then amid repeated cheers and backed, as Sir Stafford Cripps had proudly claimed, by all the people and all the political parties of Great Britain the bill was given its third reading and now goes to the House of Lords.

00740 0072 BEC

Hamb. Allgemeine Zeitung

- 60 -

29. Juli 1947

Nr. vom

England vor wirtschaftlichem „Gewitter“

Ministerpräsident Attlee hält Geheimbesprechungen ab

London, 29. 7. (dpd-Reuter). Premierminister Attlee hat diejenigen Mitglieder seines Kabinetts, in deren Zuständigkeitsbereich die wirtschaftlichen Angelegenheiten Großbritanniens fallen, zu Geheimbesprechungen zusammenberufen, die sich mit Großbritanniens angespannter Wirtschaftslage, dem Stand der Kohlenproduktion und den Schwierigkeiten bei der Umwechslung von Dollar-Beträgen befassen sollen. Lordpräsident Morrison, Schatzkanzler Dalton, Außenminister Bevin und Handelsminister Sir Stafford Cripps werden die Vorschläge erörtern, die am Mittwoch der Parlamentsfraktion der Arbeiterpartei unterbreitet werden, auf deren Sitzung Maßnahmen zur Abwendung der drohenden Wirtschaftskrise besprochen werden sollen. Man nimmt an, daß schwerwiegende Beschränkungen in der Einfuhr von Lebensmitteln, Rohstoffen und anderen Gütern unvermeidlich sind, wenn es der Regierung nicht gelingt, in zwölfter Stunde Abhilfe gegen das wirtschaftliche „Gewitter“ zu schaffen, das sich jetzt zusammenzieht. Die Debatte über die innenpolitische Lage Großbritanniens, mit der man seit Monaten gerechnet hatte, kommt damit, am Vorabend der Parlamentsferien in Fluß.

Wie verlautet, hat sich Premierminister Attlee entschlossen, auf der Sitzung der Parlamentsfraktion der Arbeiterpartei unumwunden über alle Schwierigkeiten zu sprechen, denen sich die Regierung gegenübersteht. Im Anschluß an die Fraktionssitzung wird Attlee zu Vertretern der Bergarbeiter sprechen und wahrscheinlich darauf hinweisen, daß die Arbeiter ihre An-

sprüche auf die Fünftagewoche keineswegs gefährden, wenn sie sich mit der Ableistung von „Nothilfe-Überstunden“ einverstanden erklären.

In einer zweitägigen Unterhausdebatte wird im Laufe der nächsten Woche die gesamte Wirtschaftslage Großbritanniens durchgesprochen werden, wobei die Regierung zu allen Fragen ausführlich Stellung nehmen wird.

Essen, 28. 7. (dpd). Die Verhandlungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Großbritannien über den Ruhrkohlenbergbau beginnen voraussichtlich Ende dieser Woche in Washington, wie Mr. Collins von der North German Coal Control in einer Pressekonferenz mitteilte. Ein genauer Termin, so fügte Mr. Collins hinzu, sei allerdings noch nicht festgelegt worden. Collins wird an den Washingtoner Verhandlungen teilnehmen.

PREMIER ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Travesties of Democracy in Eastern Europe

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) told a miners' demonstration at Barnsley on Saturday that it was of vital importance to the health of the Socialist movement that it should uphold absolute moral values. Justice must be done whatever may be the views of the individual concerned.

Mr. Attlee began with a tribute to those who in the industrial and political labour movement laid the foundations on which we build. "They realised to the full," he said, "the importance of the economic factor; they sought for economic freedom, but they did not restrict themselves to the material. They realised that man does not live by bread alone. They fought for freedom of speech, for freedom of conscience, for the right of every individual to think as he pleased and express those thoughts without fear.

"They understood the meaning of democracy. They fought for the franchise not only as a means for furthering the interests of their fellow workers, but because they demanded it as the right of every citizen to take part in choosing his Government, and to change his Government, to be in opposition as well as to be in government. They claimed rights for themselves, but did not deny them to others.

Rights Not Admitted

"Why is it necessary to state these things to-day? Not because there is any fear that the people of this country will consent to be deprived of these rights for which their forefathers fought, but because in large areas of the world these rights are not in practice admitted.

"A great trade unionist, Charlie Dukes, has been representing the Government in America on the committee of the United Nations, which is dealing with the question of human rights. The general principles are agreed, but a general principle is of little use if it is not applied.

"Freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and personal freedom," he said, "is the right of the individual whether he is a capitalist or a worker, a Conservative, a Liberal or a Socialist. Wherever you find devices such as having only one list of candidates—an extraordinary device that, you might just as well have only one runner at a sports meeting—wherever you find a secret police or a Government that cannot be removed by the methods of the ballot box, there is no true democracy and no true freedom.

"Our foreign policy is based on these principles. We hold that every people has the right to choose its Government, whether it be Conservative, Liberal, Socialist, or Communist. I have no doubt that in several countries of Eastern Europe human rights are denied and so-called democratic government is a travesty. I am concerned that there should be people in this country, and people who profess to be Socialists, who appear to condone things that are done by Governments that call themselves Left, when they would protest vigorously if precisely the same things were done by Governments of the Right.

"We are seeking not to enforce our views on other people, but to try to see to it that in every nation and every country the people shall freely choose their own form of Government.

"Our home policy is based on freedom and even-handed justice. Thus, when we introduce a measure of nationalisation, we pay compensation to the owners because we seek to do justice. We are moving into a new form of society—a new social and economic system. We are removing the incentive of fear.

New Form of Society

"I have spoken to you to-day of rights. Remember that rights carry with them obligations. No one of us can carry on without depending on the work of other members of the community. It is the duty of every one of us in whatever sphere of activity we may work to give of our best if we expect that others should do their fair share.

"It used to be thought that you could only drive people to work by the incentive of fear. Less and less to-day is the incentive of private profit important. Therefore we must develop in its place—and especially in the younger generation—the incentive of social obligation and service to the community."

The miners, concluded Mr. Attlee, were now working not for private profit but for the nation. They had the incentive of their earnings, but they had besides another powerful motive. They were in the van of the new movement and must set an example of how, when an industry was turned over from the service of private profit to the community, the new incentive was going to be more powerful than the old incentive of the past.

4) Miller,
Clement T.
00740 0074 BEC

The Times (London)
50884 8 AUG: 47

U.S. TRIBUTE TO MR. ATTLEE

"SACRIFICE AND SELF-HELP"

BRITAIN'S STRENGTH

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, AUG. 7

Dispatches from London agree in their references to the "mixed" reception in Press and Parliament of the Prime Minister's speech yesterday. This would be by no means true of American reaction, largely because of such passages as that which declared that the British Government could not, and would not, base their plans upon the possible efficacy of the Marshall proposals.

Wherever in the speech emphasis was laid on self-reliance the effect on American opinion was favourable, and here and there it is handsomely admitted that Britain's determination to survive by sacrifice and self-help was the keynote of the Prime Minister's pronouncement.

A reminder of the fact that the setting of new targets does not necessarily mean that the bulls-eye will be hit, can be found in one or two newspapers, but, as the *New York Times* remarks, "this is no time for pre-judgments." The *Washington Post* turns to Ralph Waldo Emerson for the statement that the British are the people "who stand firmest in their shoes," adding that their moral strength has never failed them in emergency. And the *New York Times* remarks that there seems to be every reason to suppose "that the British can count on cooperation from our Government in dealing realistically and generously" with the complications arising from the nature of the loan agreement. In official circles this feeling also exists, though it is guardedly pointed out that more specific information concerning the "relaxations" London desires have not yet been received.

CONTINENTAL APPROACH

In a report on the state of opinion within the American Government the Associated Press describes officials as sensitive to the fact that America's initial post-war policy for Europe "was based on a bad miscalculation." The first step in that policy was the loan to Britain, followed in due course by the credits to France and Italy, based on the assumption that this would "be sufficient to get all of Europe back on its feet." Events falsified this assumption and the American Government, in the Marshall plan, adopted the method of "continental" approach.

Hence, says the Associated Press, once again the Government is staking its judgment on the promise to Congress that this time Europe really will be restored. But if this reposes on a second miscalculation, such as, for instance, one concerning the ability of Europeans to carry on with what they have until a continental programme can be effective, results might be extremely serious "for any future aid proposals."

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The Times (London

50833 7. Aug. 47

MR. ATTLEE'S REVIEW DIFFICULTIES SINCE THE WAR

Mr. ATTLEE, Prime Minister (Limehouse, Lab.), who was greeted with loud Ministerial cheers, said it had been suggested that he ought to reply to the rather exuberant speech made by the Leader of the Opposition at Blenheim on Bank Holiday afternoon, but he did not think that would be useful at this time. It contained, however, one or two unfortunate remarks which would have repercussions where they might do harm to this country, something which he was sure the right hon. gentleman did not wish. The suggestion that the Government had frittered away the American loan was not true. (Ministerial cheers.)

Saying that it was always tempting to job backwards, Mr. Attlee went on to a review of past events to rebut an assumption he had noted in Mr. Stanley's speech that the position in which this country found herself to-day could have been foreseen some time ago. (Opposition cheers.) Our economic position was highly artificial before the first world war. It received then a serious shock, and the second world war proved even more costly. We got through the world war with the help of lend-lease, which was rightly described by Mr. Churchill as the "most unsordid act in history." But it left us in a most vulnerable position. We had to face the task of reconstruction, involving the whole remoulding of our economy and what we wanted essentially was time to effect that change-over. The United States and the Canadian loans were essentially measures to buy time for ourselves and also for the rest of the Old World.

He entirely agreed that it would be utterly wrong for this country to become dependent permanently on another, however friendly our relations might be. But these loans were steps on the road towards creating multilateral trade and convertible currencies. He believed that to be the most advantageous system for the world and especially for a country in our position.

EXHAUSTION OF LOANS

We would have liked a larger loan. The Government doubted at the time if these loans would buy sufficient time. They hoped that the loans would last us, not five years, but well into 1949, and possibly into 1950, by which time we should have a reasonable chance of redeploying our economy and regaining our equilibrium. But as things had turned out there was a possibility that the loans would be exhausted this year.

By the end of 1946 our exports had reached a level of 111 per cent. of the 1938 volume. It was well to bear in mind the very great efforts that had been made by the people of this country. (Ministerial cheers.) No one, whatever their political colour or their desire to attack the Government, would wish to underrate or run down in the least what this country had done, and that by the people who had sustained the brunt of the war longer than any other. There had been an immense amount of reconstruction and a great deployment of labour with very little friction. But there had been difficulties and disappointments.

First, the output of coal had been less than was required to meet our own needs and much less to enable us to help Europe. The running down of the equipment of the mines had been far greater than we had supposed and the re-

HOURS AND EFFORT

But there had undoubtedly been a failure on the part of some workers to realize that shorter hours and higher wages must be matched by greater effort. (Opposition cheers.) But the record of the country in the last two years had been one of which any country could be proud. (Ministerial cheers.) Then there came the unprecedented severity of the winter and the fuel crisis of February and March, causing great damage to agriculture and to our industry. He was putting that into its historical setting. In these two years we had always had to give peculiar weight to two conflicting considerations in this matter of the balance of payments: the need for maintaining our external financial position and the need for strengthening and maintaining the morale of our people at home. Despite the cost we had to get the necessary food and raw materials. There were also severe adverse factors which were developing outside our control. The recovery of the world, and particularly of Europe, was much slower than had been anticipated. Our overseas commitments had proved heavier and their continuance more prolonged than we had hoped. There were bad harvests all over the world and, consequently, an increased dependence of the world on the Western Hemisphere.

The prices of our imports on the average had risen by more than 40 per cent. since the loan was negotiated and by more than 20 per cent. since we began drawing on it. It was fair to say that the world dollar shortage would have arisen earlier had it not been for Unrra and for the loan provided by the United States to other countries. Unrra was a great undertaking, but to some extent its effects had been disappointing.

ADVERSE BALANCE

INCREASE IN DOLLAR DEFICIT

Our overall adverse balance which was £400,000,000 in 1946 had risen to an annual rate of something over £700,000,000 in the first half of this year. But the salient feature of recent developments was an increase in dollar deficit. For the year 1946 our total dollar deficit was under £350,000,000, if we included Canadian dollar outgoings. That was partly due to the shortage of supplies.

In the first six months of 1947 the American dollar deficit was £405,000,000, representing an annual rate of £810,000,000. Of this, £176,000,000 represented our own trading deficit with the United States. In addition we spent £29,000,000 on purchasing from the United States for Germany. We had to provide £118,000,000 in United States dollars as payment for our own purchases for the rest of the Western Hemisphere. We had also to provide in United States dollars £58,000,000 for purchases in the United States by sterling area countries and £10,000,000 for purchases by the sterling area countries in the rest of the Western Hemisphere, and £14,000,000 for similar purchases of European countries.

The most serious aspect of the whole situation had been the acceleration in the dollar drain during recent months. That had been reflected in dollar drawings. Of the total credit of £937,500,000 we had to date drawn £687,500,000. By the end of 1946 we had only drawn £150,000,000, but from the beginning of January to the end of March we had drawn £125,000,000. In April and May we drew £162,500,000. In June we drew £75,000,000, and in July there were exceptionally heavy drawings of £175,000,000. He did not want to paint too alarmist a picture. We

more than one arising out of the loan agreement. Before the war sterling could be transferred in London to any other currency for ordinary current use anywhere. To return to that position had always been the objective of the Government. The American loan was designed to help us to return to that position. On that policy we had no intention of turning our backs.

It was clear that with the world shortage of dollars the loan agreement put an increasing strain on us. With the cuts he would be proposing the question of discriminating purchases became one of much more importance. It would be a very real factor in our future food and raw material purchases. We were approaching the problem of the post-war world with a view to establishing multilateral trade and convertible currencies. They were not yet in sight.

It is clear (continued the right hon. gentleman) that unless the multilateral system can be made to work, and supported by adequate finance, it will become incumbent upon us to seek ways out of our present difficulties along other lines. As for the steps that have been taken, there has been constant consultation between the Government and the United States on this matter. There was a way open to us to give notice under Clause 12 of the loan agreement, but this would not cover the whole field, and therefore we proceeded to seek further consultation on the whole of the implications of the loan agreement and the other difficulties with which we are faced, and against the background of the present facts of our position and its developments and the world situation.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE

We suggested to the United States Government that as a first step there should be official discussions on these matters, and I am glad to be able to tell the House that Mr. Marshall immediately replied agreeing to these discussions. I should make it clear that these discussions will not cut across the proceedings of the Paris conference. I must emphasize that the world dollar shortage is fundamentally a problem of under-productivity outside the Western Hemisphere, and that the only permanent remedy is a restoration of the balance between production in the Old World and production in the New.

We, therefore, intend to play our full part in the efforts started at the Paris conference to see how the countries of Europe can best help themselves and each other, and turn to the best advantage of Europe and the world the suggestions made in the speech of Mr. Marshall. Meanwhile, it is incumbent upon us to spare no effort both to remedy our own immediate position and to make sure that we are in a position to make the fullest contribution we can to our own recovery and that of the world.

POSITIVE MEASURES

REDEPLOYMENT OF RESOURCES

I now turn to the measures which we propose to take to this end, and to the positive measures first, as being the most important. First, we shall apply ourselves to the further redeployment of our resources at home. We must concentrate as much of those resources as we can on the reconstruction and development of our basic industries and services, on which the whole of our economy depends, on production of goods for export, and on the production of all those things which save us imports. This will mean cutting out unessentials and making sure that our objectives are in proper relation to our resources.

Second, we must increase our total output

MR. ATTLEE'S REVIEW DIFFICULTIES SINCE THE WAR

Mr. ATTLEE, Prime Minister (Limehouse, Lab.), who was greeted with loud Ministerial cheers, said it had been suggested that he ought to reply to the rather exuberant speech made by the Leader of the Opposition at Blenheim on Bank Holiday afternoon, but he did not think that would be useful at this time. It contained, however, one or two unfortunate remarks which would have repercussions where they might do harm to this country, something which he was sure the right hon. gentleman did not wish. The suggestion that the Government had frittered away the American loan was not true. (Ministerial cheers.)

Saying that it was always tempting to job backwards, Mr. Attlee went on to a review of past events to rebut an assumption he had noted in Mr. Stanley's speech that the position in which this country found herself to-day could have been foreseen some time ago. (Opposition cheers.) Our economic position was highly artificial before the first world war. It received then a serious shock, and the second world war proved even more costly. We got through the world war with the help of lend-lease, which was rightly described by Mr. Churchill as the "most unsordid act in history." But it left us in a most vulnerable position. We had to face the task of reconstruction, involving the whole remoulding of our economy and what we wanted essentially was time to effect that change-over. The United States and the Canadian loans were essentially measures to buy time for ourselves and also for the rest of the Old World.

He entirely agreed that it would be utterly wrong for this country to become dependent permanently on another, however friendly our relations might be. But these loans were steps on the road towards creating multilateral trade and convertible currencies. He believed that to be the most advantageous system for the world and especially for a country in our position.

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First, the output of coal had been less than was required to meet our own needs and much less to enable us to help Europe. The running down of the equipment of the mines had been far greater than we had supposed and the recovery of the industry had been far too slow. Most people in the country had responded very well; although there had been some sections which, perhaps, had not. But it was difficult to get rid of old prejudices and of memories of past unemployment. (Hear, hear.) Maybe the Government had tried to do too much. (Opposition cheers.) Yes, it might be that they had relaxed controls too soon. (Ministerial cheers.) He would remind hon. members opposite of their vociferous demands for every kind of thing to be done, a great many of which meant the relaxation of controls.

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But there had undoubtedly been a failure on the part of some workers to realize that shorter hours and higher wages must be matched by greater effort. (Opposition cheers.) But the record of the country in the last two years had been one of which any country could be proud. (Ministerial cheers.) Then there came the unprecedented severity of the winter and the fuel crisis of February and March, causing great damage to agriculture and to our industry. He was putting that into its historical setting. In these two years we had always had to give peculiar weight to two conflicting considerations in this matter of the balance of payments: the need for maintaining our external financial position and the need for strengthening and maintaining the morale of our people at home. Despite the cost we had to get the necessary food and raw materials. There were also severe adverse factors which were developing outside our control. The recovery of the world, and particularly of Europe, was much slower than had been anticipated. Our overseas commitments had proved heavier and their continuance more prolonged than we had hoped. There were bad harvests all over the world and, consequently, an increased dependence of the world on the Western Hemisphere.

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SAFEGUARDING RESERVES

It must be remembered that there was a point beyond which our ultimate reserve—representing the reserves of the sterling area as well as our own—could not be allowed to fall. (Cheers.) The drain could not be allowed to go on at this rate.

The problem of the convertibility was a problem of a world shortage of dollars rather

more than one arising out of the loan agreement. Before the war sterling could be transferred in London to any other currency for ordinary current use anywhere. To return to that position had always been the objective of the Government. The American loan was designed to help us to return to that position. On that policy we had no intention of turning our backs.

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It is clear (continued the right hon. gentleman) that unless the multilateral system can be made to work, and supported by adequate finance, it will become incumbent upon us to seek ways out of our present difficulties along other lines. As for the steps that have been taken, there has been constant consultation between the Government and the United States on this matter. There was a way open to us to give notice under Clause 12 of the loan agreement, but this would not cover the whole field, and therefore we proceeded to seek further consultation on the whole of the implications of the loan agreement and the other difficulties with which we are faced, and against the background of the present facts of our position and its developments and the world situation.

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We, therefore, intend to play our full part in the efforts started at the Paris conference to see how the countries of Europe can best help themselves and each other, and turn to the best advantage of Europe and the world the suggestions made in the speech of Mr. Marshall. Meanwhile, it is incumbent upon us to spare no effort both to remedy our own immediate position and to make sure that we are in a position to make the fullest contribution we can to our own recovery and that of the world.

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Second, we must increase our total output so that we can stand on our own legs as soon as possible. Third, we will press ahead with our plans for the expansion of production in the Colonial Empire. (Cheers.)

These are the positive objectives. However great the effort, they will take time to achieve and time to develop in sufficient measure, and that time is lacking. It may be that the chain of events started by Secretary Marshall's speech will lead to further American help towards the recovery of the Old World, and that we shall share in this help. But we cannot, and will not, base our plans on that assumption. (Cheers.) It is in this light that we have

tion. (Cheers.) It is in this spirit that we have reviewed all our commitments and requirements which involve us in expenditure of foreign exchange, particularly in hard currencies.

EXTRA WORK IN THE MINES

Let me first take our basic industries and services. There we are setting ourselves definite targets. First of all, let us take coal. The House is well aware how vital to our industrial recovery, and also how vital a matter for Europe, is the production of coal. We must get enough for our own industrial and domestic needs. Coal once made a great contribution to our balance of payments, and it can make it again, and to the recovery of Europe. With some of my colleagues I have been in consultation with the leaders of the National Union of Mine Workers and with the Coal Board. They are, I know, wholeheartedly with us in our desire to raise output.

Since the beginning of the year the number of wage earners on the colliery books has shown a substantial net increase—27,000. There is every prospect that we shall reach the target of 730,000 by the end of the year, particularly if the Poles, who are willing and available, are accepted in the industry.

We have put forward to the mineworkers' leaders a proposal that, while preserving the five-day week and the general regulations of the hours of labour, there should be as an emergency measure for a limited period an extra half-hour's work per day. We considered various alternatives, including Saturday work, but came to the conclusion that this was the best. I know too that earnest efforts are being made to try to bring down absenteeism to the lowest possible level. There are also local matters that need to be dealt with; particularly we need increased stints which were contemplated as part of the five-day week agreement. These have not been settled with the local miners and we want them settled as soon as possible.

COAL AND STEEL TARGETS

Our aim is an average output for the six months September to April of at least 4,000,000 tons of deep-mined coal a week, and we want as much opencast coal as we can get in addition. That is for the six months; but we have to go on from there and over the years develop greater output as rapidly as we can.

Second only in importance to coal is steel. During the winter months production should be running at an annual rate of 13,500,000 ingot tons, and for 1947 as a whole production should reach 12,500,000 ingot tons. That is about the amount forecast in the Economic Survey. But this is not enough. Certain types of steel particularly are in short supply, and have been acting increasingly as a brake on production in the manufacturing industries. Our target for 1948 is 14,000,000 ingot tons. We believe that this is within, although only just within, the capacity of the industry. It will mean a special effort on the part of all concerned and that effort will be forthcoming.

PRIORITIES IN TRANSPORT

Third, transport. Increased production throws an additional strain on our transport system, and that has been heavily handicapped by depleted rolling stock, lack of repairs and maintenance during the war years. In applying general measures the Government have in the forefront of their mind the need to provide the transport industry with the resources needed to enable it to overtake arrears and meet this additional strain. We must not fail to move all the coal which the miners can produce.

Inevitably this will involve some cutting of the movement of other freight traffic. It will involve cuts in passenger traffic. We are having under very close examination the question of what traffic should have priority at all times, and what traffic should be next in order of acceptance. So long as there is this shortage of wagons some restrictions on movement are necessary.

We are concentrating our efforts, and we have been. I do not want it to be imagined that all these have suddenly been thought of last week.

firms must play their part in reducing the turnaround time of wagons at the terminals.

Transport is the conveyor-belt of industry; it must keep pace with production. I make an appeal here to all transport workers to justify the pride they rightly have in their calling and to repeat now their achievements in the war by making sure that transport does not fail the nation in its need.

HOME-PRODUCED FOOD

STATE AID FOR AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is a great potential dollar-saver. We must produce a great deal more of our food at home to replace imports which we can no longer afford to buy, especially expensive dollar imports. I cannot accept the right hon. gentleman's statement that we have been neglecting agriculture. (Ministerial cheers.) The Government are setting a high target before agriculture—nothing less than an extra £100,000,000-worth of food by 1951-52, an increase of 20 per cent. on present output. I realize that that is a tremendous task. It will involve an immense effort, not only on the part of the agricultural community but of the Government themselves who will have to see that the industry is provided with the tools for the job. (Cheers.)

Much more labour will be needed on the land. Houses, hostels, and the supply of agricultural machinery must be speeded up. Do not let us forget that agriculture is a highly mechanized industry. The maximum supply of feeding-stuffs must be obtained. I do not accept the point about bad buying. We have been doing our utmost to get feeding-stuffs. Our buyers are still business men. There are skilled expert buyers at the Ministry of Food, and they probably know better than the right hon. gentleman the member for West Bristol. We must get our production of beef, bacon, and eggs expanded rapidly; we must remove all hindrances to production; and we must have sufficient man-power. We are depending far too much to-day on prisoner-of-war labour. (Cheers.)

We have suspended the call up of young men from agriculture. But we shall need 100,000 workers, a big capital outlay, and heavy commitments on the part of agricultural producers. The Government will take account of that and the Minister of Agriculture will announce this month the new scales of prices for future production. This will give farmers confidence to embark on expanding production and provide them with the additional resources required. The county and district agricultural committees will be asked to take the lead. I appeal with confidence to the organizations of farmers and workers, and all sections of British agriculture, to renew the spirit, enterprise, and effort which earned it the admiration of all during the war. (Cheers.)

APPEAL TO LAND WORKERS

I am appealing to workers on the land. There must be many thousands of young men and women with inclinations, and often with the upbringing, to fit them for life on the land. We must get the prospects right. We are providing more houses in the rural areas than under any previous programme; hostels, technical education facilities, with chances to improve position, and small-holdings policy for those suitable for and anxious to take up this work. There are big opportunities. We are appealing to women as well, either through direct employment or the Women's Land Army, and we are appealing to men either directly or through the agricultural executive committees. In our new drive for greater production first things must come first. Food is basic, and therefore we must make this appeal to all in agriculture. (Cheers.)

I have spoken of these four basic industries, but what we are asking for is a national effort. We want this effort to run through all industries. Two vital ones are engineering and textiles. Any one who enters the textile industry, which is particularly short of labour, may be sure that he is doing a fine thing for his country, not only for our home supplies of textiles but for exports.

Throughout the years we have been seeking to expand our exports while at the same time

to the side of exports. I am well aware that this will mean hardship to many people, especially to housewives, who have endured, with very great patience, many shortages. (Cheers.) But I am sure that if everybody will tell them that these things are not the wanton act of the Government but are necessary for the country they will take heart. In the economic survey the export target was put at 140 per cent. in volume of 1938 by the end of 1947. Owing to the fuel and weather crisis at the beginning of the year the target cannot be reached, but the measures for the general increase of production and for the redeployment of our forces will have, as one of their principal objects, to get as near that target as possible.

But for 1948 we must raise our sights. Our target will be 140 per cent. of 1938 by the end of the first half, and 160 per cent. by the end of the year. I do not disguise from the House that this will be a very difficult target to reach. But we must strive to get it. (Cheers.) Our great difficulty is going to be the concentration of our exports into those markets which will most assist our balance of payments. If I do not say any more now on this subject I do not want anyone to think that this is anything other than an absolutely vital matter.

If we want to do these things we must ensure that fuel, raw materials, labour, and industrial capacity are made available where they are required. For this we require two things—first, an increase in productivity; secondly, the direction of effort into channels where it will be most fruitful. This will involve an effort by all those engaged in industry, and some sacrifices of individual liberty, although as little as possible. It will involve some sacrifices by both employers and workers.

CONTROL OF LABOUR EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS TO BE DIRECTED

We shall have to ask, or, if necessary, issue directions to, firms to ensure that their capacity is used to produce not those goods which will produce the highest profit but those which are needed in the interests of the national economy. (Ministerial cheers.) We shall have to take some measure of control over the employment of labour. During the war we had to use full powers of direction of labour. It has been the desire of the Government and the country to move as quickly as possible towards restoration of freedom of the individual to undertake the kind of work he prefers. As things have turned out it may be that we have moved too far and too fast in this direction. We propose to reimpose the control over the engagement of labour, which was almost universal during the war but has since been removed from all industries except coal mining, building, and agriculture.

This will enable all workers leaving one job and seeking another to be guided into that class of work on which they can best assist towards overcoming our economic difficulties.

Control of engagement only involves those falling out of employment. To find necessary man-power for essential employment it may be necessary to take steps to limit employment on less essential work. In addition, in order to avoid workers remaining unemployed or taking other unessential work instead of accepting essential employment to which they submitted under the Control of Engagement scheme, it will be necessary to resume to a limited extent the use of powers of direction.

This is not a resumption of the general powers of direction, but an essential supporting measure to enable the control of engagement to be effectively exercised. The Minister of Labour is at this moment discussing the details of the measures to be adopted with the National Joint Advisory Council.

LONGER HOURS

We need not only better-balanced production, but more production. And we must have it quickly, particularly in the most essential industries, even before redeployment of labour and resources can show their full effect. We have therefore decided that as an emergency measure we must ask for longer hours of

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We are concentrating our efforts, and we have been. I do not want it to be imagined that all these have suddenly been thought of last week. I am indicating plans which have been at work, have been developed, and have actually been in force. I want to bring the whole picture together to show the kind of tasks that face the nation.

We want to supply more engines and more wagons for the railways. We shall see that the materials are delivered, and the labour found, to speed up the construction and repair of transport equipment. Traders and industrial

justify the pride they rightly have in their calling and to repeat now their achievements in the war by making sure that transport does not fail the nation in its need.

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Agriculture is a great potential dollar-saver. We must produce a great deal more of our food at home to replace imports which we can no longer afford to buy, especially expensive dollar imports. I cannot accept the right hon. gentleman's statement that we have been neglecting agriculture. (Ministerial cheers.) The Government are setting a high target before agriculture—nothing less than an extra £100,000,000-worth of food by 1951-52, an increase of 20 per cent. on present output. I realize that that is a tremendous task. It will involve an immense effort, not only on the part of the agricultural community but of the Government themselves who will have to see that the industry is provided with the tools for the job. (Cheers.)

Much more labour will be needed on the land. Houses, hostels, and the supply of agricultural machinery must be speeded up. Do not let us forget that agriculture is a highly mechanized industry. The maximum supply of feeding-stuffs must be obtained. I do not accept the point about bad buying. We have been doing our utmost to get feeding-stuffs. Our buyers are still business men. There are skilled expert buyers at the Ministry of Food, and they probably know better than the right hon. gentleman the member for West Bristol. We must get our production of beef, bacon, and eggs expanded rapidly; we must remove all hindrances to production; and we must have sufficient man-power. We are depending far too much to-day on prisoner-of-war labour. (Cheers.)

We have suspended the call up of young men from agriculture. But we shall need 100,000 workers, a big capital outlay, and heavy commitments on the part of agricultural producers. The Government will take account of that and the Minister of Agriculture will announce this month the new scales of prices for future production. This will give farmers confidence to embark on expanding production and provide them with the additional resources required. The county and district agricultural committees will be asked to take the lead. I appeal with confidence to the organizations of farmers and workers, and all sections of British agriculture, to renew the spirit, enterprise, and effort which earned it the admiration of all during the war. (Cheers.)

APPEAL TO LAND WORKERS

I am appealing to workers on the land. There must be many thousands of young men and women with inclinations, and often with the upbringing, to fit them for life on the land. We must get the prospects right. We are providing more houses in the rural areas than under any previous programme; hostels, technical education facilities, with chances to improve position, and small-holdings policy for those suitable for and anxious to take up this work. There are big opportunities. We are appealing to women as well, either through direct employment or the Women's Land Army, and we are appealing to men either directly or through the agricultural executive committees. In our new drive for greater production first things must come first. Food is basic, and therefore we must make this appeal to all in agriculture. (Cheers.)

I have spoken of these four basic industries, but what we are asking for is a national effort. We want this effort to run through all industries. Two vital ones are engineering and textiles. Any one who enters the textile industry, which is particularly short of labour, may be sure that he is doing a fine thing for his country, not only for our home supplies of textiles but for exports.

Throughout the years we have been seeking to expand our exports while at the same time seeking to increase the availability of goods for home consumption. We have sometimes been accused of too great a devotion to exports. I have heard many taunts hurled at the President of the Board of Trade (Sir S. Cripps) about his addiction to austerity. Was my right hon. friend wrong to insist on the importance of exports? (Ministerial cheers.) At times we have been accused of not being active enough in the export drive.

GREATER EXPORT DRIVE

It is obvious that we must lean still further

tell them that these things are not the wanton act of the Government but are necessary for the country they will take heart. In the economic survey the export target was put at 140 per cent. in volume of 1938 by the end of 1947. Owing to the fuel and weather crisis at the beginning of the year the target cannot be reached, but the measures for the general increase of production and for the redeployment of our forces will have, as one of their principal objects, to get as near that target as possible.

But for 1948 we must raise our sights. Our target will be 140 per cent. of 1938 by the end of the first half, and 160 per cent. by the end of the year. I do not disguise from the House that this will be a very difficult target to reach. But we must strive to get it. (Cheers.) Our great difficulty is going to be the concentration of our exports into those markets which will most assist our balance of payments. If I do not say any more now on this subject I do not want anyone to think that this is anything other than an absolutely vital matter.

If we want to do these things we must ensure that fuel, raw materials, labour, and industrial capacity are made available where they are required. For this we require two things—first, an increase in productivity; secondly, the direction of effort into channels where it will be most fruitful. This will involve an effort by all those engaged in industry, and some sacrifices of individual liberty, although as little as possible. It will involve some sacrifices by both employers and workers.

CONTROL OF LABOUR EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS TO BE DIRECTED

We shall have to ask, or, if necessary, issue directions to, firms to ensure that their capacity is used to produce not those goods which will produce the highest profit but those which are needed in the interests of the national economy. (Ministerial cheers.) We shall have to take some measure of control over the employment of labour. During the war we had to use full powers of direction of labour. It has been the desire of the Government and the country to move as quickly as possible towards restoration of freedom of the individual to undertake the kind of work he prefers. As things have turned out it may be that we have moved too far and too fast in this direction. We propose to reimpose the control over the engagement of labour, which was almost universal during the war but has since been removed from all industries except coal mining, building, and agriculture.

This will enable all workers leaving one job and seeking another to be guided into that class of work on which they can best assist towards overcoming our economic difficulties.

Control of engagement only involves those falling out of employment. To find necessary man-power for essential employment it may be necessary to take steps to limit employment on less essential work. In addition, in order to avoid workers remaining unemployed or taking other unessential work instead of accepting essential employment to which they submitted under the Control of Engagement scheme, it will be necessary to resume to a limited extent the use of powers of direction.

This is not a resumption of the general powers of direction, but an essential supporting measure to enable the control of engagement to be effectively exercised. The Minister of Labour is at this moment discussing the details of the measures to be adopted with the National Joint Advisory Council.

LONGER HOURS

We need not only better-balanced production, but more production. And we must have it quickly, particularly in the most essential industries, even before redeployment of labour and resources can show their full effect. We have therefore decided that as an emergency measure we must ask for longer hours of work wherever longer hours of work can contribute to increased production.

What is needed first is a lengthening of the hours of work in those industries which have adequate supplies of raw materials and whose output provides exports or savings in imports or is essential to the expansion of other in-

dustries. I have put to the coalmining industry the proposal that an extra half-hour a day should be worked for a specific period. The Government will at once be making similar proposals to other industries in this category.

Once the desired increase has been obtained in these basic industries the Government will seek a similar contribution from other manufacturing industries which depend on them for their materials and power. The increase in production will also require some increase of hours in transport to enable the additional production to be moved, and to prevent wagons from being left loaded at week-ends. The Minister of Labour is discussing the issues involved in these proposals with the National Joint Advisory Council. But I would like to make it clear now to the House, first, that there is no intention of interfering with the negotiating machinery of the industries concerned and, secondly, that we regard these proposals as emergency proposals to be operated only until such time as we can begin to see our way clear on the economic front.

DUTY OF MANAGEMENT

Management must also play its part. In general—and I say this in all sincerity—management is out to cooperate with the Government in overcoming our economic difficulties. But such cases as there may be of avoidable inefficiency or lack of will to serve the nation's best interest must be dealt with. The Government will not hesitate in such cases to take firm action just as was done on occasion in the war.

Perhaps most important of all is something which lies outside the field of Government and which the Government can only do their best to encourage—that is, good feeling between management and men and a determination to stand together as fellow-workers to give of their joint best. An instrument which, if properly used, can be of great value in this connexion is the Joint Production Committee. The number of these committees has diminished since the end of the war, and the Minister of Labour and National Service, after consultation with the National Joint Advisory Council, is taking steps to stimulate their establishment, especially in essential industries where they do not at present exist.

I have stressed the need for increasing our production at home, but we have also to look overseas. The House had heard with approval the far-reaching plans which the Colonial Secretary had initiated for making available to the world the potential wealth of our African Colonies. These schemes will take time to mature. Similarly the measures which I have outlined for the increase in our production cannot be expected to bear their full fruit immediately. Though not long-range they are at least middle-range plans. I have stressed these positive proposals because I think that in the long run it is to them that we must look for our economic salvation, though some of them will have immediate effect, but they would not be enough to overcome our present difficulties.

DEFENCE CUTS WITHDRAWALS FROM OVERSEA

I now turn to the proposals which we are making for the reduction of expenditure. There is first the very large sum which we are expending in Germany for the feeding of our late enemies. The Foreign Secretary stated on Monday very clearly that what we cannot do when this present scheme runs out is to spend any more dollars for this particular purpose. Therefore it does involve discussions and a review in order to devise other plans. I do not think that I need add anything to his statement.

I deal next with our defence forces. We can find help here in two ways—by reducing numbers and therefore expenditure overseas—(Ministerial cheers); by reducing the total size of the forces at home and overseas, and thereby increasing our labour force at home. At present we have something like 500,000 men and women in the forces overseas. A substantial proportion of this man-power has been needed to meet obligations under international

some 133,000 men from overseas by the end of December, 1947, and to raise the total withdrawals from overseas stations to over 200,000 men by the end of March, 1948. In addition we are now planning to return to their homes before the end of this year some 34,000 non-United Kingdom troops whose cost is being borne by the British Exchequer; and this will yield a further saving.

NO CHANGE IN POLICY

But I must emphasize that, despite this acceleration in the rate of withdrawal from overseas stations and although certain calculated risks are being taken, there is no change in our foreign policy or in the defence policy underlying that foreign policy.

I turn now to the second question of the total strength of the armed forces. In the Defence White Paper it was estimated that between January 1, 1947, and March 31, 1948, the numbers in the forces would be reduced from 1,427,000 to 1,087,000. This estimate was based on certain assumptions about withdrawals from overseas and assumed the fulfilment of a large part of the programme which I have just announced. But after careful review we now consider that the number of men and women likely to be in the forces on March 31, 1948, can be reduced to 1,007,000.

This means that during the 15 months down to March, 1948, the numbers in the forces will have been reduced by some 420,000. That is, from 1,427,000 at the end of December, 1946, to 1,007,000 at the end of March, 1948. But these are net figures and actual releases will be as high as 830,000. In short the three services will lose nearly 60 per cent. of those who were in the forces at the beginning of 1947. This colossal rate of turnover involves the loss of trained men and their replacement by raw recruits. If the efficiency of the fighting services is to be maintained, great efforts must be put into reorganization and training.

"GRADUAL RUN DOWN"

I do not pretend that the Government can contemplate with equanimity the retention in the armed forces of so large a proportion of our manpower. But it will be recognized that we are in a transitional period, in which we are not yet free from obligations incurred during the war and as a direct result of the war—a period when it is not yet possible clearly to discern the shape of things to come, and in which, owing to the large numbers due for demobilization at one time, it is peculiarly difficult to achieve a balance between trained men and trainees. We have planned for the gradual run down of the armed forces. It is very difficult without creating chaos to accelerate this run down.

The Minister of Defence and I are fully conscious of the imperative need to relate our defence policy and the requirements of the armed forces to the hard facts of finance and economics as they are, and as they are likely to be in the years that lie before us.

The House has already been informed that an exhaustive inquiry has been instituted into the whole future of our defence policy and of the shape and size of the armed forces required to implement it. The results of this inquiry are receiving the most careful consideration of the Government. Meanwhile, we shall not relax our efforts to reduce the numbers in the armed forces during the current financial year. I cannot give further figures now.

IMPORT PROGRAMME 25 PER CENT. LIMIT ON FILM EARNINGS

I now come to the import programme. The House was informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on July 3 of the provisional import programme for the year mid-1947 to mid-1948, amounting in all to £1,700,000,000. This programme took account of certain cuts which the Government, in view of the balance of payments prospects at that time, felt obliged to make in the programme. These cuts included some £2,000,000-£3,000,000 through the restriction on imports of newsprint and some £20,000,000 from reduction of consumption of tobacco and the reduction of stocks to match the new consumption level.

The Chancellor also made it clear that we should not be able to afford all the imports of foodstuffs for which we had hoped, and

it clear to the House that this import programme was provisional, and that further cuts might well be necessary.

The Government have now decided that the following further cuts must be made:—

The House recently gave the Chancellor powers to levy an import duty on films. The Government propose to limit remittances on foreign films to not more than 25 per cent. of the earnings of these films. (General cheers.)

PETROL AND FOREIGN TRAVEL

In his statement on June 30 the Chancellor said that we should reduce our imports of petrol. A reduction of 500,000 tons would save approximately £4,000,000. We intend to effect at least this saving. This will necessitate the reduction of the basic allowance for private motorists by one-third, and a reduction of 10 per cent. in supplementary allowances.

We are anxious not to impede the movement of merchandise by road, but some reduction in issues of petrol for the use of commercial vehicles is necessary—if only as one method of ensuring that the coupons issued for this purpose are really used for the purpose for which they are intended. (Ministerial cheers.) Issues for commercial vehicles will therefore be cut by 10 per cent. All these cuts come into operation on October 1 next. Maximum economies will also be made in the use of petrol by the fighting services. (Ministerial cheers.)

The Chancellor proposes, as from October 1 next, to reduce the foreign travel allowance from £75 for 12 months to £35 for 14 months, with a corresponding reduction in the allowance for children to £20. Allowances for business men travelling abroad will also be more strictly limited. (Ministerial cheers.)

There will be a reduction amounting in value to £5,000,000 in imports of miscellaneous consumer goods of luxury type. It will be necessary to apportion this cut with great care to avoid damaging the economies of other countries, and their power to take our exports and to give us increased supplies of essential goods.

FOOD PURCHASES

The field for saving in imports of raw materials is very small, if damage is not to be done to our productive effort and, indeed, to our whole economy. Some saving must, however, be achieved under this head. We propose to cut imports of timber by £10,000,000. (Cries of "Oh!") The House will realize that this represents a cut not on the very low level of supplies we were able to import until recently, but on the considerably higher level which we had been hoping to reach. We also hope it may be possible to make some saving by postponing part of our cotton purchases.

Finally, the programme of the Ministry of Food. From what I have said already about home food production the House will have realized that there can be no cut in imports of feeding-stuffs, which must be expanded as increased supplies become available.

We have decided that we must make an immediate substantial reduction in our purchases of food from hard currency sources. We have, therefore, given instructions which will make a reduction in the rate of these purchases of the order of £12,000,000 a month. Such a reduced rate of buying from hard currency sources will mean that we shall confine our buying from those sources to essential foods. Our bulk long-term contracts for staple foodstuffs from these areas will not, of course, be interfered with. For the present we must confine ourselves largely to such purchases so far as hard currency sources are concerned.

MAINTAINING THE RATION

The House will wish to know what effect this decision will be likely to have upon our level of distribution of foodstuffs in the coming months. That will depend upon a number of factors. In the first place, it will depend on the degree to which we are able to buy our foodstuffs from soft currency sources. In so far as these soft currency sources are—all things considered—more favourable from the commercial point of view, the question of discrimination under Article 9 of the loan agreement will not of course arise.

Where, however, such purchases cannot be justified under the terms of the loan agreement, we shall be exploring the situation immediately with the United States Government

Once the desired increase has been obtained in these basic industries the Government will seek a similar contribution from other manufacturing industries which depend on them for their materials and power. The increase in production will also require some increase of hours in transport to enable the additional production to be moved, and to prevent wagons from being left loaded at week-ends. The Minister of Labour is discussing the issues involved in these proposals with the National Joint Advisory Council. But I would like to make it clear now to the House, first, that there is no intention of interfering with the negotiating machinery of the industries concerned and, secondly, that we regard these proposals as emergency proposals to be operated only until such time as we can begin to see our way clear on the economic front.

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Perhaps most important of all is something which lies outside the field of Government and which the Government can only do their best to encourage—that is, good feeling between management and men and a determination to stand together as fellow-workers to give of their joint best. An instrument which, if properly used, can be of great value in this connexion is the Joint Production Committee. The number of these committees has diminished since the end of the war, and the Minister of Labour and National Service, after consultation with the National Joint Advisory Council, is taking steps to stimulate their establishment, especially in essential industries where they do not at present exist.

I have stressed the need for increasing our production at home, but we have also to look overseas. The House had heard with approval the far-reaching plans which the Colonial Secretary had initiated for making available to the world the potential wealth of our African Colonies. These schemes will take time to mature. Similarly the measures which I have outlined for the increase in our production cannot be expected to bear their full fruit immediately. Though not long-range they are at least middle-range plans. I have stressed these positive proposals because I think that in the long run it is to them that we must look for our economic salvation, though some of them will have immediate effect, but they would not be enough to overcome our present difficulties.

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I deal next with our defence forces. We can find help here in two ways—by reducing numbers and therefore expenditure overseas—(Ministerial cheers); by reducing the total size of the forces at home and overseas, and thereby increasing our labour force at home. At present we have something like 500,000 men and women in the forces overseas. A substantial proportion of this man-power has been needed to meet obligations under international agreements and in clearing up the position left by the war; a transitional requirement.

The Defence White Paper presented in February of this year was based upon the assumption that during 1947-48 it would be possible to make substantial reductions in the level of our forces overseas. It emphasized, moreover, that the review of our commitments and of the numbers required to sustain those commitments at any particular time was a continuing process which would, it was hoped, result in successive decreases in the numbers of men required. We now expect to withdraw

before the end of this year, and the United Kingdom troops whose cost is being borne by the British Exchequer; and this will yield a further saving.

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The Chancellor also made it clear that we should not be able to afford all the imports of foodstuffs for which we had hoped, and the cut which we actually made in our original programme under this head amounted to some £50,000,000. Both the Chancellor and the Lord President, in his speech on July 8, made

powers to levy an import duty on films. The Government propose to limit remittances on foreign films to not more than 25 per cent. of the earnings of these films. (General cheers.)

PETROL AND FOREIGN TRAVEL

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We are anxious not to impede the movement of merchandise by road, but some reduction in issues of petrol for the use of commercial vehicles is necessary—if only as one method of ensuring that the coupons issued for this purpose are really used for the purpose for which they are intended. (Ministerial cheers.) Issues for commercial vehicles will therefore be cut by 10 per cent. All these cuts come into operation on October 1 next. Maximum economies will also be made in the use of petrol by the fighting services. (Ministerial cheers.)

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FOOD PURCHASES

The field for saving in imports of raw materials is very small, if damage is not to be done to our productive effort and, indeed, to our whole economy. Some saving must, however, be achieved under this head. We propose to cut imports of timber by £10,000,000. (Cries of "Oh!") The House will realize that this represents a cut not on the very low level of supplies we were able to import until recently, but on the considerably higher level which we had been hoping to reach. We also hope it may be possible to make some saving by postponing part of our cotton purchases.

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We have decided that we must make an immediate substantial reduction in our purchases of food from hard currency sources. We have, therefore, given instructions which will make a reduction in the rate of these purchases of the order of £12,000,000 a month. Such a reduced rate of buying from hard currency sources will mean that we shall confine our buying from those sources to essential foods. Our bulk long-term contracts for staple foodstuffs from these areas will not, of course, be interfered with. For the present we must confine ourselves largely to such purchases so far as hard currency sources are concerned.

MAINTAINING THE RATION

The House will wish to know what effect this decision will be likely to have upon our level of distribution of foodstuffs in the coming months. That will depend upon a number of factors. In the first place, it will depend on the degree to which we are able to buy our foodstuffs from soft currency sources. In so far as these soft currency sources are—all things considered—more favourable from the commercial point of view, the question of discrimination under Article 9 of the loan agreement will not of course arise.

Where, however, such purchases cannot be justified under the terms of the loan agreement, we shall be exploring the situation immediately with the United States Government to see what steps can be taken to enable us to obtain supplies from soft currency areas. The second factor which will determine the effect of the Government's decision upon our rations is naturally that of how long this policy will have to be maintained.

It will be necessary at once to increase the points value of some of the non-basic foods, for they are largely distributed under the points scheme. As to basic rations, we shall do everything in our power to maintain them.

though we shall not take risks with our stocks. If rations have to be reduced then the Government will introduce a rationing scheme designed to give preference to heavy manual workers. (Ministerial cheers.) Restrictions on consumption in restaurants and hotels will in any case be imposed forthwith. (Renewed Ministerial cheers.)

INFLATION DANGER TIGHTER CONTROL OF INVESTMENT

Obviously some of the measures will restrict the amount of goods and services available for home consumption without any corresponding reduction in purchasing power, thus increasing inflationary pressure. We shall therefore have to take such action as may prove necessary to prevent the unstable purchasing power from creating an unbalanced situation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will be dealing with this aspect later in the debate.

First there must be a tighter control over both public and private capital investment. We must concentrate on projects which will give quick returns in additional exports or in strengthening our industrial structure. Projects in themselves desirable will have to be postponed while such investments as the re-equipment of our agriculture, power supply, and mines must take precedence. Work on the Severn Bridge is not being put in hand at the present time. All that is being done is to take borings to see what can be done in future.

There will have to be redeployment and re-timing, including some postponement, of our general building programme, but this must be done so as to give first place to the building of houses for miners, agricultural workers, and other key workers.

I would appeal to the workers in all industries not to press at this time for increases of wages, or changes in conditions which have a similar effect, especially where these increases are put forward on the basis of maintaining differentials between various categories of workers on the basis of former practice. Equally I would appeal to employers not to seek to tempt workers away from essential work by offering higher inducements to work in less essential industries, thus creating a vicious spiral.

PRICES AND SAVINGS

I would appeal to all those in control of industry and commerce to refrain from declaring high dividends. (Ministerial cheers.) It must be understood by all that if we wish to maintain our position in the export markets of the world we must keep prices at a reasonable level.

Finally, I would appeal to everyone to support to the utmost the savings movement, which has been such a vital element in preserving an equilibrium between purchasing power and available commodities.

In all these matters public opinion can do a great deal. I am reminded that there is a section of the public which renders no useful purpose. Its members contrive to make money in all kinds of dubious ways. We shall take all action open to us against these—I think they call themselves—"spivs" and other drones, but public opinion can here be a very powerful weapon. We must also try to regain the habit of avoiding unnecessary waste and of collecting salvage which we developed so much in the war. I would appeal here to local authorities to be active in this.

Proceeding, Mr. Attlee said he had endeavoured to set out the position of the nation fully and fairly, not concealing anything or glossing over dangerous features. No one not blinded by partisanship would deny that the major causes were outside the control of this country or of any Government. (Opposition cries of "Oh!") Whether the Government of this country had been Conservative or Labour it would have been faced with this difficulty. (Ministerial cheers.) No doubt this Government, like all Governments, had made mistakes—(Opposition cheers)—but if they had made none we should not have escaped from these difficulties, and had they followed proposals put forward by the Opposition our

tion that had the Labour Party not fulfilled their election programme, but followed a Conservative instead of a Labour policy, the country would have now been free from these anxieties. (Ministerial cheers.) Nor did he admit that to unite the nation they must now follow the Conservative policy, whatever that might be. (Ministerial laughter.)

The policy of the Government was not based on ideological principles, but on principles which he believed to be right and sound, and they would continue to pursue their policy.

He was glad to note that the Opposition would support the efforts which the nation must now make. That was in line with our tradition. He agreed that no question of Coalition arose. (Opposition cheers.) That had not been sponsored from either the Labour or Conservative side, but by some busy match-makers in the Press. When in the war the Labour Party decided to support a Conservative Government, it did not demand as the price of its assistance that certain industries should be nationalized. Equally he was sure that Conservatives would not expect a Labour Government to adopt capitalist principles.

"THIS IS YOUR FIGHT" APPEAL TO THE NATION

I make my appeal to all sections of the nation (the right hon. gentleman continued), to employers and workers, to women as well as men, to consumers as well as producers. I say to one and all: "This is your fight." We are a proud nation with a great history of achievement through the centuries. We have made a unique contribution to the world and that contribution is not yet ended. Circumstances have placed us in a position of peril and anxiety. We must fight to regain our economic freedom just as we fought to preserve our political freedom.

In the uphill struggle before us we did not stand alone. Apart from the sympathetic interest which the United States Administration had evinced, we had kept our great partners in the British Commonwealth fully informed of our position and of the lines of action on which we should be operating. As in the war, the free peoples of the Commonwealth countries had shown signal evidence of their wish to help us.

In a large-hearted, indeed a heavy, effort Canada granted us a credit of £300,000,000 in the spring of last year in addition to immense financial help previously given and the Governments of Australia and New Zealand were cancelling part of the sterling balances which had accumulated under war conditions. South Africa was also searching for ways of coming to our help.

They were asking the colonies to help us by restricting to essentials their claims on our foreign exchange resources which are, of course, also theirs.

HARD WORK AND SACRIFICE

But I am speaking first to our own people. I am to-day appealing to all the people of this country to cooperate whole-heartedly with the Government just as they did in the war. To win through will require the same qualities displayed during those long years. (Opposition cries of: "And good leadership.") There will be hardships and a demand for hard work and self-sacrifice which will, I am certain, be forthcoming. We shall seek to deal as fairly as we can with all sections of the community—seek equality of sacrifice, seek, as in war, to protect the weak and the children. I cannot tell the nation how long it will be before victory will be achieved, but I am sure of victory. (Ministerial cheers.)

This is an economic debate, but I should do a grave disservice to the country did I not stress the fact that we need more than an economic impulse behind this effort. I am a profound believer in the British way of life, in our combination of order and liberty, in our respect for justice and for moral values. These are the things that unite us, though we may differ in the ways in which we seek to maintain them. We have, to-day, to get into the hearts of all our people the sense of urgency, so that they may do whatever tasks fall to them and may endure what hardships have come to them, with a consciousness of the great issue at stake.

We dedicated the other day in Westminster

workers. (Ministerial cheers.) Restrictions on consumption in restaurants and hotels will in any case be imposed forthwith. (Renewed Ministerial cheers.)

INFLATION DANGER

TIGHTER CONTROL OF INVESTMENT

Obviously some of the measures will restrict the amount of goods and services available for home consumption without any corresponding reduction in purchasing power, thus increasing inflationary pressure. We shall therefore have to take such action as may prove necessary to prevent the unstable purchasing power from creating an unbalanced situation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will be dealing with this aspect later in the debate.

First there must be a tighter control over both public and private capital investment. We must concentrate on projects which will give quick returns in additional exports or in strengthening our industrial structure. Projects in themselves desirable will have to be postponed while such investments as the re-equipment of our agriculture, power supply, and mines must take precedence. Work on the Severn Bridge is not being put in hand at the present time. All that is being done is to take borings to see what can be done in future.

There will have to be redeployment and re-timing, including some postponement, of our general building programme, but this must be done so as to give first place to the building of houses for miners, agricultural workers, and other key workers.

I would appeal to the workers in all industries not to press at this time for increases of wages, or changes in conditions which have a similar effect, especially where these increases are put forward on the basis of maintaining differentials between various categories of workers on the basis of former practice. Equally I would appeal to employers not to seek to tempt workers away from essential work by offering higher inducements to work in less essential industries, thus creating a vicious spiral.

PRICES AND SAVINGS

I would appeal to all those in control of industry and commerce to refrain from declaring high dividends. (Ministerial cheers.) It must be understood by all that if we wish to maintain our position in the export markets of the world we must keep prices at a reasonable level.

Finally, I would appeal to everyone to support to the utmost the savings movement, which has been such a vital element in preserving an equilibrium between purchasing power and available commodities.

In all these matters public opinion can do a great deal. I am reminded that there is a section of the public which renders no useful purpose. Its members contrive to make money in all kinds of dubious ways. We shall take all action open to us against these—I think they call themselves—"spivs" and other drones, but public opinion can here be a very powerful weapon. We must also try to regain the habit of avoiding unnecessary waste and of collecting salvage which we developed so much in the war. I would appeal here to local authorities to be active in this.

Proceeding, Mr. Attlee said he had endeavoured to set out the position of the nation fully and fairly, not concealing anything or glossing over dangerous features. No one not blinded by partisanship would deny that the major causes were outside the control of this country or of any Government. (Opposition cries of "Oh!") Whether the Government of this country had been Conservative or Labour it would have been faced with this difficulty. (Ministerial cheers.) No doubt this Government, like all Governments, had made mistakes—(Opposition cheers)—but if they had made none we should not have escaped from these difficulties, and had they followed proposals put forward by the Opposition our state would have been worse, not better. (Ministerial cheers.)

NO COALITION

He would welcome any constructive suggestions and not resent any reasonable criticisms, but he was not disposed to accept the proposi-

tion that to unite the nation they must now follow the Conservative policy, whatever that might be. (Ministerial laughter.)

The policy of the Government was not based on ideological principles, but on principles which he believed to be right and sound, and they would continue to pursue their policy.

He was glad to note that the Opposition would support the efforts which the nation must now make. That was in line with our tradition. He agreed that no question of Coalition arose. (Opposition cheers.) That had not been sponsored from either the Labour or Conservative side, but by some busy match-makers in the Press. When in the war the Labour Party decided to support a Conservative Government, it did not demand as the price of its assistance that certain industries should be nationalized. Equally he was sure that Conservatives would not expect a Labour Government to adopt capitalist principles.

"THIS IS YOUR FIGHT"

APPEAL TO THE NATION

I make my appeal to all sections of the nation (the right hon. gentleman continued), to employers and workers, to women as well as men, to consumers as well as producers. I say to one and all: "This is your fight." We are a proud nation with a great history of achievement through the centuries. We have made a unique contribution to the world and that contribution is not yet ended. Circumstances have placed us in a position of peril and anxiety. We must fight to regain our economic freedom just as we fought to preserve our political freedom.

In the uphill struggle before us we did not stand alone. Apart from the sympathetic interest which the United States Administration had evinced, we had kept our great partners in the British Commonwealth fully informed of our position and of the lines of action on which we should be operating. As in the war, the free peoples of the Commonwealth countries had shown signal evidence of their wish to help us.

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We dedicated the other day in Westminster Abbey by a most moving service the young men who fell in the Battle of Britain. In 1940 we were delivered from mortal peril by the courage, skill, and self-sacrifice of a few. To-day we are engaged in another Battle of Britain. This battle cannot be won by the few. It demands a united effort by the whole nation. I am confident that this united effort will be forthcoming and that we shall again conquer. (Ministerial cheers.)

Hamburger Freie Presse

Nr 63

Rücktritt Attlees möglich!

Grundlegender Regierungsumbau als Folge der Wirtschaftskrise?

London, 8. August (dpd-Reuter).

Die Ereignisse der letzten 24 Stunden haben die Stellung der Labour-Regierung ernsthaft erschüttert, schreibt Reuters politischer Korrespondent.

Die Parlamentsfraktion der Labour-Party in Stärke von fast 400 Mann wird am kommenden Montag auf Forderung einer Labour-Gruppe zusammentreten, die befürchtet, daß die Regierungsmaßnahmen gegen die Krise nicht ausreichend seien, um das wirtschaftliche Gleichgewicht des Landes wiederherzustellen.

Kreise, die sich niemals Spekulationen über die Notwendigkeit eines Führungswechsels inner-

halb der Labour-Party hingegeben haben, so schreibt Reuters politischer Korrespondent, erklären nunmehr, daß eine umfassende Kabinetts-umbildung notwendig sein werde.

In einem gewissen Umfang ist hierbei auch die persönliche Stellung von Premierminister Attlee Gegenstand der Erörterung. Wenn Attlee, dessen Selbstlosigkeit und Rechtschaffenheit allgemein geachtet werden, sich entscheiden sollte, seine gegenwärtige Stellung aufzugeben, dann würde sich die Labour-Party vor das schwierige Problem gestellt sehen, einen Nachfolger für ihn zu

finden. Ob hierbei die Wahl auf Außenminister Bevin, Lordpräsident Morrison, Schatzkanzler Dalton oder den Handelsminister Sir Stafford Cripps fallen würde, ist nicht vorauszusehen.

Die Labour-Regierung hat aber nicht nur mit Opposition aus ihren eigenen Reihen fertig zu werden, sie muß auch dem Angriff begegnen, der von der konservativen Opposition im Unterhaus gegen sie vorgetragen wird. Die Konservativen sind entschlossen, die Vorlage über ein neues Arbeitsgesetz zu Fall zu bringen. Die Opposition bezeichnet diese Vollmachten als „totalitäre Machtbestrebungen“.

Attlees Kampfprogramm gegen die Wirtschaftskrise

Die Dollar-Anleihe bis Ende Oktober aufgezehrt? / Kürzung der englischen Rationen in Sicht?

London, 7. August (dpd-Reuter).

Die Maßnahmen der britischen Regierung zur Überwindung der Wirtschaftskrise wurden von Premierminister Attlee im Unterhaus bekanntgegeben. Neben einer zusätzlichen Herabsetzung der Truppenstärke um 80.000 Mann bis Ende März sind Kürzungen in der Lebensmitteleinfuhr und eine Verlängerung der Arbeitszeit in wichtigen Industrien vorgesehen.

Der Premierminister bestätigte im einzelnen, daß die Dollaranleihe von 1946 bis Ende des laufenden Jahres erschöpft sein werde. Er führte die Zuspitzung der wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse auf Umstände wie die langsame Erholung Europas, die schwerwiegenden Verpflichtungen Großbritanniens in Übersee und die Verlängerung dieser Verpflichtungen zurück, die sich dem britischen Einfluß entzogen. Die Pläne zur Überwindung der Unterbilanz im Außenhandel (im Vorjahre 400.000.000 Pfund, im laufenden Jahr bei einem Andauern der jetzigen Lage wahrscheinlich 700.000.000 Pfund) wolle Großbritannien nicht auf der Voraussetzung aufbauen, daß der Marshall-Plan eine neue Dollarquelle erschließe.

In den einzelnen Punkten des Regierungsprogramms werden eine Verlängerung der Arbeitszeit im Bergbau um eine halbe Stunde bei Beibehaltung der Fünftage-Woche, eine Ausdehnung der Arbeitszeit in den wichtigen Industrien und im Transportwesen, eine Erhöhung der Kohlen- und der Stahlproduktion (auf 13,5 Millionen Tonnen Jahresdurchschnitt) und eine Einschränkung des Güter- und Passagierverkehrs zugunsten des Kohlentransports angekündigt. Mit allen diesen Maßnahmen strebt die Regierung eine Erhöhung des Exports bis zu 160 Prozent der Ausfuhr von 1938 an. Mit den Notmaßnahmen für die Industrie wird auch eine Regulierung des Arbeitsmarktes verbunden sein, die Opfer an persönlicher Freiheit mit sich bringen wird. Der Termin für das Inkrafttreten aller Beschlüsse ist der 1. Oktober.

Gleichzeitig mit der Steigerung der Eigenzeugung und des Exports soll auch eine erhebliche Einschränkung der Einfuhren angestrebt werden. Attlee bereitete die britische Öffentlichkeit darauf vor, daß eine Kürzung der Rationen nötig werden könnte.

Den Ernst der Lage, der alle diese Eingriffe notwendig macht, unterstrich Attlee durch einen Vergleich mit der „Schlacht um Großbritannien“ im kritischen Stadium des Krieges.

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Eden forderte, die Regierung müsse ihre Einwilligung geben, daß das Unterhaus in einigen Wochen von den Parlamentsferien zu einer erneuten Beratung über die Lage einberufen werde.

Am Freitag ergriff der Oppositionsführer Winston Churchill das Wort. Er beschuldigte die britische Regierung, einen „Blanko-Scheck“ zwecks Ausübung eines totalen Regimes“ zu verlangen. Churchill sprach im Anschluß an Lordpräsident Morrison, der das Wirtschafts-gesetz über Güterversorgung und Lenkung der Arbeitskraft vorgelegt hatte. Das Gesetz soll der Regierung die Möglichkeit geben, der augenblicklichen Wirtschaftskrise zu begegnen. Sowohl die Konservativen wie auch die Liberalen hatten Entschlüssen eingebracht, in denen die Gesetzesvorlage abgelehnt wird, die der Regierung Vollmacht gibt, die Arbeitskräfte zu lenken, unfähige Betriebsleitungen von ihren Posten zu entbinden, Bestimmungen über Geldanlagen zu treffen.

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Mit 251 gegen 148 Stimmen wurde der Antrag der Konservativen auf Ablehnung des Gesetzesvorschlages überstimmt. Die dritte Lesung findet am Montag statt. Anschließend wird die Gesetzesvorlage dem Oberhaus zugeleitet.

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Im Anschluß an die Rede Attlees erklärte Schatzkanzler Dalton, daß die amerikanische Anleihe über ein Jahr den „schweren Sturm“ abgehalten habe, dem Großbritannien sich jetzt gegenübersehe. Die Höhe der Anleihe reiche aber für den Fall nicht aus, daß eine ungünstige Wendung in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung eintreten würde. Diese Wendung im Gang der Ereignisse sei nun eingetreten. Nach Ansicht Daltons besteht die Möglichkeit, daß die amerikanische Anleihe bereits im Oktober völlig abgehoben ist.

Das von Attlee bekanntgegebene Programm werde eine jährliche Einsparung von 200 Millionen Pfund Sterling gegenüber dem diesjährigen Fehlbetrag von 600 Millionen Pfund mit sich bringen. Außerdem kämen noch Einsparungen in Deutschland hinzu.

Scharfe Angriffe Churchills gegen Attlee

Als „unzulänglich und enttäuschend“ bezeichnete der Vorgänger Daltons im Amt des Schatzkanzlers, Sir John Anderson, im weiteren Verlauf der Debatte die von Premierminister Attlee angekündigten Maßnahmen. Die wirtschaftliche Lage Großbritanniens sei durch verschiedene Maßnahmen der britischen Regierung verschlechtert worden. Die amerikanische Anleihe sei eine „gigantische Spende“ gewesen. Die „schlecht überlegten“ Nationalisierungsmaßnahmen hätten nicht zur Erleichterung der gegenwärtigen Situation beigetragen. Im Anschluß an die Rede Andersons beschuldigte der

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„Man verlangt von uns eine Blankovollmacht für eine totalitäre Regierung, denn das ist die britische Regierung“, fügte Churchill unter dem Beifall der Opposition hinzu.

In einem scharfen persönlichen Angriff auf Attlee stellte Churchill die Frage: „Wer wird denn diese Machtbefugnisse ausnutzen? Nicht nur der Ministerpräsident, der sich immer mehr wie ein Passagier auf einem Vergnügungsdampfer zu fühlen scheint.“ Die Minister der Attlee-Regierung seien Männer, die bereit sind, das Wohl ihrer Partei stets vor das der Nation zu stellen. Attlee habe an den „Geist von Dünkirchen“ appelliert, um der drohenden Dollar-knappheit Herr zu werden, die aus der schnellen Verausgabung der Dollaranleihe und der Unterproduktion der englischen Industrie heraus entstanden sei. „Was würde Dünkirchen gewesen sein, wenn die kleinen Boote nur Gewerkschaftsmitglieder aufgenommen und man gesagt hätte, daß wir uns um die übrigen nicht eine Bohne kümmern.“

„Worte, die Hitler gebrauchte“

Die Einstellung der Regierung faßte zum Schluß Innenminister Chuter Ede in die Worte zusammen, die Lage erfordere es, „wirksam,

drastisch und schnell zu handeln“. Dieser Satz brachte ihm den Zwischenruf Churchills ein: „Das sind genau die Worte, die Hitler gebrauchte“. Worauf der Innenminister die Verantwortlichkeit der Regierung gegenüber dem Unterhause betonte.

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Attlee
P. Clement

00740 0077 BEC
The Manchester Guardian
31465 16. Aug. 47

Mr. Attlee and India

During the past century and a half many Englishmen have found the chief scope for their creative zeal in India. Some have left names still venerated in India though never famous in their own country and now almost forgotten. Lord Ripon, the Liberal Viceroy, is an example. It may prove that in the long run and distant future Mr. Attlee's fame will be chiefly remembered as the Prime Minister who brought peace between Great Britain and India; and what happier fame could any man desire? Yesterday's tributes to him by Indian leaders will have given much sincere pleasure in this country. Mr. Attlee's statecraft in the present settlement was no brilliant improvisation, the result of the impact of a fresh mind on a stale problem, but was the culmination of many years devoted to Indian affairs, beginning with his membership of the Simon Commission. Principle joined with caution resulted in the advance, slow but continuous, to the end reached yesterday. The spectacle of a long work thus triumphantly crowned will doubtless fortify Mr. Attlee amid his present difficulties.

Attlee
P. Clement

00740 0079 BEC
Hamburger Freie Presse

№ 66

20. Aug. 1947

Rücktritt Attlees bevorstehend?

Bevin Premier? Dalton Außenminister? Cripps Finanzminister?

London, 20. August (ap).

Wie die „Daily Mail“ am Dienstagabend berichtet, hat Ministerpräsident Attlee seinen engsten Mitarbeitern in der Regierung erklärt, er beabsichtige aus Gesundheitsrücksichten sein Amt in nächster Zukunft niederzulegen.

Obwohl Ministerpräsident Attlee wegen seiner Maßnahmen zur Überwindung der britischen Wirtschaftskrise von einem großen Teil seiner eigenen Partei angegriffen wurde, so stellt doch der Bericht der „Daily Mail“, der in der Mittwochmorgen-Ausgabe unter großen Schlagzeilen erscheint, den ersten ausdrücklichen Hinweis auf den bevorstehenden Rücktritt des Kabinettschefs dar.

Broadbent schreibt, Attlee habe sich am Sonntag, als die Sondersitzung des Kabinetts stattfand, einverstanden erklärt, das Amt so lange weiterzuführen, bis die anglo-amerikanischen Anleiheverhandlungen in Washington den kritischen Punkt überwunden haben.

Falls Bevin Ministerpräsident wird, so meint die „Daily Mail“, wird Finanzminister Hugh Dalton voraussichtlich Außenminister werden. Sir Stafford Cripps, der jetzige Handelsminister, sei bereits als Nachfolger Daltons vorgesehen.

Broadbent berichtet weiter: „Attlees Gesundheit hat in letzter Zeit gelitten. Wenn er auch vielfach andere Politiker mit seiner Vertretung beauftragte, so hat er doch stets darauf bestan-

den, ein gewaltiges Arbeitspensum selbst zu erledigen.

Zweifelloos hat der augenblickliche Hader innerhalb der Labour Party und sein Unvermögen, die „Rebellen“ in den letzten drei Wochen zu beschwichtigen, Attlee in seinem Entschluß bestärkt, dem Rate seines Arztes zu folgen und seine Gesundheit zu schonen.“

Mit der Neubesetzung des Premierministerpostens, die laut Angaben vom gestrigen Abend für Anfang September zu erwarten ist, wird eine Umbesetzung der Kabinettsposten verbunden sein. Handelsminister Sir Stafford Cripps wird bereits als neuer Finanzminister erwähnt.

Wenn die Ereignisse der nächsten 14 Tage die Berufung von Sir Stafford Cripps in das Schatzamt bestätigen sollten, wäre für Hugh Dalton der Weg zu Bevins Platz im Außenministerium frei.

Die englisch-amerikanischen Anleihe-Verhandlungen

Washington, 19. August (ap).

Zu Beginn der anglo-amerikanischen Konferenz über die Dollaranleihe für England bat der amerikanische Finanzminister John Snyder den britischen Delegiertenführer Sir Wilfred Eady, einen Bericht über die britische Wirtschaftslage zu geben. Anschließend gab das amerikanische Finanzministerium nur eine kurze Verlautbarung heraus, worin ganz kurz der Zweck der Verhandlungen berührt wird, nämlich eine Locke-

rung der britischen Verpflichtungen, die sich aus dem Anleihevertrag ergeben.

Marshall-Plan vordringlich!

New York, 17. August (dpd-Reuter)

„Eine neue Dollar-Anleihe für Großbritannien steht überhaupt nicht zur Debatte“, erklärte der Leiter der britischen Finanzdelegation, Sir Wilfred Eady, am Sonntag bei seiner Ankunft auf dem New Yorker Flughafen. Die britische Delegation wird mit amerikanischen Beamten über eine Revision des jetzigen britisch-amerikanischen Anleihevertrages verhandeln. Er fügte hinzu, daß der Marshall-Plan für den europäischen Wiederaufbau auf der Tagesordnung der Verhandlungen steht und daß seine Delegation auch mit Vertretern der amerikanischen Filmindustrie wegen der neuen britischen Filmsteuer Besprechungen abhalten will.

Von britischer Seite wird das Thema der Washingtoner Finanzberatungen in folgender Weise zusammengefaßt:

Ist Großbritannien ein Sonderfall, wie Präsident Truman und die amerikanische Regierung im Jahre 1945 übereinstimmend erklärten? Oder muß Großbritannien in der Schlange der Nationen, die auf Hilfe im Rahmen des Marshall-Plans rechnen, warten, bis es an die Reihe kommt? Werde die Vereinigten Staaten Großbritannien keinen Vorrang einräumen, obwohl es immer mehr dem Rand des Bankrotts zutreibt?

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

Attlee
P. Clement

00740 0081 BEC

Hamb. Allgemeine Zeitung

Nr. 71

- 5. Sep. 1947

- Neue Gerüchte um Attlee

London, 5. 9. (dpd-Reuter). Die Gerüchte über einen bevorstehenden Rücktritt des Premierministers Attlee aus Gesundheitsrücksichten werden trotz des amtlichen Dementis von dem Korrespondenten des konservativen „Daily Graphic“ noch immer als begründet bezeichnet. Wie er erklärt, soll Bevin für den Fall, daß er das Amt des Premierministers übernehmen sollte, bedeutet haben, daß er auch die Geschäfte des Außenministers bis zum Abschluß der Londoner Außenministerkonferenz weiterführen will.

00740 0082 BEC
The Manchester Guardian
No 31485 9. Sept. 47

USE OF GERMAN PRISONERS

Mr. Attlee's Defence

Correspondence between the Prime Minister and Mr. Victor Gollancz, chairman of Save Europe Now, about the repatriation of German prisoners of war has now been published.

On August 8, the Save Europe Now organisation sent to the Prime Minister a memorial, signed by 2,000 leading citizens, praying for an earlier repatriation of prisoners of war from this country and the Middle East. In a reply dated August 27, the Prime Minister wrote:

Our general attitude on this whole question is that we wish to arrange for the return of all prisoners of war to Germany as soon as this is possible, and meanwhile to give them reasonable conditions of life and amenities here and in the Middle East. I sympathise with the human considerations which are put forward in the memorial, but I cannot share the view that the retention of German prisoners of war in foreign countries for labour purposes is inequitable, when it is recalled that this is one of the only practical means by which Germany can make any reparation for the loss and destruction which German aggression has brought on so many countries of Europe.

I need not emphasise the importance of the work being carried out by German prisoners of war in the United Kingdom, particularly in agriculture. And, other reasons apart, difficulties of transport would in any event have made it impossible to achieve a much higher rate of repatriation.

We are satisfied that the material conditions in which the prisoners of war work in this country and in the Middle East are entirely adequate and that all reasonable freedom and amenities are available.

I scarcely think that it would serve any practical purpose to try to secure international agreement on the completion of repatriation by a date earlier than the end of 1948. The Control Council in Berlin have only just received plans for the repatriation of prisoners from the Powers who hold them, and even if the other Powers agreed to an earlier date, which seems most unlikely, the change in plan might even hold up the programmes which are now in course of preparation.

This does not, of course, preclude us from considering whether we can speed up repatriation from the United Kingdom, and we are, in fact, continually exploring this possibility. I cannot make any promises at this stage, and it would be wrong to give the prisoners the impression that they could hope for a change in our present

programme, particularly now that our need for agricultural man-power has so greatly increased and while transport difficulties remain as acute as ever. However, the completion of this year's harvest will naturally give us the opportunity to review the requirements of prisoner-of-war labour in the ensuing months.

"ACCIDENT OF CAPTURE"

In his reply, dated September 1, Mr. Gollancz took up the Prime Minister's point about the reparations aspect of P.O.W. labour.

What is so gravely objectionable (he wrote) is that particular Germans are being penalised owing to the mere accident of capture. Surely any reparations which may be considered desirable should fall on the German people as a whole. How can it be right that a man (and his family) should have to endure this special suffering year after year just because we happened to capture him? This is the consideration, I am certain, which weighs with the extraordinarily distinguished list of 2,000 leading citizens who signed the memorial to you.

I recall a scene a week or so ago in a miserable little shack on the outskirts of Düsseldorf. A woman of 45, who was terribly thin and ill and looked 80, told me that her son was a prisoner of war in the Middle East, that he had been a soldier for five years, and that she had only seen him once during that period. While she was speaking she broke down and sobbed pitifully. When I told her that the boy would be repatriated at latest by the end of next year she said: "That will be six years." Can you imagine how I felt—and how I am sure you would have felt—at the thought that we were retaining the boy for the needs of our own economy?

I am well aware that the sufferings at Belsen and Buchenwald and Lidice were far worse than this woman's suffering; but that did not lessen my sense of shame.

I would add that the retention of these prisoners contravenes the Geneva Convention—not perhaps in the letter, for a specious and formalistic defence can no doubt be put up on the ground that no peace treaty has been signed, but certainly in the spirit.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

00740 0084 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31494 19.Sept. 47

Nr VOLUNTARY WORKERS
IN WAR AND PEACE

Mr. Attlee's Praise

From our London Staff

FLEET STREET, THURSDAY.

Mr. Attlee was guest of honour at a dinner given to-night to Sir Frank Willis and other members of the Council of Voluntary War Work in recognition of their work and that of their organisations during the war.

The Prime Minister paid tribute to the great work which the voluntary organisations had done and were still doing, and said the spirit of voluntary service was a characteristic of the British people. He had seen enormous advances made in the care of fighting men, but the voluntary work had never slackened nor had the need for it lessened. Nearly a quarter of a million volunteers were enrolled in the various voluntary services and were directed by a staff of only 12,000 whole-time workers. Those workers took everything in their stride and nothing stopped them.

All those serving, said Mr. Attlee, were inspired by Christian principles and drew their inspiration from a single source. Difference of creed often meant great and acrimonious differences, but in the voluntary organisations there had been unity and co-operation. There was also today the greatest need for co-operation between people who, although they might have comparatively minor differences, were united on the vital things the world needed.

Many of our men were serving abroad under conditions full of temptation and loneliness, and they needed the work of the voluntary agencies. He was sure the spring of voluntary work in this country would never die out and that there would always be people willing to dedicate themselves to the service of their fellow-men and ideals.

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MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY TO CRITICS

HARM DONE ABROAD

Mr. Attlee, speaking at a Labour Party demonstration at Leicester on Saturday, commented on the "constant barrage" against the Government.

Accusing Mr. Churchill of exploiting "every difficulty that arises," he said: "I am sorry for this. It is very different from the Churchill of the war, who exhorted the people to bear bravely the inevitable hardships which war entailed and now apparently is exhorting them to whine and to blame. He knows perfectly well that these things are not due to the action of the Labour Government. Mr. Churchill's tactics are rather old-fashioned. He does not take account of the political intelligence that has grown up in this country, but trusts in the swing of the pendulum and the exploitation of every difficulty that arises.

"Our political opponents have no policy to set against the Labour Government. We have always had a programme and a policy. If we had been content all these years with the mere exploitation of grievances we would not have got steadfastness on the part of the electorate. There are other voices in the Conservative Party. There is the charter put forward by Mr. Butler and his friends. It has been violently attacked by Lord Beaverbrook. I gather that the fight is arranged for next week. The issue is, 'Policy or no policy.' We shall await the result with equanimity."

EFFECT IN AMERICA

Speaking of some criticisms of Government policy raised by the Opposition, he said:

"When we told the people quite frankly, 'We are sorry, but we cannot let you have all the clothing you want because we have to export clothing to buy food and other things,' what was the cry? It was, 'Down with Austerity Cripps.' We stood these complaints for months, but what do they say now? They say that all these things were too few and too small and they say, 'What you propose now you ought to have done six months ago.'

"This constant barrage against the Government, although it does not affect our position, does make our task a more difficult one because people do not always understand these things abroad. Some do not understand the amount of freedom which we rightly give to an Opposition to criticize. Some do not know the motive of those who put forward attacks on the Government.

"Recently I was talking to a distinguished American citizen who had spent six weeks in Britain and I asked him for his impression of Britain. His impression was of the vigour and cheerfulness of the people in this country. He told me: 'You know, in America there is the impression that this country of yours is a kind of grey and miserable place. I find that entirely wrong and I intend to tell them so.' But there are some people who care little for the harm they do this country provided they can injure the Government."

THE BY-ELECTIONS

It was an unexampled achievement in modern political history for a government after 22 months in office not to have lost a single by-election. Apart from Labour's own Press and some newspapers that took a very reasonable and balanced view, the great mass of the Press was against the Labour movement. Therefore this record in by-elections was a remarkable tribute to the political maturity of the people of this country.

The 16-nation report from the Paris Conference showed that countries of western Europe governed by a different political complexion, where the economic conditions were not the same, were all alike caught by the results of the war. Eastern Europe appeared to be in the same difficulties. He sometimes thought that the virulence of the attacks on the western democracies in the papers of Soviet Russia was perhaps a measure of the difficulties with which that Government was confronted at home.

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As Mr. Attlee was driving to Leicester he was met three miles from the city boundary by a procession of about 200 cars which had been assembled in protest against the abolition of the basic petrol ration.

00740 0086 BEC

The Times (London

50864 12.Sept. 47

THE PUBLIC AND THE MINER

MR. ATTLEE ON WHAT IS FORGOTTEN

The importance that coal and the miners have come to assume in the national consciousness was reflected at the opening by the Prime Minister yesterday of the exhibition, "The Miner Comes to Town," at 540, Oxford Street, London.

With Mr. Attlee on the platform were Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health; Mr. Isaacs, Minister of Labour; Lord Hyndley, chairman of the National Coal Board; Mr. Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers; other leading figures in the mining industry; and the Lord Mayor of London. The audience also was widely representative. The speeches, however, bore only obliquely on the nation's attendant anxieties.

ALDERMAN C. S. STEEL, the Mayor of St. Marylebone, took the chair.

Mr. ATTLEE said he did not think any of us were sufficiently conscious of the work that

other people did, and he did not think that, over a period of years, we had had anything like a lively enough appreciation of what it meant to get our basic material, coal, out of the bowels of the earth. "If we thought about the miners, perhaps we thought only too often not of the positive work that was being done but of the occasions when there was trouble in the pits.

It was particularly important that this exhibition should come to London, because London was remote from the country's main coalfields, and those who worked in the coal industry were to a large extent segregated from the rest of the community. Nevertheless, in London to-day there was a more vivid realization than ever before of how our lives depended on the people who got the coal. He thought to-day there was also probably a livelier realization of how our whole industry, how our life, how in particular our export trade was based on a sufficiency of coal.

NEW ERA OPENED

Since January 1, the Prime Minister continued, a new era in the mining industry had opened—a new era that gave a new status to the mineworker. To-day he was not working for a private owner or for private profit; he was working directly for the whole nation. When he played his part well—as the vast majority of miners did—(cheers)—the whole nation prospered. If there were any who played their part ill, the whole nation suffered. All of us in our lives were too apt to accept the good and to concentrate on the bad. We were apt to look at the number of absentees from the pits and not to consider the number of those present. We must try to change that. We should not like it in our own lives if all the publicity was given to our failures and none to our successes.

To-day every citizen shared in the ownership of the industry, and we all had a responsibility to see that the miner had a fair deal and was given the tools with which he could do his job. Coal was one of our most valuable assets, and we had to use it to our best advantage.

The Coal Board had taken over a tremendous task. The Government, for their part, were doing all they could to provide machinery, the houses for the miners, and the amenities, the transport, and the rest. The getting of coal did not depend solely on the miners; we must all do our best job, however directly or indirectly we were engaged.

NEED FOR MORE COAL

Lord Hyndley, Mr. Shinwell, and Mr. Lawther also spoke. LORD HYNDLEY, after referring to the recent pit disasters, said there was no doubt that mining was dangerous, but the Coal Board would continue to do everything possible to improve the safety of the mines.

Mr. SHINWELL said that in all the circumstances—and for the most part the circumstances had been against them, and against the National Coal Board—the position could not be regarded as unsatisfactory.

In spite of certain ugly features which had recently been revealed—he would not say where, he left his hearers to guess—there was an abundance of good will in the industry. By far the larger part of the men in the industry were wholeheartedly anxious to assist the nation to recover from its economic difficulties.

It was his firm conviction that the National Coal Board and the industry generally, when we had emerged from the natural and inevitable troubles which were bound to occur, would prove to be a great success. And, indeed, the national mining industry must be a success, for if it should fail in the production of coal which was the very basis of our industrial life, then indeed all was lost.

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Mr. LAWTHOR said that to the miners it was nothing short of a tragedy that in the hour of Britain's greatest need such a tremendous number of Britishers should fight shy of coming into their industry. Many seemed to regard it as their function to abuse those who were in it. They hoped that as a result of "The Miner Comes to Town," many from the towns would go to the mines.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

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Signatur

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BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31511

9. Okt. 1947

Press and Premier

Mr. Attlee has not had a good press to-day. He is given too little credit for "down-grading" Mr. Shinwell and for promoting young men of real promise to be junior Ministers. The appointment of Lord Addison to the Privy Seal has been misunderstood. If there is one position in the Government where age, ripe experience, moderation, and wisdom are to be preferred to youth and vigour it is in the leadership of the House of Lords. If Lord Addison continues to escape successfully the penalties of age the Government could not for the moment be better served.

Some unfairness is being shown to Mr. Shinwell about his capability for the post of Minister for War. He has many virtues as well as faults, and if his friends allow him he may yet win back his prestige.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

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BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr 3 1 5 1 9 vom 18. Okt. 1947

H
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YORK CONVOCATION CONDEMNS RETENTION OF PRISONERS

Mr. Attlee's Reasons "Morally Unjustifiable"

A resolution moved by the Archdeacon of Chester (the Ven. R. V. H. Burne) declaring that the reasons advanced by the Prime Minister for the retention of German prisoners of war in this country could not be justified morally was approved by the joint synod of the Convocation of York yesterday.

The Archdeacon said that the Prime Minister's statement introduced a new and revolutionary principle which, if applied to individuals, would land them straight into the police court. "We have taken human flesh and blood for our own needs, and that is a degrading thing," he said. The retention of the prisoners was a blot on our fair name, and contrary to the ordinary Englishman's idea of fair play. The country was ahead of the Government in this matter.

Canon R. L. Hussey, of Salford, who seconded, said that if these prisoners remained here it should be by their own choice.

Canon E. T. Kerby, of Manchester, said there was a danger of upsetting the very delicate system of economy which existed in Germany by immediately returning all these prisoners. They contributed a great deal to the welfare of the people of this country and we should remember that 127,000 had been employed in agricultural labour. They should not allow sentiment to carry them too far. It was not unreasonable to expect that prisoners should do useful work in this country.

Canon Ferguson, of Southwell, said that we were besmirching the fine name of our country by keeping these men as virtual slaves. "I would rather be in rags in my own country," he said, "than a slave in another."

The Bishop of Sheffield, in associat-

ing himself with the motion, said that to keep 369,000 men in this country and 77,000 in the Middle East living behind barbed wire two and a half years after the end of the war was morally indefensible and could not be politically wise. It was difficult to know whether the prisoners who had homes in the Russian zones should go back, and one could wish that some people would be ready to welcome such men into the working forces of this country. The exceptional disproportion of the sexes in the British zone of Germany was a danger.

The Archbishop of York pointed out that the Government had accelerated the rate of repatriation agreed upon by the Allied nations.

The Rev. H. F. Hutchinson was granted the permission of the House to withdraw, in view of the statement made by the Archbishop, a resolution asking the Upper House to declare publicly that the Bishop of Birmingham's book contained erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word. The House adopted unanimously a resolution thanking the Archbishop for the statement he had made and cordially concurring with it.

The Synod rejected a resolution, moved by Canon A. S. Reeves, urging that statutory power should be sought by a measure from the Church Assembly to charge benefice stipends in excess of £750 a year with a payment to the stipend funds of the diocese in which such benefices were situated.

The Lower House approved a resolution instructing the assessors to take steps to frame such resolutions as they think would give opportunity for adequate discussion in the Lower House of the four freedoms enumerated by the Archbishop in his presidential address to Convocation in 1945, in so far as they were not covered by Canon Law.

Convocation concluded.

Hamburgisches
Haupt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

007400090 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

3 1.5 2.0 vom 20. Okt. 1947

CABINET PLANNING

Seeking Unity Without Uniformity

The freedom of the city of Birmingham was conferred on Saturday on the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee), General Sir William Slim, former chief of the Fourteenth Army, and Sir Frank Wiltshire, who was the city's town clerk for 27 years.

Acknowledging the honour, Mr. Attlee said he believed that Britain could achieve orderly planning without sacrificing individual initiative, and unity of action without imposing uniformity. In spite of the hard facts of the present situation, he said, he was not asking the people to be gloomy and downcast. Sacrifices would have to be made, but the Government was striving to make them equitable. "In this contest in which we are engaged on the material plane, we are also fighting to preserve all that is best in the British way of life."

Ten per cent more in coal, iron, and steel, manufactures, and agricultural produce would enable Britain to pay her way in the world and preserve her standards, provided her efforts were well directed. Success of the plan depended on the people and would involve team-work in every industry.

General Slim said that his men in Burma who achieved so much with so little had been one team. England was like that now. "Disregard those raucous little men who try to set one class of Englishmen against another. We can't have a good England for one section of the population, whichever it is, and a bad one for others."

In his speech of welcome, the Lord Mayor (Alderman A. F. Bradbeer) said the people of Birmingham were not looking forward with joy and exultation to handing over to other bodies not directly in touch with them many of their highly efficient and valuable services.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signature

00740 0091 BEC
The Times (London)

Nr 5 Nr 0901 vom 25. Okt. 1947

**MR. ATTLEE TO VISIT
WALCHEREN**

REPLANTING CEREMONY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE HAGUE, Oct. 24

Mr. and Mrs. Attlee have accepted the invitation of the Dutch Government to be present in Walcheren on November 4. On that day the start of the replanting of the island, which was flooded in October, 1944, to free the approaches to Antwerp of the enemy, will be marked by a commemorative ceremony in the morning and a festive one in the afternoon.

Among those attending the ceremony will be Major-General Brooks, representing the British forces who fought on Walcheren, the Ambassadors of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Canada, the Norwegian Minister, and several members of the Dutch Cabinet. In the evening the Netherlands Government will give a dinner at The Hague at which Mr. Attlee will be the guest of honour.

A gift, representing the cost of 320 trees, has been made to Walcheren from the R.A.F. central fund. The R.A.F. will be represented at the ceremony by Air Marshal Sir Alan Lees, A.O.C.-in-C., Reserve Command, who holds the Dutch decoration of Grand Officer of the Order of Orange Nassau. He will be accompanied by Group Captain J. Heber-Percy, British Air Attaché at The Hague.

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MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY

A BALANCED PROGRAMME

Mr. ATTLEE, Prime Minister (Limehouse, Lab.), first dealing with several matters of business, said that the announcement of the engagement of H.R.H. Princess Elizabeth had been greeted with satisfaction throughout the country—(cheers)—and he proposed tomorrow to move an address of congratulation to the King and Queen and Princess Elizabeth. He regretted that it would be necessary for the Government this Session again to ask for the whole time of the House. (Opposition cries of "Shame!") He had hoped that it might be possible to restore private members' time, at least up to Christmas, but there was the autumn Budget, and the legislative programme was bound to occupy a great deal of time. Of course opportunities would be provided for debates on matters of general interest, and the half hour adjournment would be safeguarded in private members' interests. (Opposition laughter.)

The legislative programme for the Session was a balanced programme—social reform, local government matters, and matters relevant to our democratic system of government all had their place—and there were also important Bills dealing with constitutional matters in other parts of the Commonwealth. The system of social security was being completed by the abolition of the remnants of the Poor Law. Governments of various political colours had played their part in the reform of the Poor Law, and he paid a tribute to the work of the late Lord Passfield in this connexion and wished that he had lived long enough to see the last vestige of the Poor Law system disappear.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

The reform of criminal justice was long overdue. The measure which, regrettably, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Viscount Templewood) had been unable to pass into law covered a great deal of ground and revealed a large measure of agreement, and though there would no doubt be points of controversy in the new Bill, he believed it would gain a large measure of support from all sides of the House. The same observations would apply, he thought, to the public care of children.

The process of bringing under public ownership the fuel and power industries was to be completed by the nationalization of the gas industry. It was already very largely in public hands and publicly controlled, and in view of the report of the Heyworth committee he could see no reason, apart from what were sometimes called "ideological prejudices"—(Ministerial

laughter)—why anyone should quarrel with it. It was a logical development.

There were no proposals in the gracious Speech for dealing with the iron and steel industry, but there was an overwhelming case for it in the national interest, and to avoid any doubt there might be he would like to say that it was the intention of the Government in the present Parliament to nationalize relevant portions of the iron and steel industry. (Ministerial cheers, and Opposition cries of "Relevant portions!")

THE LORDS' VETO

Turning to the Parliament Act, the right hon. gentleman continued:—A great deal of time has passed since the Parliament Act of 1911, and it is quite well worth while looking at it again. It would be improper for me to state the exact proposals we intend to bring forward, but our intention is to reduce from two years to one year the period of delay which the other place can now impose. I freely admit, as the right hon. gentleman has said, that at present the leadership in the other House has been both wise and statesmanlike. (Opposition cheers.) Legislation has been passed which has been undoubtedly distasteful to the majority of that House. But I am bound to have in mind that the first three years of a Government's life operate so that Bills can be put through, if rejected, under the Parliament Act, but after a Government's life has run for a certain time that axe begins to hang over its head. (Opposition laughter.) I think it is wise that we should deal with this matter in time—(Ministerial cheers)—and before any serious matter has arisen, in order to lessen the danger which might arise should leadership in the other place pass into less responsible hands. (Ministerial laughter.)

We must remember there was always that great number of absent lords, but they might attend. The right hon. gentleman asked, "Why do it now? You have no quarrel." It is much better to avoid a quarrel; better not to wait until a fire has broken out before you get a fire extinguisher. Much better to provide yourself with a fire extinguisher at once. (Laughter and cheers.) Do not let the fire start. Much more fuel is consumed if you burn down the whole house.

"PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE"

After quoting from a speech by Mr. Churchill during the debate on the Parliament Act in 1911, the right hon. gentleman said that he never could see why a Conservative Government should be given five years and a Liberal or Labour Government only three years. The Parliament Act of 1911 was a very moderate measure. It so happened that for 34 years prior to the advent of the present Government, except for two brief periods of minority Labour government, the Conservative Party had had effective power in both Houses. Therefore the issue regarding the House of Lords never arose. The Government's proposal was a wise, precautionary measure. (Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. CHURCHILL (Woodford, C.)—A deliberate act of social aggression. (Opposition cheers and Ministerial laughter.)

Mr. ATTLEE said that Mr. Churchill was thinking of things he said when he stood at that Box in 1911. (Ministerial laughter.) If, as he (Mr. Attlee) hoped, the Lords were not inclined ever again to exercise their menacing powers to render nugatory the decisions of the elected Chamber, the Government's proposals would do no harm and the Government would be taking from them a weapon which they had no intention of using. But if the Lords still had an intention of reasserting those powers which had of late fallen into desuetude, the Bill would be both effective and timely. (Ministerial cheers.) At the election they made it perfectly clear that they would not allow the will of the

electorate to be thwarted by the House of Lords. There was ample justification for taking precautions and not waiting until the trouble had actually arisen and not waiting until the trouble might have passed out of hand through the effluxion of time.

TENSION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RUSSIA AND U.N.

The Government were greatly disturbed at the increasing tension in foreign affairs and at the attitude of the U.S.S.R. representatives, which was gravely imperilling the work that was done in trying to build up the United Nations organization. Regarding the discussions at Geneva, the negotiations had been prolonged and difficult, but the Government had every hope that agreement would be reached between most, if not all, of the 17 countries there represented. He had already made it clear that there was no question of any unilateral surrender of preferences. That could only be considered in relation to and in return for a reduction of tariffs and other barriers, which would mean mutually advantageous arrangements for an expansion of trade. There could be no question of abolishing the whole system of imperial preferences. The Government had throughout kept in mind the need for a restoration of the equilibrium in our economic relations with the western hemisphere, particularly with the United States of America. The Government hoped they had secured greater access to markets, not only for products from this country but from the Colonial Empire, and that there would result a valuable increase of the dollar earnings of the sterling area as a whole.

REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES

The Government had considered it right to examine the question of any possible reductions in the Forces not only in the remainder of this financial year but also in the period of 18 months ending March 31, 1949, and against the background of the needs of our long-term defence policy in so far as they could be foreseen now.

The Government have decided (Mr. Attlee continued) upon further substantial reductions in the size of the Armed Forces in the next 18 months. I remember the Leader of the Opposition saying that he would like to wield the blue pencil with vigour over our Estimates. I do not know the colour of the pencil, but we have had a look into these things very closely.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—Does the Prime Minister mean to say that with 140,000 men under the control of the Admiralty it is only possible to man a cruiser and four destroyers for the Home Fleet? (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. ATTLEE.—I mean to say nothing of the sort—it is preposterous. Really, the right hon. gentleman might wait until I deal with the point. The Army, which has been bearing the major share of our special post-war commitments, naturally shows the most striking reductions. By March, 1949, the Government expect that the Army's overseas responsibilities falling on British man-power will be limited to our share of the occupation of Germany, the requirements of the Middle East, and the small but important garrisons needed at a variety of overseas stations. The reductions in the size of the Army must be related to its special commitments, and the process will therefore still be gradual. It is quite impossible to compress it arbitrarily.

The position in the case of the Navy is different. There has to be a reduction of

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operational strength and it has been decided, deliberately, that the strain of this should be taken here and now, even at the expense of some degree of temporary immobility. In view of certain alarmist references which have appeared in the Press I would emphasize the word "temporary." I do not know where the figures came from. The right hon. gentleman seems to believe everything he sees in the Press.

MR. CHURCHILL'S QUESTIONS

Mr. CHURCHILL.—The figures were one cruiser and four destroyers for the Home Fleet, less than the fleet we gave to Russia during the war. If those figures are not true we shall be glad to hear them contradicted. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. ATTLEE.—Those are not the correct ones. I was not aware that that point would be raised and I have not the exact figures, but I am quite prepared to give those figures in the course of the debate.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—Surely the right hon. gentleman has not been made responsible for these grave decisions, which he says they studied with great attention, without having on the tip of his tongue the actual four, five, six, or seven ships which are reserved to the Home Fleet. Surely, as Prime Minister of the country, he ought to know. (Renewed Opposition cheers.)

Mr. ATTLEE.—The short point is that there is a temporary immobility during the re-sorting out of the ships and personnel—a purely temporary manning. The suggestion that this is a sudden reduction of the entire Fleet to a kind of care and maintenance basis is quite wrong.

There would be more reductions in R.A.F. establishments, especially in oversea commands. They would be spread gradually over the period in the interests of operational efficiency.

The 1947 Defence White Paper foreshadowed that the size of the Armed Forces at March 31, 1948, would be 1,087,000. On August 6 he had put the revised estimate at 1,007,000. They

now expected the figure to be 937,000, a reduction of 150,000 on the original forecast. Industrial labour employed on Service production and related activities would be considerably less than was anticipated, at the same date.

ECONOMIC POLICY

REDIRECTION OF CAPITAL

Both the Minister for Economic Affairs and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be speaking in the debate. Generally speaking, the batting order depended on what the opposition was at a particular moment, and the state of the pitch. On this occasion, in dealing with economic affairs, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Dalton would both be batting. On other occasions it might be the Lord President of the Council or the Home Secretary. The position of the Minister for Economic Affairs was one of coordination. There was no question of interfering with the departmental responsibilities of Ministers. His function was, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and they acted in the closest collaboration—to coordinate the economic effort both at home and abroad in all its various ramifications.

With regard to the Marshall proposals, it would be fatal for us to have any wishful thinking and imagine that we could depend on some other help. We had to go all out on our own efforts. Whatever assistance we could get, we had to set our own house in order.

We had to get increased production for home and export, increased exports directed to dealing with our balance of payments, colonial development in the interests of the people of the colonies and of this country and the world. We should have to have a reduction of some imports, redeployment of our resources at home, redirection and reduction of capital investment, measures to deal with inflation.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—What does redirection mean? Does it mean people are to be forbidden to invest such money as they have as they think rightly and ordered to invest it in enterprises or securities they think are injudicious?

Mr. ATTLEE said he was using the term in a technical sense, in the way they talked of national investment in capital goods compared with consumer goods.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—It means the direction of the Government's division of the expenditure between capital and current expenditure.

DEMANDS ON RESOURCES

Mr. ATTLEE.—It means more than that. There is the sum total that is going into capital expenditure, part of it Government and part of it private, that makes demands on the available resources of raw materials and labour. In view of the shortage of raw materials in particular there has to be a redirection, a slowing down on some sides and an acceleration on others. That is all it means.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—It is not telling the individual investor what he should do?

Mr. ATTLEE.—No. Not at all. We have to face this extremely difficult situation, and it will require the efforts of the whole country.

Mr. CHURCHILL.—Why then, by introducing partisan constitutional legislation, do you seek to divide the country? (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. ATTLEE.—The Conservative Party, unlike the Labour Party, seem to claim that because this party has a different point of view from them they cannot support its efforts. In the war, when we came into the Government, we did not attempt to upset the capitalist system. We had to accept it because that was the will of the majority of the House. The will of the majority of the House at present is that Government policy should be carried on on the basis of the policy of this party.

The other side's point of view (he continued) was "We will all work together if only you will accept the policy of the Conservative Party." But whatever their differences, they were all united in the determination to carry the country through an extremely difficult time, and he was sure the whole country would go all out to restore the prosperity and the position of this country in the world.

The debate on the Address was adjourned.

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"PARTISAN POLICIES" MR. ATTLEE'S DEFENCE

Mr. ATTLEE said he seemed to recognize the hand of Mr. Churchill in this amendment. It started off characteristically in denouncing the Government for following "partisan policies." It was generally understood in this country that a Government was returned to carry out the policy of a particular majority party. The Leader of the Opposition always took the view that he represented not a party view but a national view. (Opposition cheers.) It would be remembered that 38 years ago Mr. Churchill had said the same thing in reference to the

Liberal Party. In "The People's Rights" Mr. Churchill described the Liberal Party as the party of the nation, "because it is the Conservative Party that is always partisan." (Ministerial cheers and laughter.) Therefore they need not take much account of the word "partisan." It had done good service for many years on both sides. Partisan policy was simply policy with which Mr. Churchill disagreed.

He had never known a party leader who followed more consistently than Mr. Churchill the old maxim that it was the duty of the Opposition to oppose. During the last two years he had seized every opportunity to attack the Government, quite regardless of any consistency.

When the Opposition challenged the Government on the Address they offered themselves as an alternative Government and he imagined they would offer an alternative policy. The country was entitled to know where they stood (Opposition cheers.) They were at a loss to know what was the policy of the Conservative Party. They had waited for a very long time. They had thought that it had been set out at Brighton. They thought the views of Mr. Butler, and the views of the middle way of Mr. Macmillan had all been accepted. Then Mr. Churchill had made a speech and had blown them to smithereens.

CONTROLS ESSENTIAL

He thought Mr. Churchill must have spent more time on the phraseology of his speech than on the contents. (Ministerial laughter.) He (Mr. Attlee) never knew a speech that ignored more entirely the facts of the economic situation. Mr. Churchill had been admirably corrected by Mr. Lyttelton. From Mr. Churchill's speech one would have thought that there was no industrial activity in this country, but Mr. Lyttelton gave a very different picture. Mr. Churchill considered that if the Government set everything free from controls we should still get over our difficulties. He wanted the free play of competition. Would he do away with food rationing now?

Mr. CHURCHILL.—In my speech I am striking a note (Ministerial cries of "Answer!") and the note is, set the people free. When you have loaded them with chains, all the shackles cannot be struck off in a day. (Ministerial cries of "Answer!")

Mr. ATTLEE said that Mr. Churchill's note was that the people should be free but not just now. (Ministerial laughter.) It was an IOU. He (Mr. Churchill) knew that in the present economic situation of the world they could not set everything free. If Mr. Churchill had come back with a majority he could not have done away with rationing. He would have had to direct the export trade. For Mr. Churchill to come down and make the speech he did yesterday was utterly unreal. Mr. Churchill had no policy to put before the country. He should tell the people a little more what he would do.

WORLD COOPERATION

The Government had never said that the country would get out of the economic situation oblivious of what was happening in the

rest of the world. We in this country must do our utmost, but if we wanted to maintain and raise our own standards here there must be world cooperation. That was why Mr. Bevin took the initiative which led to the Paris discussions after the Marshall speech. The Government had also had many discussions with the Dominions, and there were provisions for developing the colonial territories.

His policy on India had been attacked by Mr. Churchill, who had implied that he (Mr. Attlee) was personally responsible for the slaughter there. He was willing to take his full share of responsibility in this matter, but there was a course of change leading to what Mr. Churchill thought was disaster. The time had come when Indian affairs had to be managed by Indians.

Mr. CHURCHILL, intervening, said he did not in any invidious or personal sense wish to fasten the bloody guilt on the Prime Minister, but considered that grievous heart-searchings should rouse themselves within the breasts of those who were tearing down the peace under which the Indian millions had lived.

Mr. ATTLEE, continuing, said that it was the cry of the Opposition that the Government had been too late, that they should have taken action earlier, or that they had been too complacent under the American Loan and ought not to have been lulled into security. They must not do that with the House of Lords. (Ministerial cheers.) Clearly they should be quite wrong to be lulled by anything which had happened there in the last two years. They

had to look ahead and take precautions, and more than a year ago had taken this question into consideration. It was suggested that the matter was settled once and for all by the 1911 legislation, but if Mr. Churchill had rallied the Liberal Party after the first world war and come into power with a radical programme he would have found out whether this legislation was sufficient. (Ministerial cheers.) The question was settled for Mr. Churchill when he joined the Conservative Party. (Renewed cheers.) The Government intended to carry out its programme and would take precautions to do so while their mandate lasted. (Loud and prolonged Ministerial cheers.)

The House divided and there voted:—

For the amendment ..	201
Against	348

Government majority 147

The motion for an Address was then agreed to.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES

HOUSE OF LORDS

TO-DAY, AT 4

Resumed debate on Lord Cherwell's motion on the economic situation.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

AT 2.30

Consideration of the reports from the Committee of Privileges on Mr. Allighan and Mr. E. Walkden.

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147 MAJORITY FOR GOVERNMENT

OPPOSITION MOTION DEFEATED

MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY

WESTMINSTER, WEDNESDAY

The Opposition's official amendment to the Address, which, as MR. ATTLEE said in his winding up speech to-night, was in effect a vote of censure on the Government, was negatived in the House of Commons to-night by 348 votes to 201, and the Address was agreed to. The announcement of the figures was received with a burst of Ministerial cheering and Opposition counter-cheering.

The PRIME MINISTER was in buoyant mood and gave the impression that he considered he had not much of a case to answer in the speeches either of MR. CHURCHILL yesterday or of MR. MACMILLAN and MR. LYTTTELTON who had led the Opposition case this evening. But it was on MR. CHURCHILL that he fastened his sharpest barks, accusing him of having ignored entirely the facts of the economic situation and of having deprived his party, to their dismay, of any policy except *laissez faire* Liberalism. MR. ATTLEE made blithe play with MR. CHURCHILL's demand to set the people free, and a Ministerial chorus of "Answer" echoed his question whether MR. CHURCHILL would do away with food rationing now.

MR. CHURCHILL'S RETORT

MR. CHURCHILL loomed up at the dispatch box and, amid a hubbub of interruption, retorted that when the nation had been loaded with chains all the shackles could not be struck off in a day.

MR. ATTLEE interpreted this as saying, "You should be free, but not just now"—an IOU, in fact. This riposte delighted his followers, and he followed it up by saying that even if Mr. Churchill were Prime Minister he could not have done without rationing.

Turning for a moment to Mr. MacMillan, he firmly denied his thesis that Sir Stafford Cripps's speech was an indictment of the Government, and with equal vigour he contradicted Mr. Churchill's view that the Government were losing the support of the people. Still less did he find the people placing any confidence in the Opposition.

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The Manchester Guardian

No 31541

13. Nov. 1947

MR. ATTLEE ON MR. CHURCHILL

"Must Think He Has Divine Right to Rule"

Winding up the debate on the second reading of the Parliament Bill on Tuesday,

Mr. ATTLEE (Prime Minister) said Mr. Eden's speech was reasonable and good tempered. In that, it offered a marked contrast to the speech of Mr. Churchill. It had been said the House was dealing with a matter of high constitutional importance, but, in fact, the attendance during the debate had been more like that on a motion for the adjournment at 10 30 p.m. Of that he did not wish to make too much, but Mr. Eden had described this as a small and miserable bill. He could not have it both ways. With characteristic impulsiveness Mr. Churchill had dashed in with violent objections and members of the Opposition had had to follow his lead. The Government had been accused of trying to draw a red herring across the track of political discussion. "It is said we are introducing the bill in order to draw attention away from our own alleged shortcomings." If that were so, the obvious tactics would have been to try to raise a first-class row with the House of Lords on some issue. That was the method employed in the 1906 Parliament when bills were sent up to the Lords to be thrown out. "We have not done that. We have tried to prevent controversy by dealing with the matter before it arises." If the Government had wished to stage the issue they could have caused a big row on some matter and gone to the country with the cry of "Commons against the Lords."

"The Opposition have not made up their minds what to do." The bill was only an example of up-to-date methods of dealing with matters. They did not wait for disease to break out before curing it. We have been carrying on for two years under the protection of the Parliament Act. That protection is very limited in time for any Government except a Conservative Government. We are, therefore, entitled to look ahead and to take up this matter as not a matter of abstract discussion but as a very practical problem that faces any Government of the Left."

"Mr. Churchill was in very good form this afternoon—(Opposition cheers)—but I think it rather a pity that he never referred to the bill at all. (Government cheers.) It was a little unfortunate that the only time he strayed into the realm of fact he was wrong. (Government laughter.) He was at pains to denounce the present Government and the members of it in unmeasurable terms. I do not complain. It is really common form on his part. During the present century it has been his custom to use very similar terms of abuse about every Government of which he has not happened to be a member." (Government laughter.) Mr. Churchill had devoted considerable abuse to Mr. Balfour's Government, took a "pretty poor view" of Mr. Baldwin's Government in 1923, had "little use" for the MacDonald-Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments. "We must take this as part of his common form. He must think he has a kind of divine right to rule. (Government cheers.) He does not like being in opposition. He cannot quite reconcile himself to it, and that is one good reason to take care that he should not, while in a minority in this House, be able to call to his aid a majority in another place. He may be tempted to do so, and I should like to remove temptation from his path. (Loud Government laughter.)

"It Does Not Operate Fairly"

The safeguards on the Lords' arbitrary power had been referred to by Mr.

should be counter-checks on the Lords in the nature of delay. They should operate against both political parties and not against only one of them. "But it does not operate equally and fairly. It never has done. It has always operated against the party of the Left." (Government cheers and loud cries of "Hear, hear.") During the last two years the Government had been under the protection of the Parliament Act, but when that was gone one could not be sure what would happen. Not even Mr. Churchill could know what the Lords would do.

Leaning forward and speaking deliberately to the Front Bench of the Opposition, Mr. Attlee said: "Supposing the position was reversed and you had a potential Opposition against you in another place, and not necessarily the most intelligent members of the Opposition party—(loud laughter)—what would you do? Would you like the whole of your programme upset?" (Loud Government cries of "Hear, hear.") Of course they wouldn't. The fact is that the system works unevenly and it would be folly to wait until the damage was done.

If, in 1911, the power of delay had been one year instead of two they would not have noticed it during all these years. By now it would have been hallowed by tradition. Mr. Churchill maintained that the powers and composition of a Second Chamber must all be dealt with together. He did not admit that. Many suggestions had been put forward to him with regard to the Second Chamber, but they all retained a Conservative majority. He had not had one suggestion that there should be a majority for the Labour party. If they wanted a revising chamber at all it might have a period of delay for revising and looking at details very usefully, but it should not have concurrent powers with the Lower House.

This was quite a moderate bill. It might be they would not have need to use the powers it conferred. He hoped they would not. Whatever might be the case for the reform of the House of Lords, the Labour party did not suggest reform when they went to the electors. What they did say was they would take powers to prevent obstruction, and that was exactly what they had done. The Opposition had accused the Government of partisanship. Was the Opposition really based on some constitutional principle or was it only based on the fact that it was convenient to have greater powers for their party in the Lords? Not one single argument had been put forward that it was essential there should be two years' delay when the Conservative party was in power. There were strong objections in the House to Mr. Chamberlain's Government when Mr. Churchill was in opposition, and many other members were gravely disturbed in their minds, but they were under the iron hand of Captain Margesson. "They never got a helping hand from the House of Lords. Under the theory that the Lords are in close touch with the people they might have surely taken action." The 1935 Government was returned with a clear mandate for supporting the League of Nations but they threw over that mandate. The Lords did nothing about it. "The only purpose of the House of Lords is the alleged interpretation of the people's will when there is either a Liberal or Labour Government in power. I challenge the Opposition to produce any instance to the contrary."

The Government would be ready to look at any proposals for the reform of the Second Chamber, but it must not be given concurrent powers with the Commons and not stand as specially entitled to interpret the opinion of the nation as against the

MR. ATTLEE ON MR. CHURCHILL

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"It Does Not Operate Fairly"

The safeguards on the Lords' arbitrary power had been referred to by Mr. Churchill, but in 1909, when speaking on the same subject, he had said that there was nobody, however powerful, in the country who was not surrounded with controls with the exception of the House of Lords, who were, according to him, complete judges of the people's will. "That is equally true to-day. I cannot see why we should accept the House of Lords, however constituted, as necessarily the right interpreters of the people's will." In 1909 Mr. Churchill had said, too, that there

should be counter-checks on the Lords in the nature of delay. They should operate against both political parties and not against only one of them. "But it does not operate equally and fairly. It never has done. It has always operated against the party of the Left." (Government cheers and loud cries of "Hear, hear.") During the last two years the Government had been under the protection of the Parliament Act, but when that was gone one could not be sure what would happen. Not even Mr. Churchill could know what the Lords would do.

Leaning forward and speaking deliberately to the Front Bench of the Opposition, Mr. Attlee said: "Supposing the position was reversed and you had a potential Opposition against you in another place, and not necessarily the most intelligent members of the Opposition party—(loud laughter)—what would you do? Would you like the whole of your programme upset?" (Loud Government cries of "Hear, hear.") Of course they wouldn't. The fact is that the system works unevenly and it would be folly to wait until the damage was done.

If, in 1911, the power of delay had been one year instead of two they would not have noticed it during all these years. By now it would have been hallowed by tradition. Mr. Churchill maintained that the powers and composition of a Second Chamber must all be dealt with together. He did not admit that. Many suggestions had been put forward to him with regard to the Second Chamber, but they all retained a Conservative majority. He had not had one suggestion that there should be a majority for the Labour party. If they wanted a revising chamber at all it might have a period of delay for revising and looking at details very usefully, but it should not have concurrent powers with the Lower House.

This was quite a moderate bill. It might be they would not have need to use the powers it conferred. He hoped they would not. Whatever might be the case for the reform of the House of Lords, the Labour party did not suggest reform when they went to the electors. What they did say was they would take powers to prevent obstruction, and that was exactly what they had done. The Opposition had accused the Government of partisanship. Was the Opposition really based on some constitutional principle or was it only based on the fact that it was convenient to have greater powers for their party in the Lords? Not one single argument had been put forward that it was essential there should be two years' delay when the Conservative party was in power. There were strong objections in the House to Mr. Chamberlain's Government when Mr. Churchill was in opposition, and many other members were gravely disturbed in their minds, but they were under the iron hand of Captain Margesson. "They never got a helping hand from the House of Lords. Under the theory that the Lords are in close touch with the people they might have surely taken action." The 1935 Government was returned with a clear mandate for supporting the League of Nations but they threw over that mandate. The Lords did nothing about it. "The only purpose of the House of Lords is the alleged interpretation of the people's will when there is either a Liberal or Labour Government in power. I challenge the Opposition to produce any instance to the contrary."

The Government would be ready to look at any proposals for the reform of the Second Chamber, but it must not be given concurrent powers with the Commons and not stand as specially entitled to interpret the opinion of the nation as against the House of Commons. Secondly, it must not be a Second Chamber in which there was a permanent majority for one political party, whether Labour, Liberal—if they could imagine that—or Conservative. "We do not believe in a Second Chamber that is based on the principle—which I gather Mr. Churchill wants—that the brake is more important than the engine." Mr. Churchill regarded the House of Lords and the Conservative party as a brake which was essential. The engine had to go for repair every five years with a Conservative Government, and every two or

three years with a Labour Government, with the brake eternally on when Labour was at the wheel.

Simple, Moderate Proposal

"We are not suggesting that these are elaborate changes. We are putting forward a simple, moderate proposal designed to meet the present position. It merely alters the timing and restricts to some extent the delaying power of the House of Lords. No one has really objected on its merits to this proposal." Conservatives had said how they would like to change the House of Lords. They had had 35 years to do it. (Government laughter.) Some Labour members had proposed the abolition of the Lords. He was not there to argue about the Second Chamber, but to support a very simple amendment to the Parliament Act. The great mass of the people believed it was anomalous that the House of Lords should have absolute powers and the very slackness of the Opposition that day showed that members knew it too.

Among other speakers in the debate were Mrs. Elizabeth Manning (Lab.—Epping), Major E. A. Legg, Bourke (C.—Isle of Ely), Mr. W. Gallacher (Comm.—Fife W.) and Mr. S. S. Awbery (Lab.—Bristol C.).

The Opposition amendment for the rejection of the bill was defeated by 345 votes to 194. The bill was read a second time and committed to a committee of the whole House. The result of the division was received with loud Labour cheers.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

Attlee
Clement

007400097 BEC
The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 3 1 5 4 7 vom 20. Nov. 1947

PLANS FOR A NEW C.D.

Voluntary Service

Plans for a new Civil Defence organisation were announced in the House of Commons yesterday by the Prime Minister in reply to a question by Mr. A. J. P. Howard (C.—St. George's). Mr. Attlee said the organisation would consist partly of civilian static and mobile services, and partly of military mobile columns trained in civil defence duties, and providing a reserve for the reinforcement of local services. The civilian static and mobile services would, as far as practicable, be attached to and developed from services such as the police, fire, medical and health services. Recruiting for the civilian services would be on a part-time voluntary basis.

Provision would later be made for dispersal, shelter, and other essential elements in an over-all plan for civil defence in the light of studies as to possibilities and requirements in this respect. It was hoped to have the assistance of the clubs and associations of men and women formerly connected with or interested in civil defence, and of other voluntary agencies and the general public in building up the civilian elements in the proposed new organisation.

The Home Secretary and the Secretary for Scotland hoped to enter into discussions with representative associations of local authorities, and details of the scheme must await the result of these discussions.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

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Signatur Clement R.

BEC

The Times (London)

No 5r 0930 vnm 28. Nov. 1947

MR. ATTLEE ON SPIRIT OF UNIVERSITY

THE RIGHT TO QUESTION

The Prime Minister was among those who had honorary degrees conferred on them at the Senate House of London University last evening. The occasion was the celebration of Foundation Day, and afterwards a reception was given by the Chancellor, the Earl of Athlone, and Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone.

Those receiving honorary degrees were:—

Mr. Arthur Bliss, Dame Dorothy Brock, Professor H. E. Butler, Mr. W. C. Chesterman, Miss Ninette de Valois (Mrs. Edris Connell), Mr. F. R. Dale, Sir Samuel Gluckstein, Mr. John Masefield, O.M., Miss D. G. Matthew, Brigadier E. E. Mockler-Ferryman, Lord Nuffield, Professor Sir Owen Richardson, Sir David Ross, Sir Louis Sterling, Dame Emmeline Tanner, and Field-Marshal Lord Wavell.

Mr. ATTLEE, replying on behalf of the recipients, recalled that about 40 years ago he attended lectures at the School of Economics, his studies at the ancient University of Oxford appearing to him to savour somewhat of antiquity. Later he was a tutor and lecturer in that remarkable institution.

In the years since he was an undergraduate he had seen a vast extension of the universities of this country, and the doors had been thrown open ever more widely. He had seen the older universities following in the steps of London University in drawing their students from strata of the population previously only represented in academic circles by very few. He rejoiced exceedingly at this, for in his view the world of to-day needed the spirit of the university.

QUEST FOR TRUTH

The essential of a university was the quest for truth and the obstinate questioning whereby alone it could be found. There were still in the world, in spite of the war which we fought to establish the right to freedom of thought, great areas where this was denied. There were countries where men and women were indoctrinated with what was held to be orthodox opinion, where to doubt was dangerous and to question frequently fatal. Instruction was a great thing, but a greater was the right to question the instructor.

If he had any fear for the future of education in this country it was lest the pressure to acquire knowledge might stifle the liberty of questioning. He feared lest ever rising standards of requirement for degrees might confine the student too closely to the beaten track and restrict him from ranging over the many pleasant pastures and by-roads of learning.

00740 0099 BEC
The Manchester Guardian

31581 vom

1. Jan. 48

MR. ATTLEE'S POSTER MESSAGE

A new poster bearing a message from the Prime Minister in support of the production campaign was displayed in London last night and in the next few days will appear on hoardings throughout Britain. The message, dated from 10, Downing Street, reads:

This year let us all put into our work the spirit that has made our nation great. An all-out effort will increase our total production by the 10 per cent we need to turn the tide.—C. R. ATTLEE.

In a New Year message to industry the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, comments on the evidence of increased vitality of production and says:

We have before us a tremendous task in 1948, but we are all determined to fight through these difficult times to higher standards of production, and so to a more ample and happy life for our people.

Let us then embark upon the year 1948 with the firm resolution that during the next twelve months we shall achieve the tasks that are essential to enable us to maintain both our independence of others and our own standard of living.

MINES' ACHIEVEMENT

Mr. Gaitskell, Minister of Fuel, has congratulated Lord Hyndley, chairman of the National Coal Board, and all in the mining industry on their achievements in the first year under nationalisation. The foundations of the industry's recovery have been "well and truly laid," he says, and the output figures of recent weeks were a grand Christmas present from the miners.

Lord Hyndley replied, "We shall pursue our great and vital aims in the knowledge that the country expects the coalmining industry to increase yet further in stature. We shall go all out for a substantial increase in production."

TREASURY SURPLUS

Treasury returns issued last night show that in the first nine months of the financial year there was a surplus of £244,984,599 on the "ordinary" accounts. The Government's revenue of £2,409,100,000 was £329,400,000

larger than in the same period of 1946. It spent £2,164,100,000—which was £517,200,000 less than in the same nine months of 1946.

It seems likely that the Government's total expenditure in the twelve months ending on March 31 will be considerably smaller than was estimated in the April Budget.

So far the yield from income tax has been smaller by £16,500,000 than it was a year ago. Most of the Government's receipts, however, have been larger. Customs and Excise (which include the duty on beer and the purchase taxes) have raised £151,700,000 more. Other rises in revenue have come from death duties, surtax, wireless licences, trading services, stamp duties, and miscellaneous receipts. The sale of surplus war stores has already yielded more than was expected in the full year as have also the profits taxes.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

00740 0100 BEC

Hamburger Echo

Nr 1

3. Jan. 1942

Ein unermüdlicher Arbeiter

Großbritannien Premierminister Attlee wird heute 65 Jahre alt

J. E. Hamburg, 3. Januar
In Großbritannien ist die dritte Arbeiterregierung, ungleich ihren wesentlich schwächeren Vorgängern aus den Jahren 1924 und 1931, nun in der dritten Sitzungsperiode im Amt. Ihr Premierminister, Clement Richard Attlee, der heute seinen 65. Geburtstag feiert, ist geblieben, was er war, als ihm, dem Oppositionsführer, mit dem Labour-Sieg 1945 das Kanzleramt zufiel: ein unermüdlicher Arbeiter, der ausgleicht, weil er weder dem Gewerkschaftsflügel noch der kritischen Linken seiner Partei angehört und daher weniger Gegner zählt als der eine oder andere seiner vielleicht vitaleren Minister. Daß ihm die glänzende Redegabe versagt ist, die gewöhnlich Parteiführer auszeichnen pflegt, schmälert nicht seine Beliebtheit in einem Lande, in dem man auf die Phrase wenig und auf die sachliche Genauigkeit alles gibt.

Attlee kommt aus dem gebildeten Mittelstand und hat in Oxford Rechtswissenschaften studiert, 1905 als Anwalt zugelassen, wandte er sich bald der sozialen Arbeit zu. Über die Fabian Society kam er zuerst zur Unabhängigen Arbeiterpartei, um dann unmittelbar nach dem ersten Weltkrieg, der Arbeiterpartei aus einzelnen Ortsgruppen zu einer großen nationalen Partei zusammenzuschloß, die beizutreten. Seit 1922 vertritt er seinen Wahlkreis Stepney im Parlament. Er hat schon in der zweiten Arbeiterregierung 1931 ein Ministeramt bekleidet und an der Koalitionsregierung der Kriegsjahre 1940 bis 1945 zuerst als Lordsegeleibwahrer, dann als Minister für die Dominien und stellvertretender Premier teilgenommen.

Clement Attlee ist Führer der Arbeiterpartei, seit 1935 Lansbury von der Parteiführung zurücktrat, weil er mit der Sanktionspolitik gegenüber Italien nicht einverstanden war. Damals waren die ersten Erholungsanzeichen nach der schweren Wahl Niederlage des Jahres 1931 schon verbucht; es folgte ihnen ein Aufstieg, der in der Parteigeschichte kaum seinesgleichen hat. 2.358.000 Mitglieder zählte man 1931, 3.322.000 dagegen 1946. Nur das Verdienst Attlees? Wohl kaum, denn die Struktur der britischen Arbeiterpartei spricht gegen eine solche

„Zentralisation“ des Verdienstes. Ihr gehören Verbände und politische Organisationen so gut an wie Einzelmilitärs, und die Gewerkschaften verkörpern einen so gewaltigen Stimmenblock, daß sie 29 Prozent der Labour-Abgeordneten im gegenwärtigen Parlament stellen. Die positive Auswirkung der Teilnahme der Gewerkschaften an der von der Arbeiterregierung geführten Politik spiegelt sich im Vergleich der Zahl von 6,5 Millionen durch Streiks verlorenen Arbeitstagen nach Beendigung des zweiten Weltkrieges mit den 89,5 Millionen Arbeitstagen, die nach dem ersten Weltkrieg verloren gingen.



Als ein spezielles Verdienst des ruhigen, zurückhaltenden Mannes, der die Partei führt, darf vielen

leicht die Rückkehr der Politiker in die Reihen der Labour Party gewertet werden, die auf Grund von Meinungsverschiedenheiten im Laufe der Jahre die Partei verlassen hatten. Sie haben die Zusage erhalten, daß sie ihre Ansichten frei vertreten können und haben der Regierung so wertvolle Männer der Linken gebracht wie Cripps, Strachey und Bevan. Mehr noch: sie sorgen für den frischen Wind der Opposition aus den eigenen Reihen, der die Verantwortlichen vor den Versuchen der Macht bewahrt.

Dieser Wind hat sich zu manchen Fragen so stürmisch erhoben, daß er die Leistungen der Arbeiterregierung in Großbritannien besonders für den Beobachter draußen oft verdeckte. Das hat dann all die Voraussagen vom Sturz der Regierung Attlee gezeugt. Indessen hat die Arbeiterregierung ein Gesetzeswerk verabschiedet, das nicht nur eine ungewöhnliche Arbeitsleistung darstellt, sondern in seinen Auswirkungen die soziale Struktur Englands verändern wird. Die Gesetzestitel, wenn man sie hier aufzählen wollte, vermitteln wenig. Aber das steht fest: Rund ein Drittel der britischen Bevölkerung ist heute besser ernährt und besser gekleidet als vor dem Krieg, während ein Drittel etwa seinen Lebensstandard gehalten hat. Das restliche Drittel allerdings hat von seinem Überfluß etwas abgeben müssen. Oder, wie die sozialistische „Tribune“ es einmal ausdrückt: „Über alles machen die Zeitungen ein Geschrei über jedes kleine Versehen. Aber daß die regelmäßigen Montagmorgen-Schläge vor den Pfandleihern, wo die Arbeiterfrau den Sonntagsanzug bis zur Lohnzahlung am Freitag versetzt, verschwunden ist, das hat keinen Nachrichtenwert.“

Ohne die geistige Führung, an sich zu reißen, ohne mehr als ihr ständig bereiteter Arbeiter zu sein, hat Attlee seiner Partei unschätzbare Dienste geleistet dadurch, daß ihm mehr als jedem anderen die Gabe der Vermittlung zwischen den oft widerstrebenden geistigen Polen der Mitglieder zu eigen war. Auch seine Kabinetführung trägt den Stempel der Vermittlerarbeit seiner Persönlichkeit.

Hamburgisches
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The Times (London)

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5 Jan. 48

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**COMMUNIST COMMENT ON
MR. ATTLEE'S BROADCAST**

Mr. ARTHUR HORNER, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, speaking at the *Daily Worker* eighteenth birthday celebration at the Albert Hall last night, said of Mr. Attlee's broadcast: "To talk, as he did, of political freedom and territorial independence as a possibility, except on the basis of economic freedom, is the most arrant nonsense."

He would like, he said, to ask Mr. Attlee what his new system was intended to be—capitalism or socialism?

A drive might be made to split the trade union movement, even to drive right into its heart. As long as it was kept intact and united they would have no fear of capitalist intentions. An endeavour had been made to discredit the militants, but they feared no calumny.

Mr. A. F. PAPWORTH, of the T.U.C. General Council, said, "We now know from Mr. Attlee that the Labour Party has taken the place of the Liberal Party."

00740 0102 BEC
The Times (London)

Nr. 50960 5. Jan. 48

BRITAIN AND THE POWERS

MR. ATTLEE ON A MIDDLE WAY

COMBINING FREEDOM WITH PLANNING

The Prime Minister, in a party broadcast on Saturday night, said that Soviet Communism was pursuing a new form of imperialism "which threatens the welfare and way of life of the other nations of Europe." On the other hand, he said, was the United States with an economy based on capitalism with the characteristic extreme inequality of wealth in its citizens. The task of Britain was "to work out a system of a new and challenging kind" which would combine individual freedom and planned economy.

Mr. Attlee began by offering thanks "for the splendid effort that the nation made in 1947."

It had been, he said, a year of great strain, but instead of allowing themselves to be depressed by difficulties the British people had worked with a wonderful spirit to overcome them. We were far from being out of our troubles, but had made a fine start. He was certain that we should in the same spirit carry on through 1948 and achieve ultimate success.

He asked his hearers to be thankful that in this country we had freedom of debate. Besides all other opportunities for discussion there was the B.B.C., controlled neither by the Government nor by private interests, affording a platform for free and unfettered controversy. In Russia and the satellite countries of eastern Europe the voice of criticism was silenced. Only one view was allowed.

"A hundred years ago the year 1848 saw Liberals and Socialists in revolt all over Europe against absolute Governments which suppressed all opposition. It is ironical that to-day the absolutists who suppress opposition much more vigorously than the kings and emperors of the past masquerade under the name of upholders of democracy. It is a tragedy that a section of a movement which began in an endeavour to free the souls and bodies of men should have been perverted into an instrument for their enslavement. I recall this to you because I want to speak of the problem which is confronting us to-day."

"Mr. Walter Elliot a fortnight ago said that we wanted a restatement of the old controversy between freedom and order, liberty and authority. What is needed is not so much a restatement as a reconciliation, for we need

both authority and liberty. My contention is that this reconciliation can only be achieved through the application of the principles of democratic Socialism, of which the British Labour Party is the outstanding champion. I claim that here in Britain the British people, through the Labour Government, are giving a practical lead to the world, a lead which is needed to-day in order to preserve our heritage of European civilization, a lead which cannot be given by a Conservative or Liberal Government."

HERITAGE OF WEST

Liberalism which triumphed in western Europe was never really accepted or put into practice in eastern Europe. To-day in eastern Europe the Communist Party, while overthrowing an economic tyranny of landlordism and capitalism, had renounced the doctrines of individual freedom and political democracy and rejected the whole spiritual heritage of western Europe.

"The history of Soviet Russia provides us with a warning here—a warning that without political freedom collectivism can quickly go astray and lead to new forms of oppression and injustice. For political freedom is not merely a noble thing in itself, essential for the full development of human personality—it is also a means of achieving economic rights and social justice, and of preserving these things when they have been won. Where there is no political freedom, privilege and injustice creep back. In Communist Russia 'privilege for the few' is a growing phenomenon, and the gap between the highest and lowest incomes is constantly widening. Soviet Communism pursues a policy of imperialism in a new form—ideological, economic, and strategic—which threatens the welfare and way of life of the other nations of Europe."

"At the one end of the scale are the Communist countries: at the other end the United States of America stands for individual liberty in the political sphere and for the maintenance of human rights. But its economy is based on capitalism, with all the problems which it presents, and with the characteristic extreme inequality of wealth in its citizens. As a new country with immense resources it has not yet had to face the acute problems which have arisen in the other capitalist countries."

A NEW CONCEPTION

"Great Britain, like the other countries of western Europe, is placed geographically and from the point of view of economic and political theory between these two great continental States. That is not to say that our ideas are in any sense 'watered-down capitalism' or 'watered-down Communism'; nor that they constitute a temporary halting-place on a journey from one creed to the other. Ours is a philosophy in its own right. Our task is to work out a system of a new and challenging kind, which combines individual freedom with a planned economy, democracy with social

justice. This task which faces not only ourselves but all the western democracies requires a Government inspired by a new conception of society, with a dynamic policy in accord with the needs of a new situation. It could not be accomplished by any of the old parties, nor by a totalitarian party, whether Fascist or Communist."

Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons the other day said that the State needed both an engine and a brake. In the uphill task of raising the standard of life of the people the advocates of change had always had the brake put on against them, sometimes by the Liberals, but generally by the Conservatives. That was why progress was so slow and why reforms came so late.

A quarter of a century had gone by since the Sankey Commission reported in favour of nationalization. How much better placed we should have been to-day and how much misery and loss would have been avoided if what we had done now had been done then. Yet Mr. Elliot in his broadcast made the same old plea for national unity on the basis of Labour adopting a Conservative policy of letting things alone.

PLANNING ESSENTIAL

"It is indeed clear," the Prime Minister continued, "that the Conservatives have no policy to set against that of the Labour Party. They talk, it is true, of freeing the country from controls, but they know as well as anyone else that an uncontrolled economy is impossible in the conditions of world shortage to-day, especially for Britain in the position in which her sacrifices in the war have left her."

"No responsible Conservatives suggest that you can to-day do without Government planning. Where, then, do they disagree with us? I think that it is in the object aimed at. Unlike the Labour Party, which is a good cross section of the population, the Conservative Party, as you can see from its composition in the House of Commons, is a class party. It would, therefore, plan on a class basis. The Conservatives have reached the point of conceding the need for a national minimum standard of life, but above that there is to be a scramble for the surplus with the dice loaded in favour of the property owner. Hence their opposition to the transfer to the community of blocks of property which should in their view be used for the making of profit by the few."

"The policy of democratic socialism which the Labour Government is carrying out seeks to create conditions in which a good life will be attainable by every individual in the community, free from oppression whether by Governmental or by vested interests. Already great strides have been made towards a fairer distribution of wealth. Broad measures of social security have been passed. Basic industries are being steadily brought under public ownership without sacrificing any of the liberties which we all hold dear."

"The Labour Government is giving the lead which is needed not only by this country, but by Europe; and the nation is responding to that lead."

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The Manchester Guardian

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5 Jan. 19

PREMIER ON EUROPE'S NEW DANGER

Spread of Soviet Communism

An outspoken warning against the threat to freedom and political democracy arising from the spread of Communism in Eastern Europe was given by the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) in a political broadcast on Saturday.

He began by contrasting the opportunities for free and unfettered controversy in Britain with the position in Russia and the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, where "the voice of criticism is silenced and only one view is allowed." A hundred years ago Liberals and Socialists were in revolt all over Europe against absolute Governments which suppressed all opposition. "It is ironical that to-day the absolutists, who suppress opposition much more vigorously than the kings and emperors of the past, masquerade under the name of upholders of democracy. It is a tragedy that a section of the movement which began in an endeavour to free the souls and bodies of men should have been perverted into an instrument for their enslavement. . . .

DOCTRINE OF LIBERALISM

"In the nineteenth century the contest between liberty and authority was fought largely on political issues. Liberalism rendered a great service to the world in fighting for freedom of conscience and of speech, for personal liberty, and for political democracy, but it failed to deal with the problem of economic freedom. In the name of freedom it left in the hands of the few the power which the possession of land and capital gives to its possessors over the many. Therefore, when the struggle passed from the political to the economic field, the Liberal party was superseded. It had finished its task. The freedoms which it won are cherished to-day in this country not only by the Labour party but also by its old opponents the Conservatives, who have to a large extent accepted its political principles. That is why the Liberal party is reduced so low to-day. What is true and vital in Liberalism has become the common doctrine of all democratic parties.

"But Liberalism, which triumphed in Western Europe, was never really accepted or put into practice in Eastern Europe. To-day in Eastern Europe the Communist party, while overthrowing an economic tyranny of landlordism and capitalism, has renounced the doctrines of individual freedom and political democracy and rejected the whole spiritual heritage of Western Europe.

NEW FORMS OF OPPRESSION

"The history of Soviet Russia provides us with a warning here—a warning that without political freedom collectivism can quickly go astray and lead to new forms of oppression and injustice. . . . Where there is no political freedom privilege and injustice creep back. In Communist Russia 'privilege for the few' is a growing phenomenon, and the gap between the highest and lowest incomes is constantly widening. Soviet Communism pursues a policy which threatens with a new form of imperialism—ideological, economic, and strategic—the welfare and way of life of the other nations of Europe.

looking backwards made no appeal to the majority. Even a reformed and liberalised Conservatism, which nevertheless based itself on class inequality, made no appeal to a generation that remembered the suffering of the inter-war years and had seen what could be accomplished in war when everything was subordinated to the common good.

He spoke of the many things now "being done with general approval by the Labour Government which ought to have been done years ago," referring particularly to housing and town planning. "The scandal of bad housing conditions could, and should, have been remedied years ago. Our cities grew and sprawled over the countryside at the sweet will of private profit." Conservatives were indignant because in two and a half years the neglect of decades had not been remedied. The Town and Country Planning Bill, fifty or even a hundred years too late, was also passed with general consent, and they were bringing to an end the Poor Law with general agreement.

The state of the coalmining industry was a scandal for years. A quarter of a century had gone since the Sankey Commission reported in favour of nationalisation. How much better placed we should have been and how much misery and loss would have been avoided if what had been done now had been done then.

Yet Mr. Walter Elliot, in a recent broadcast, made the old plea for national unity on the basis of Labour adopting a Conservative policy of letting things alone. It was clear that the Conservatives had no policy to set against that of the Labour party. They talked of freeing the country from controls, but they knew as well as anyone that an uncontrolled economy was impossible in the conditions of world shortage to-day. No responsible Conservative suggested that it would be possible to-day to do without Government planning. "Where then do they disagree with us? I think that it is in the object aimed at. Unlike the Labour party, which is a good cross-section of the population, the Conservative party, as you can see from its composition in the House of Commons, is a class party. It would, therefore, plan on a class basis.

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY

The policy of democratic socialism which the Labour Government is carrying out seeks to create conditions in which a good life will be attainable by every individual in the community, free from oppression whether by Governmental or by vested interests. Already great strides have been made towards a fairer distribution of wealth. Broad measures of social security have been passed. Basic industries are being steadily brought under public ownership without sacrificing any of the liberties which we all hold dear.

"The Labour Government is giving the lead which is needed not only by this country but by Europe; and the nation is responding to that lead. Here is the vital point. Britain is a democracy, and in a democracy the Government leads and the people co-operate with the Government. I am confident that the Government has the co-operation of the people in its double task: that of reconciling liberty and authority and of basing freedom on social justice."

Mr. Attlee acknowledged the "splendid effort" made by the nation in 1947. As a nation we had overcome great difficulties.

He began by contrasting the opportunities for free and unfettered controversy in Britain with the position in Russia and the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, where "the voice of criticism is silenced and only one view is allowed." A hundred years ago Liberals and Socialists were in revolt all over Europe against absolute Governments which suppressed all opposition. "It is ironical that to-day the absolutists, who suppress opposition much more vigorously than the kings and emperors of the past, masquerade under the name of upholders of democracy. It is a tragedy that a section of the movement which began in an endeavour to free the souls and bodies of men should have been perverted into an instrument for their enslavement. . . .

DOCTRINE OF LIBERALISM

"In the nineteenth century the contest between liberty and authority was fought largely on political issues. Liberalism rendered a great service to the world in fighting for freedom of conscience and of speech, for personal liberty, and for political democracy, but it failed to deal with the problem of economic freedom. In the name of freedom it left in the hands of the few the power which the possession of land and capital gives to its possessors over the many. Therefore, when the struggle passed from the political to the economic field, the Liberal party was superseded. It had finished its task. The freedoms which it won are cherished to-day in this country not only by the Labour party but also by its old opponents the Conservatives, who have to a large extent accepted its political principles. That is why the Liberal party is reduced so low to-day. What is true and vital in Liberalism has become the common doctrine of all democratic parties.

"But Liberalism, which triumphed in Western Europe, was never really accepted or put into practice in Eastern Europe. To-day in Eastern Europe the Communist party, while overthrowing an economic tyranny of landlordism and capitalism, has renounced the doctrines of individual freedom and political democracy and rejected the whole spiritual heritage of Western Europe.

NEW FORMS OF OPPRESSION

"The history of Soviet Russia provides us with a warning here—a warning that without political freedom collectivism can quickly go astray and lead to new forms of oppression and injustice. . . . Where there is no political freedom privilege and injustice creep back. In Communist Russia 'privilege for the few' is a growing phenomenon, and the gap between the highest and lowest incomes is constantly widening. Soviet Communism pursues a policy which threatens with a new form of imperialism—ideological, economic, and strategic—the welfare and way of life of the other nations of Europe.

"At the one end of the scale are the Communist countries: at the other end the United States of America stands for individual liberty in the political sphere and for the maintenance of human rights. But its economy is based on capitalism, with all the problems which it presents, and with the characteristic extreme inequality of wealth in its citizens. As a new country with immense resources it has not yet had to face the acute problems which have arisen in the other capitalist countries.

"Great Britain, like the other countries of Western Europe, is placed geographically and from the point of view of economic and political theory between these two great continental States. That is not to say that our ideas are in any sense 'watered-down capitalism' or 'watered-down Communism'; nor that they constitute a temporary halting-place on a journey from one creed to the other. Ours is a philosophy in its own right. Our task is to work out a system of a new and challenging kind, which combines individual freedom with a planned economy, democracy with social justice.

"This task, which faces not only ourselves but all the Western democracies, requires a Government inspired by a new conception of society with a dynamic policy in accord with the needs of a new situation. It could not be accomplished by any of the old parties, nor by a totalitarian party, whether Fascist or Communist."

A Conservatism rooted in the past and

common good.

He spoke of the many things now "being done with general approval by the Labour Government which ought to have been done years ago," referring particularly to housing and town planning. "The scandal of bad housing conditions could, and should, have been remedied years ago. Our cities grew and sprawled over the countryside at the sweet will of private profit." Conservatives were indignant because in two and a half years the neglect of decades had not been remedied. The Town and Country Planning Bill, fifty or even a hundred years too late, was also passed with general consent, and they were bringing to an end the Poor Law with general agreement.

The state of the coalmining industry was a scandal for years. A quarter of a century had gone since the Sankey Commission reported in favour of nationalisation. How much better placed we should have been and how much misery and loss would have been avoided if what had been done now had been done then.

Yet Mr. Walter Elliot, in a recent broadcast, made the old plea for national unity on the basis of Labour adopting a Conservative policy of letting things alone. It was clear that the Conservatives had no policy to set against that of the Labour party. They talked of freeing the country from controls, but they knew as well as anyone that an uncontrolled economy was impossible in the conditions of world shortage to-day. No responsible Conservative suggested that it would be possible to-day to do without Government planning. "Where then do they disagree with us? I think that it is in the object aimed at. Unlike the Labour party, which is a good cross-section of the population, the Conservative party, as you can see from its composition in the House of Commons, is a class party. It would, therefore, plan on a class basis.

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY

The policy of democratic socialism which the Labour Government is carrying out seeks to create conditions in which a good life will be attainable by every individual in the community, free from oppression whether by Governmental or by vested interests. Already great strides have been made towards a fairer distribution of wealth. Broad measures of social security have been passed. Basic industries are being steadily brought under public ownership without sacrificing any of the liberties which we all hold dear.

"The Labour Government is giving the lead which is needed not only by this country but by Europe; and the nation is responding to that lead. Here is the vital point. Britain is a democracy, and in a democracy the Government leads and the people co-operate with the Government. I am confident that the Government has the co-operation of the people in its double task: that of reconciling liberty and authority and of basing freedom on social justice."

Mr. Attlee acknowledged the "splendid effort" made by the nation in 1947. As a nation we had overcome great difficulties. We had had to face serious shortages necessitated by our economic position but instead of allowing themselves to be depressed by these difficulties the people had worked with a wonderful spirit to overcome them. We were far from being out of our troubles, but we had made a fine start, and he was certain we would achieve ultimate success.

PRODUCTION FIGURES

Mr. H. A. Marquand, Paymaster General, at Cardiff last night said the gap between Britain's visible imports and exports had been narrowing during recent weeks, but we were not yet out of the wood. A great effort on the farms, in the mines and factories, and in every kind of useful activity was still needed. In production the omens were good, but he made an earnest appeal for a special effort to secure heavy steel scrap for return to the furnaces. Quoting figures, Mr. Marquand said cotton yarn production last October was about 6,000,000lb. per week higher than in September, and 7,000,000lb. a week above the monthly average of 1946. Railway wagon production reached 4,119 in October, compared with the 1946 monthly average of 3,280. In October, too, 152,300 tons of compound fertilisers were produced, against 109,500 for an average month in 1946.

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The Manchester Guardian

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5. Jan. 48

Nr. vo.

Mr. Attlee's Broadcast

It was inevitable that the passage in the Prime Minister's broadcast to attract most attention was his strong condemnation of Communist tyranny, but to concentrate on that would be to do him an injustice. The address was a well-argued and moderately phrased justification of British "social democracy." With much of what he said about it all of us would agree. Indeed, he overstressed the differences between British parties; it is rather unfair to treat the Conservatism of the "Industrial Charter" as being either "class" doctrine or "locking backwards." But this may pass. What is important is that Mr. Attlee should be arguing that there is a British way of life, better ordered than the American way but equally freedom-loving, and as far removed as the American from the enslavement of Soviet Communism. It obviously finds, in its attachment to the great human freedoms, close spiritual kinship with America, while in some economic respects it may be more closely bound to Western Europe. In the practical issues of policy that are now confronting us there is no doubt where we stand. Mr. Attlee drew the sad contrast between 1848 and 1948; in the year of revolutions Europe revolted against "absolute Governments which suppressed all opposition," but to-day the absolutists who suppress opposition "masquerade under the name of upholders of democracy." The Communists in Eastern Europe have renounced the doctrines of individual freedom and political democracy and rejected the whole "spiritual heritage of Western Europe." It is this heritage that we have to preserve, and there are many in Mr. Attlee's party who should reflect on his words and search their hearts as to whether they are not actually aiding the destroyers.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

Attlee
element

00740 0105 BEC
Niederdeutsche Zeitung (Hamburg)

Nr. 2 - vom - 6. Jan. 1948

Attlee: „Bedrohung aus dem Osten“

London, 5. Januar (dpd).

Der britische Premierminister Attlee erklärte in seiner Rundfunkansprache, daß der sowjetische Kommunismus durch eine neue Form der imperialistischen, ideologischen und wirtschaftlichen Strategie die anderen europäischen Länder bedrohe. „Die Geschichte der Sowjetunion“, sagte Attlee, „gibt uns eine Warnung: Daß ohne politische Freiheit der politische Kollektivismus entarten und zur Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit führen kann.“

Das Jahr 1948 habe für ganz Europa eine liberale Revolution gegen die autoritären Regierungen gebracht. Es sei nun nicht ohne Ironie, daß man heute sehen könne, wie in Ländern ohne „absolute Herrscher“ alle Opposition unterdrückt werde und man sich dahinter verberge, Vorkämpfer der Demokratie zu sein. „Der Liberalismus, der in Westeuropa triumphierte, wurde niemals in Osteuropa angewandt“, fuhr Attlee fort. Großbritannien wie die anderen westeuropäischen Länder ständen nicht nur geographisch, sondern auch wirtschaftlich und politisch zwischen den beiden Extremen USA und UdSSR. Unsere Aufgabe ist es, ein neues System auszuarbeiten, das die persönliche Freiheit und die Demokratie mit der sozialen Gerechtigkeit vereinigt.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

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Hamburger Echo

6 Jan. 48

Demokratie vereinigt mit sozialer Gerechtigkeit

Clement Attlee über die Mission des demokratischen Sozialismus

HE London, 5. Januar

Der britische Premierminister Attlee sprach am Sonnabend in einer Rundfunkrede über die Politik der britischen Labour Party.

Er setzte sich dabei mit der Praxis des sogenannten Kommunismus auseinander und erklärte: „Die Geschichte des sowjetischen Kommunismus gibt uns die Warnung, daß ohne politische Freiheit der Kollektivismus entarten und zu neuen Formen der Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit führen kann.“

Die liberale und soziale Revolution, die im vergangenen Jahrhundert eingeleitet wurde, habe Gewissens- und Redefreiheit, persönliche Freiheit und politische Demokratie allgemein zum Leitsatz aller demokratischen Parteien gemacht. In Osteuropa sei der Liberalismus zu keiner Zeit verwirklicht worden. Dort versuche die Kommunistische Partei, sich von der Wirtschaftstyrannie des Kapitalismus und des Großgrundbesitzes zu befreien, aber sie verzichte auf die Lehren von der persönlichen Freiheit und der demokratischen Politik und weise alles geistige Erbe aus Westeuropa zurück.

Im kommunistischen Rußland lassen sich in zunehmendem Maße Vorrechte für einige wenige feststellen und die Kluft zwischen den höchsten und niedrigsten Einkommen nehme ständig zu. Der sowjetische Kommunismus verfolge eine Politik, die das Wohlergehen und die Lebensart der anderen Nationen Europas mit einer neuen Form des Imperialismus bedrohe, und zwar in ideologischer, wirtschaftlicher und strategischer Hinsicht.

Auf der anderen Seite — erklärte Attlee — stehen

die Vereinigten Staaten, in denen zwar die individuelle Freiheit garantiert ist, aber deren Wirtschaftssystem auf dem Kapitalismus mit all seinen Problemen und den extremen Ungleichheiten im Wohlstand beruhe. Die Vereinigten Staaten haben sich, als ein neues Land mit gewaltigen Hilfsquellen, noch nicht den akuten Problemen gegenübergesehen, die in anderen kapitalistischen Ländern entstanden sind.

Großbritannien steht sowohl geographisch als auch vom wirtschaftlichen und politischen Standpunkt aus gesehen zwischen den beiden großen kontinentalen Staaten Rußland und Amerika. Dies bedeute aber nicht, daß die Weltanschauung der Engländer in einem verwässerten Kapitalismus oder in einem verwässerten Kommunismus bestehe, noch daß sie einen vorübergehenden Haltepunkt auf dem Wege von einem Glaubensbekenntnis zum anderen darstelle. Attlee sagte: „Unsere Aufgabe ist es, ein neues System auszuarbeiten, das die persönliche Freiheit mit der Planwirtschaft und die Demokratie mit sozialer Gerechtigkeit vereinigt.“ Dieses System könne durch keine der alten Parteien und ebensowenig durch eine totalitäre Partei, sei sie faschistisch oder kommunistisch, geschaffen werden.

„Die Politik des demokratischen Sozialismus, den die britische Arbeiterregierung verwirklicht, versucht ein besseres Leben für alle zu sichern, wobei die Gemeinschaft frei von Unterdrückung durch die Regierung oder durch getarnte Interessen sein soll.“

(up-ap)

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The Manchester Guardian

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24. Jan. 48

N MR. ATTLEE'S APPEAL
TO WORKERS

"Don't Increase Costs"

The Prime Minister was asked by Mr. Hugh Molson (C.—High Peak) in the House of Commons yesterday what steps the Government proposed to take to prevent increase in wages or reduction in working hours where there was no compensating increase in production, and which Ministers were responsible for averting the spiral of inflation against which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had warned.

Mr. Attlee, in a written reply, said : "It is the Government's policy to entrust to organised industry the responsibility for determining terms and conditions of employment, but the Government have taken all steps to inform the two sides and the country generally of the full facts of our economic position and of the overriding need for maximum production and for avoiding any action which would increase costs. I would emphasise the appeal which I have already made to workers in all industries and employments not to press at this time for increases of wages or changes in conditions which would have a similar effect.

"As regards the second part of the question, this is a responsibility shared by all Ministers."

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The Times (London)

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MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM OF COMMUNISM

CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGIES

Mr. Attlee, addressing Oxford University Labour Club last night, said that one heard a great deal about splits and sections within the Labour movement. He had been 25 years and more in the House of Commons and had never known a more united party than they had to-day.

Communism, bred on the continent in the atmosphere of authoritarianism and brought to flower in the soil of Czarism, had turned its back on civilization. "In the Labour movement we have steadily repelled unity with the Communist Party because of fundamental differences," he said. "Our British Socialism, our western European Socialism, has its roots in European civilization, in humanism, in Christianity and, in this country, in our British history."

"The Russians have to work out their own destiny. The Russian Communists have had an extraordinarily difficult problem, because they have been trying to catch up with a lag of at least 300 years. We were hopeful, in the days when the revolution came to Russia, that we were to see a fairly rapid evolution in Russia. I regret we have not seen it. What we have seen is an inverted Czarism, in which people, knowing very little of anything but the Czarist régime, have put a different class in. As far as the freedom of the individual is concerned they have not progressed very far. But they started a very long way behind scratch."

"It is idle to deny that there is a conflict between two ideologies—the totalitarian ideology and the democratic ideology. It is my belief that the things we all value in universities, that the treasure we have inherited down the ages, can only be preserved in the casket of democratic Socialism. This great fight is on and we are all enlisted in it."

"Some say there are grave divisions in the Labour Party between the men from the trade unions and the men from the middle class. There is no truth in it at all, certainly not in the House of Commons. We have got beyond that idea of the segregation of the classes. Our Government and party in the House for the first time is really representative."

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Die Neue Zeitung (München)

Nr. 13 vom 15. Feb. 1948

Attlee: Abgewandelter Zarismus

Neue Regierungsmaßnahmen gegen die Wirtschaftskrise

Oxford (DENA/INS). — Premierminister Clement R. Attlee bezeichnete am 13. Februar in einer Rede den Kommunismus als abgewandelten Zarismus. „Der Kommunismus“, sagte Attlee, „der auf dem Kontinent in einer autoritären Atmosphäre groß geworden und auf dem Boden des Zarismus entwickelt worden ist, hat der Zivilisation den Rücken gewandt.“

Die Sowjets, so führte er weiter aus, stünden vor dem schwierigen Versuch, einen Rückstand von mindestens 300 Jahren aufzuholen. „Als es in der Sowjetunion zur Revolution kam, hatten wir auf eine rasche revolutionäre Entwicklung gehofft. Was wir aber nun sehen, ist ein abgewandelter Zarismus, unter dem die Menschen die Dinge nur mit verändertem Vorzeichen sehen. Was die Freiheit des Individuums betrifft, so haben die Sowjets keine großen Fortschritte erzielt. Unser britischer Sozialismus und der Westeuropas haben ihre Wurzeln in der europäischen Zivilisation, im Humanismus, im Christentum, und in England in unserer britischen Geschichte. Es wäre müßig, wollte man abstreiten, daß die totalitäre und demokratische Ideologie miteinander in Konflikt geraten sind.“

Attlee stellte fest, daß England mitten in einem gewaltigen Experiment, dem Aufbau des Sozialismus stehe und betonte, daß die Labour Party eine einheitliche Bewegung zusammen mit den Kommunisten „aus grundlegenden Meinungsverschiedenheiten immer abgelehnt“ habe.

Die britische Regierung traf inzwischen erste Maßnahmen zur Durchführung ihres neuen Programms, das weitere Preissteigerungen auf-

halten und eine Inflation vermeiden soll. Wirtschaftsminister Sir Stafford Cripps hatte dazu im Unterhaus im Namen der Regierung die Aufrechterhaltung des im Dezember 1947 und Januar 1948 in Großbritannien herrschenden Preisniveaus vorgeschlagen und die Unternehmer zur Ausarbeitung eines Planes zur Senkung der Preise und der Unternehmergewinne aufgefordert. Cripps sagte in seiner Unterhausrede, daß übermäßige Gewinne das gesamte Wirtschaftssystem gefährden könnten. Wenn die Unternehmer sich in dieser Hinsicht mäßigten, bestünde eine große Chance, daß auch die Lohn- und Gehaltsempfänger sich Zurückhaltung auferlegten. Großbritanniens bedeutendste Unternehmerorganisation, der Verband britischer Industrien, habe bereits seine Bereitswilligkeit erklärt, den größtmöglichen Beitrag zur Erreichung dieses Zieles zu leisten.

Cripps' Worte fanden im *US-Außenministerium*, UP zufolge, starke Beachtung. Ein Finanzsachverständiger nannte sie ermutigend, da sie erkennen ließen, daß England sich seiner schwierigen Lage bewußt und zu ihrer Besserung entschlossen sei.

Auch *Australien* will England in der gegenwärtigen Krise helfen. Der Führer der Liberalen Partei Australiens, Robert Menzies, forderte eine Konferenz der Commonwealth-Staaten, die Mittel und Wege finden soll, um das Empire vor dem wirtschaftlichen Zusammenbruch zu bewahren. Der „*Sidney Daily Herald*“ mahnt alle Australier: „Wenn England scheitert, versinken wir alle.“

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

Attlee
P. Clement

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The Times (London)
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Nr. vom

NEED TO BE PREPARED

MR. ATTLEE ON IMPORTANCE OF TERRITORIAL ARMY

The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for War, and Mr. Eden, speaking at an L.C.C. reception to Territorials last night, emphasized that if war should come there would be no waiting period, and that there was a great need for the Territorial Army.

Mr. ATTLEE said that all were earnestly working and hoping for peace, but they knew that we must be prepared. They did not know what the next war, if it ever came, would be like. Certainly no war was very like the last. If there came another war it would come swiftly; there would be no time for training the citizen soldier.

Mr. SHINWELL said that the War Office was obtaining suitable accommodation and equipment for the Territorial Army and defining its precise function. The present strength was about 40,000 men. He did not share the view that the results of Territorial recruiting were disappointing having regard to the difficulties.

Mr. EDEN said that with world conditions as they were at present preparedness was a great contribution to peace. "If we could make it plain that while we menace no one we should defend ourselves we should have made a lasting step on the road to peace."

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

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Attlee
P. Clement

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The Times (London)

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Nr. vom

**MR. ATTLEE ON GOOD
CITIZENSHIP**

LOCAL PATRIOTISM

The PRIME MINISTER, when on Saturday he received the freedom of Greenwich, spoke of the British tradition of democratic local government.

Nearly 30 years ago I was Mayor of Stepney, and was afterwards an alderman (Mr. Attlee said). It was a fine training for Parliament. Good citizenship begins in the smaller unit. To be a good citizen of Britain, of the British Commonwealth, and of the world, you want to start by being a good citizen of your town or village. Local patriotism, like national patriotism, is one of the things which transcend party, something in which we can all join.

In these times we all realize more than ever how precious a thing is freedom. This freedom which you have given me is enclosed in a fine strong casket of oak. It may fittingly symbolize how that democratic freedom for which we stand was, in the dark years when tyranny engulfed Europe, preserved here in Britain, defended by stout British hearts of oak. Long may it continue and long may we be strong to preserve it from foreign foe or traitor from within.

Hamburgisches
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The Manchester Guardian

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Nr.

vom

3. Mai. 48

PREMIER ON NENNI TELEGRAM

"Instigators Wanted to Sabotage Government's Foreign Policy"

What was described by Mr. E. Shinwell (Secretary for War) as "a little spot of bother in the Labour party over the Nenni telegram" was the subject of several speeches on Saturday.

Mr. Attlee (Prime Minister) said in a speech at a May Day demonstration at Plymouth that the "active instigators" of the Nenni telegram knew what they were doing. "They wanted to sabotage the foreign policy of the Government which they were returned to support," he said. "They wanted to see Italy go the way of Rumania and Czechoslovakia. We have been very patient, but the time comes when action is necessary. It has been obvious for some time that there were members—not very many—whose whole attitude seemed to be far more consistent with membership of the Communist party than with loyal adherence to the Labour party.

"There can be no greater mistake than to imagine that the Communist party is the party of the Left. In a very wide range of human activity the Communists are extreme reactionaries. The Communist creed—itsself an extremely narrow and perverted variant of Socialist theory—has found its home in the most backward part of Europe and has there acquired the characteristic of its surroundings. The Communist thesis which seeks to explain all life in narrow economic terms is a most inadequate creed. It provides a slogan and line of action for destruction, but is exceedingly weak on construction.

BEMUSED BY LABELS

"There are people who are so bemused by labels that they think that because Soviet Russia calls itself a Union of Soviet Republics that it is in the vanguard of progress and cannot be imperialist, while the British Empire is imperialist. In all the essentials of freedom the peoples of the British Empire are far ahead of the citizens of the Soviet.

"We endeavoured to work closely with our Allies of the war in making peace and in building up the United Nations. We hoped that the policy of hostility to social democracy and of attempts to bring all the world into the Communist pattern had been abandoned, but we have been disappointed. We believe in democracy, and where democracy is threatened we shall do all we can to support it.

"What does the British Communist suggest as an alternative to the Marshall Plan as a means of maintaining and increasing the standard of life of our

people? Nothing. The fact is, they are more interested in Russia than in England; in the victory of their own fanatical creed than in the lives of the people."

Mr. Shinwell said at a May Day demonstration at Crimdon Park in the Seaham Division of Durham that the little spot of bother in the Labour party over the Nenni telegram could be easily handled. "Speaking as chairman of the Labour Party Executive, I am convinced this small cloud will have very little effect on the party's future, but we cannot afford to have party decisions defied."

A significant feature of this year's May Day, he added, was the universal desire that nations should co-operate with a view to promoting a lasting peace. The people were sick of war and convinced that conflicts among nations not only failed to solve world problems but created others. If the common people made up their minds that there would be no more war we should be spared the horrors of another conflict.

POLITICAL SALVATION

Mr. S. T. Swingler, one of the 21 M.P.s asked to give an undertaking to the secretary of the Labour party following their part in the Nenni telegram, told his constituents at Stafford: "I have always believed and continue to believe that the only way for the political salvation for the people in the country lies through the British Labour Party."

Asked if he would give the undertaking required, Mr. Swingler said he had not yet drafted his reply to Mr. Phillips. "It is not my custom to issue things which amount to correspondence between two individuals about a domestic matter concerning the Labour party," he declared. "I hope, however, that what I have said this afternoon will indicate the nature of the reply I am likely to send."

Mr. Swingler was given a vote of confidence by his supporters.

Mr. Julius Silverman, Labour M.P. for Erdington, Birmingham, another of the signatories to the telegram, said at Evesham that as a member of the Labour party he had a right to be critical of any Government policy within the limits of party policy. "I think it is a small matter and certainly not worth a split in the Labour party," he added. "The job we have in hand is serious enough and difficult enough to demand all the energy of our united movement. I hope we shall be united."

Mr. W. G. Cove, Labour M.P. for Aberavon, whose signature was also attached to the Nenni telegram, has given an assurance that he will comply with the request of the National Executive Committee. Mr. Cove visited his constituency during the week-end, but was not called upon to discuss the matter with the executive of the Aberavon Divisional Labour party.

Hamburgisches
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Attlee
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00740 0114 BEC
Hamb. Allgemeine Zeitung

Nr. 36 vom 4. Mai 1948

„Muster eines Polizeistaates“

Scharfe Kritik Attlees am Kommunismus

Plymouth, 4. 5. (ap). In einem seiner schärfsten Angriffe gegen den Kommunismus seit seinem Amtsantritt bezeichnete Ministerpräsident Attlee in einer Arbeiterversammlung zur Feier des 1. Mai die Sowjetunion und den Kommunismus als „unheilvolle, nazi-ähnliche Kräfte, die auf die Zerstörung der Freiheit in Europa hinarbeiten“. Überall dort, wo die Kommunisten stark genug seien, fuhr Attlee fort, versuchten sie die demokratischen Kräfte zu vernichten. Durch betrügerische Handlungsweise hätten sie nach und nach in jedem Lande Osteuropas eine kommunistische Diktatur errichtet. Die Sowjetunion, die Attlee als eine rückständige Nation bezeichnete, sei das erlesenste Musterbeispiel eines Polizeistaates, ein Land, in dem Furcht und Unterdrückung zu Hause sind. Nichts sei irriger, so meinte Attlee, als anzunehmen, daß die Kommunistische Partei schlechthin die Partei der Linken sei. Im weitesten Sinne seien die Kommunisten die extremsten Reaktionäre. Die Ideologie des Kommunismus, eine äußerst engstirnige und verfälschte Variante der sozialistischen Theorien, sei in dem rückständigsten Gebiet Europas zu Hause und trüge die Merkmale ihrer Umgebung.

Hamburgisches
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Signature.....

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The Manchester Guardian
31694 13.Mai.48

N LORDS REFORM

No Useful Purpose in
Reopening Talks

—Mr. Attlee

Mr. Attlee (Prime Minister) told a questioner in the House of Commons yesterday that he did not think it would be useful to reopen discussions concerning the composition of the House of Lords at the present moment.

Mr. R. Chamberlain (Lab.—Norwood) had asked him to state the Government's policy.

Mr. Attlee said paragraph five of the White Paper on the Parliament Bill summarised certain general proposals which he would have been prepared to commend, in principle, to the Labour party if it had been possible to find a basis of agreement between the parties on the composition and the powers of the Second Chamber. A great deal of time had been spent in trying to reach an agreement, without success.

00740 0116 BEC
Die Welt (Hamburg)

58 20. Mai 1948
Nr. vom

Attlee rechtfertigt Labour

Dalton droht mit weiteren Verstaatlichungen

Von unserem Berichterstatter

H. J. K. London, 19. Mai

Das klare Bekenntnis zum Sozialismus als der für die Gegenwart angemessenen Lebensform und eine Würdigung der Leistungen und der Zusammenarbeit der Labourregierung gab Premierminister Attlee heute auf der Jahreskonferenz der Labourpartei, die damit ihren Höhepunkt erreichte.

Attlee war während der umfangreichen Debatten über Methoden und Tempo der Sozialisierungspolitik, als deren Hauptsprecher am Dienstag der Lordpräsident des Kronrats, Morrison, und der frühere Schatzkanzler Dalton aufgetreten waren, ohne Unterbrechung anwesend gewesen.

Angesichts der Spannungen in der Labour Party wude sein Hinweis auf die kameradschaftliche Zusammenarbeit der Labour-Fraktion mit besonderem Beifall begrüßt: „Ich habe mehr als 25 Jahre im Parlament gearbeitet, aber ich habe niemals eine so gute Zusammenarbeit in der Partei erlebt. Wir mußten zwar einige Mitglieder ausschließen, aber ich möchte doch nachdrücklich betonen, daß der weitaus größte Teil der Partei von Loyalität und ständiger Bereitschaft zur Mitarbeit erfüllt war.“

Man hätte die Wirtschaftspolitik des Schatzkanzlers Cripps, die Finanzpolitik Daltons und die Außenpolitik Bevins so darzustellen versucht, als ob es in der Regierung keine Zusammenarbeit gäbe. Tatsächlich hätten die Partei und das Kabinett die sehr erheblichen Schwierigkeiten bewältigt, weil eine klare und bestimmte Politik ausgearbeitet wurde.

Diese politische Einstellung verteidigte Attlee in seiner Rede besonders gegenüber der Kritik der konservativen Opposition, der er eine mangelnde Kontinuität vorwarf, weil sie einmal für die Abschaffung der staatlichen Wirtschaft und

Kontrolle eintrete, dann wieder für die Ausdehnung des Kontrollsystems in bestimmten Fällen: „Die Opposition versucht einfach, aus unseren Schwierigkeiten Kapital zu schlagen. Das ist ihre einzige Taktik.“

Die Entschlossenheit, auf dem sozialistischen Weg fortzufahren, die Attlee unterstrichen hatte, ging noch schärfer aus der leidenschaftlichen Dienstagrede Daltons hervor, der in Anwesenheit von Sir Stafford Cripps andeutete, daß, wenn gewisse monopolistisch eingestellte Industrielle weiter nur auf die Steigerung ihrer Dividenden bedacht blieben, ein Grund vorhanden sei, ihre Betriebe auf die nächste Sozialisierungsliste zu setzen.

Nach einer sehr lebhaften Debatte, die einer Erörterung der Lohn- und Preispolitik der Regierung folgte, wurde eine Entschlieung angenommen, die eine scharfe Kontrolle der Industriegewinne und hohen Einkommen forderte.

Morrison hatte am gleichen Tage die sozialistische Wirtschaftspolitik untersucht, deren Erfolg allein von der wachsenden Produktion abhängt. Er gab seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck, daß die kapitalistische Wirtschaftsordnung in den 20 Jahren, die dem ersten Weltkrieg folgten, das Produktionsproblem nicht gelöst hätte, das die Labourbewegung jetzt lösen müsse. Dazu gehöre vor allem ein langfristiger Beschaffungsplan, der in 10 oder 15 Jahren eine moderne Industrie auf die Beine stellen könnte.

James Griffith Labour-Vorsitzender

Dena. London, 19. Mai

Sozialversicherungsminister James Griffith wurde heute vom neuen Labour-Parteivorstand für das nächste Jahr zum Vorsitzenden gewählt. Stellverteter wurde Sam Watson.

(Siehe auch Seite 4)

Labour-Kongreß gegen Griechenland-Greuel

Scarborough, 19. Mai

Die Nationale Exekutive der britischen Labour-Partei, der auch Ministerpräsident Attlee angehört, nahm eine Sonderentschließung an, in der die kürzlich in Griechenland erfolgten Hinrichtungen verurteilt werden und die Athener Regierung aufgefordert wird, im Kampf gegen die kommunistischen Guerillastreitkräfte nur legale Mittel anzuwenden.

Die Exekutive beschloß ferner den Ausschluß des Abgeordneten Alfred Edwards wegen seiner Kritik an der Verstaatlichungspolitik der britischen Regierung und des Abgeordneten John Platts-Mills wegen seiner Beteiligung an dem Nenni-Telegramm anlässlich der italienischen Wahlen.

Verteidigungsminister Emanuel Shinwell eröffnete im Anschluß an die Beratungen der Nationalen Exekutive den diesjährigen Kongreß der Labour-Partei in Anwesenheit von 1100 Delegierten.

Darunter Ministerpräsident Attlee, Lordkanzler Morrison und Gesundheitsminister Bevan, mit der Warnung, daß ein neuer Krieg ausbrechen könne, obwohl die gesamte Nation gegen einen solchen eingestellt sei. Er griff ferner die Nationalisierungspolitik seiner Partei als noch nicht ausreichend an und bestritt in seiner Ansprache, daß die wirtschaftliche Hilfe der USA Großbritannien in ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu diesen bringe.

Zur Innenpolitik äußerte Shinwell, daß eine Rückkehr zur unbeschränkten freien Initiative im Wirtschaftsleben undenkbar sei, wie auch eine Notkoalition mit den Konservativen. Die industrielle Ausrüstung der Nation müsse von Grund auf überholt werden, und im übrigen könne die Labour-Partei keine hartnäckige subversive Betätigung von eigenen Mitgliedern dulden.

Bei den Neuwahlen zur Partei-Exekutive am Dienstag gelang es dem linken Flügel der Partei erstmalig in Michael Foot einen ihrer Männer auf einen führenden Posten zu bringen, wodurch Philip J. Noël-Baker von seinem Amt verdrängt wurde.

(UP.—Reuter-dpd.)

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur.....

00740 DM7 BEC
The Manchester Guardian
31707 28.Mai.48

PREMIER ON FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

Meaning of the Five-Power Treaty

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee), speaking last night at the sixtieth anniversary dinner of the Foreign Press Association, in London, said that, besides freedom to express opinion in speech and in print, freedom of conscience, freedom of the individual, and the rule of law were, if not always honoured in practice, at least accepted as valid by all Governments which wished to be considered civilised. When war broke out these rights were, at least among some of the belligerents, early casualties, and it was generally some time before they regained their full vigour. But more serious was the emergence during the inter-war years of doctrines which denied their validity altogether. These evil doctrines had not passed away with defeat of Nazi Germany.

The creation of real understanding between peoples depended upon a wide dissemination among the ordinary citizens in all countries of knowledge of the nature and way of life of their fellow citizens of the world. In spite of the advent of the wireless and the film, the newspaper was still the greatest medium for spreading this knowledge. The foreign correspondent of a newspaper was the interpreter of the mind of one nation to another, but he could not do his work unless he had freedom to speak his mind and unless the newspaper for which he worked was free.

FOUNDATIONS OF WORLD PEACE

They were seeking to lay the foundations of world peace. In this he regarded the members of the Foreign Press Association as most potent allies of Governments. The press was the medium above all others that could, given freedom, strengthen the bonds

between the peoples just as, if misused and fettered, it could endanger peace.

They must do their utmost, he continued, to ensure the success of the United Nations. The existence of the British Commonwealth and Empire was a buttress to the United Nations. They were now seeking to carry out in another field the conception of co-operation based on the possession of common interests and common ideas.

"It is from this point of view," he said, "that I should like you to consider the policy of Western Union, a policy directed against no other States but designed for the wellbeing of all its members. The peoples of Western Europe share a common heritage. If now we wish to preserve our heritage we must not be content with a negative attack on rival creeds, we must make our profession of faith in freedom and democracy. We must be ready to incur the sacrifices necessary to defend what we hold dear.

The union of the West in its essence is not a sterile military alliance, still less is it a power block. It is an association of free peoples based on a community of ideas. Co-operation for mutual economic advantage and co-operation in defence are necessary to give a firm material basis on which this spiritual unity can rest. This is the meaning and content of the Five-Power treaty.

The rehabilitation of Western Europe would contribute to the maintenance of peace. A strong and prosperous association of free peoples would never be guilty of a war of aggression; they would only be concerned to pursue the peaceful development of their joint resources for the common good. Western Union would take its place in the world like other associations of neighbouring States. The British Commonwealth of Nations is not directed against anyone. Nor is Western Union.

00740 0118 BEC
The Manchester Guardian

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1. Juni 1946

NO RIFT WITH U.S. ON PALESTINE

Mr. Attlee's Statement

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Attlee asked that Mr. Bevin should be excused from making a statement on Palestine in view of the Security Council's endeavour to arrange a cease-fire. "These matters are now under consideration by the various parties and it would be unfortunate there should be a statement made or questions put that may jeopardise the possibility of their acceptance." In reply to Mr. Eden he said that the Government was using its endeavours with both parties in support of the resolution agreed by the United Nations.

Captain J. F. Crowder (Con.—Finchley) asked whether Mr. Attlee would do his best to heal the rift between Washington and London and to make plain to Washington what British policy was. "I am not aware of any rift of that kind," Mr. Attlee replied.

Mr. M. Philips Price (Lab.—Forest of Dean) asked whether the Foreign Secretary would give an assurance that there had been no change in the Government's policy that it was not prepared to take part in enforcing a solution which was unacceptable to either party. Mr. C. P. Mayhew (Parliamentary Under Secretary, Foreign Office) replied that there had been no change.

Mr. Mayhew said that to the ending of the mandate there was no direct evidence that British war material supplied to Egypt, Iraq, or Transjordan had been diverted to Palestine. Since May 14 the Arab forces operating in Palestine were, no doubt, making use of equipment supplied to them by this country for several years. The export of war material to the Middle East was now covered by the resolution of the Security Council yesterday.

Mr. H. L. Austin (Lab.—Stretford) suggested that article 1 of the treaty of alliance between the British Government and the Emir of Transjordan had been violated by the Emir's refusal to cease hostilities in response to the United Nations demand. Mr. Mayhew replied that the treaty had not been violated because Palestine was not a foreign country within the meaning of article 1. Mr. Mayhew later said that £3,790,000 had been paid to the Transjordan Government during the last two years under the treaty of alliance of March, 1946. Provision had been made during 1948-9 for £2,000,000 for maintenance and £500,000 special grant for equipment. Of these sums £840,000 had been spent.

Mr. Mayhew said that approximately £10,000,000 had been provided through grants in aid by the British Exchequer to the Government of Palestine during the period of the mandate. Apart from this—and amongst other expenditure—there had been continuous and large military expenditure incurred largely in order to provide protection for the Jewish inhabitants.

007400119 BEC
The Manchester Guardian

31 727 21. Juni 1948
Nr. vom

A BIOGRAPHY OF MR. ATTLEE

The Man of Reason

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

No Prime Minister has been so little known to the public as Mr. Attlee. Most people are at a loss to size him up. They see a man unimpressive in physical appearance. His personality is faint by contrast with Mr. Churchill, and it even suffers in comparison with Baldwin, MacDonald, and Chamberlain, all three of whom had clearly etched characters. Even our lesser Prime Ministers have sometimes put an opinion arrestingly. No one remembers a saying of Mr. Attlee.

This sounds like the description of a rather ordinary being. But the public knows better. It understands well enough that no ordinary man becomes the leader of a great party and Prime Minister. Besides, they have observed so much in Mr. Attlee's conduct of affairs that makes nonsense of this conception of him. There was his answer to Mr. Churchill's "gestapo" broadcast at the general election. He became a conductor for all the resentment of the Labour party and of others as well and bitingly reprimanded Mr. Churchill and exposed those theatrical charges. But that was not all. He was indignant and sweetly reasonable at the same time, a remarkable and paradoxical achievement. The electors noted the combination with surprise and approval. It was not to be the last demonstration that Mr. Attlee is ruled more than most by his reason. Never has the House of Commons seen him in a passion. The bulk of the electors decided that in this first engagement with the Churchillian battleship the Attlean light cruiser had come off with honours. The country thus came to its first awareness that there is more in Mr. Attlee than meets the eye. That awareness has increased during the three years of his Premiership, though it has probably brought no clearer grasp of what his qualities really are.

LIKE CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN?

His handling of the surrender of power in India was more revealing still. It was a fine exhibition of quiet courage and tenacity of principle. He came to the House with the bold time-table for withdrawal and argued for it against Mr. Churchill's furious criticism with the mildness of a doctor recommending a sea voyage.

His Indian record has suggested a comparison between him and the statesman responsible for the granting of self-government to South Africa—Campbell-Bannerman. It should have educated the public mind about Mr. Attlee's greatest virtues—his moral courage and his clear head. The parallel with "C.B." is pleasing to those who had earlier seen a correspondence between Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Attlee, finding in the case of both men a deceptively plain exterior hiding moral strength and political sagacity.

Is the "C.B." analogy complete? Lloyd George used to tell of the 1907 Cabinet Committee which, to the great chagrin of "C.B.," produced a "mongrel" constitutional plan for South Africa, stopping short of self-government. "C.B." went to the full Cabinet, trounced the scheme for five minutes, and finally declared: "You have got to trust them (the Boers) altogether or not at all." This strong, personal intervention of his had saved the day for an autonomous Government and South Africa for the Commonwealth. Does Mr. Attlee ever kick the beam at his Cabinets like that? Or is he, as some believe, more of a reconciling chairman of the Cabinet than the first among equals exerting a strong personal influence on policy?

A biography* of Mr. Attlee is published to-day. It is the work of Mr. Roy Jenkins and should help considerably to enlighten people about Mr. Attlee's character and political evolution. The book has one shortcoming. It only brings the story down to the Labour victory in 1945. Mr. Jenkins does not claim that it is more than an "interim" biography, but he has proved that he is fitted to write the full biography when the time comes. He writes well and he can combine admiration for his subject with a measure of detachment. He can acknowledge, for example, some of the weaknesses in Mr. Attlee's position on rearmament before the war. Mr. Jenkins tells more fully than anyone has yet done of the early life of the Prime Minister—helped by material provided by Mr. Attlee himself—and he is especially interesting on Mr. Attlee's conversion to Socialism.

Mr. Attlee, of course, comes from the "tinker's cuss" class—the upper middle class, to adopt Mr. Jenkins's distinction. Haileybury and University College, Oxford, did nothing to unsettle the young Attlee politically. He had taken over the family Conservatism and so far found it good. A somewhat fortuitous visit to Haileybury House, a settlement in Limehouse financed by his old school, was to be the beginning of his long association with the East End. His work among the poor set him asking questions about the organisation of a society that could produce Limehouses and Stepneys. Mr. Jenkins treats of the conversion in a chapter entitled "The Road to Damascus." The title is not altogether apt, for this was no sudden conversion. He spent two years looking carefully round the problem before, to quote his own words, "the rather cynical Conservative turned into an unashamed enthusiast for the cause of Socialism."

DISTASTEFUL LIBERALS

Liberalism was powerful at the time (the Liberal Government of 1906 had just been returned), but Liberalism was not for him. His intellectual grounds for rejecting it, if there were any, are not mentioned. All that we learn is that he had a prejudice against Liberals. Mr. Attlee is quoted as saying: "The Liberals of the type of Asquith, Runciman, and McKenna were always distasteful to me. . . . The violent Nonconformist made no appeal. The gentlemanly party was to me far preferable." At the end of this two years' patient thinking he reached the conclusion that Socialism was the only remedy for the evils he saw around him. There was a short Fabian prelude, but the Fabians seemed to have repelled him almost as much as the Liberals. Nothing could serve now but to join the I.L.P.

Such conversions were to become common enough, but where Mr. Attlee's differed from some others was that it was not an emotional but an entirely rational protest against the capitalist organisation of society. As has been said, Mr. Attlee is a man of reason. The course he thus early set for himself he has followed with imperturbable earnestness and inflexible purpose. He has kept to the broad path of Labour orthodoxy. He has not gambolled down any ideological by-ways. There was a mild flirtation with the Syndicalist ideas floating about in the Labour party just after the first world war, but it was soon over. He broke with the I.L.P. in the freakish last phase and he rightly opposed the Popular Front of the thirties as a disruptive threat to Labour. He has reached the leadership not, it may be, without some help from personal divisions within the party, but he is there and at this moment more firmly there than in 1945.

H. B.

00740 0120 BEC
The Times (London)

Nr. 51 / 109 vom 28. Juni 1948

"LUTON HOOEY"

MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY TO MR. CHURCHILL

COMMUNISTS AND THE DOCK STRIKE

The Prime Minister, addressing a rally of agricultural workers at Skegness yesterday, replied to Mr. Churchill's speech of Saturday. He spoke also of Communists "making mischief" in the dock strike.

Mr. Churchill had made very much the same speech that he had been making for a long time, Mr. Attlee said. There was first the "rather petulant complaint" that the country went mad on a certain afternoon and failed to return Mr. Churchill to power. "There is the same demand for a General Election, put forward by the first Leader of an Opposition who for three years has failed to recapture any of the seats won by the Government at the last election; the same ignorant and prejudiced talk about India; the same general abuse of the Government, and the same lack of any alternative policy. I should describe that as Luton hooley."

Of the Conservative Agricultural Charter, Mr. Attlee said: "So far as I can see, all the good parts, all the valuable parts of the document, merely say that the Conservatives, if they are returned to power, will do what they ought to have done years ago and what the Labour Government have done."

"These Conservative charters are very curious things. Mr. Butler produces them and Mr. Churchill puts them into cold storage. They are exercises in policy; they are not meant to be adopted."

"The Conservative Party is not a democratic party. It does not have a meeting which decides policy. Policy is left to the leader, and these little essays are handed to him and he puts them on the shelf. Then he comes to you in a General Election and asks you for a doctor's mandate, and, when he gets it, down comes one of these bottles, possibly—or more likely, it would be the mixture as before."

THE DOCK STRIKE

The dock strike, which was contrary to the express decision of the trade union, was causing a loss we could not afford. It might well mean not only difficulty in food supplies in the short run; it might also mean that we had lost the wherewithal to pay for some of our imports. It was destructive of the whole basis of the great trade union movement.

"This kind of disruptive work is not in the interest of the workers," he said. "No doubt in the origin there is a genuine sense of grievance, but that could be dealt with by the machinery set up with the unions. No doubt here, as elsewhere, the Communists are making mischief."

"We shall not accept the Communist doctrine. That doctrine springs in the east. Oriental in its conception, it does not belong to the main stream of democratic thought. We in this country have our own democratic Socialism in which we believe, and we have a higher standard than they have in the east with regard to human rights and, I think, their way of life altogether. It is time those people recognized that we intend to carry on with our way."

Commenting on people who denounced the United States as seeking to gain control over Europe, Mr. Attlee said: "When you find anyone doing this look at him carefully. You will generally find he is a Communist or a fellow-traveller. These people do not want to see Europe restored to health. They want Europe to be weak and divided."

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A small minority were ready to injure Britain because they were really more devoted to Communism and what they conceived to be the interests of Russia than they were to the prosperity and happiness of the people of this country.

00740 0121 BEC
The Times (London)

51 / 1 1 0 29. Juni 1948

Nr. vom

MR. ATTLEE'S CALL TO DOCKERS

STRIKE AGAINST THE PEOPLE

ENDANGERING RATION

The Prime Minister, in a broadcast last night, said that there was no reason for the strike and that the Government must use all the means at its disposal to safeguard the economic life of the country.

The Government cannot in any way recognize or deal with those who are leading an unofficial strike (Mr. Attlee said). To do so would cut at the whole basis of collective bargaining.

If there are any questions arising out of the dispute relating to the disciplinary code they can be dealt with by the Dock Labour Board, on which the union is fully represented. There is, therefore, no reason whatever for the strike. I am certain that all trade unionists in the country will realize that action of the kind which has been taken by the dock workers in London endangers all that has been built up by years of self-sacrifice. I am sure that the people of this country will support the Government in the steps which they have taken.

ENTIRELY WRONG

I now want to speak to the dockers of the country and particularly of London. Why have we had to take this action? First, because we must see that the people are fed, and there is not a single docker or his wife who would object to that. You know that in these years since the war we have had a difficult task in maintaining our rations of meat and other foods and even so they are not as high as we all wish; to refuse to load or unload ships needed to get the food, you will agree, is an entirely wrong thing to do.

Secondly, we have asked the workers in our factories, workshops, mines, and everybody else, to give the biggest possible output they can so that we may have a margin for export trade over the world which, when sold, will purchase us food and raw materials to keep our industry going.

Now what does this term "keep industry going" mean? It is the difference between employment and unemployment, and is there anybody who knows better than the docker what unemployment means?

We depend on transport, shipping, and the movement of goods to keep up this output. Therefore, this strike is not a strike against capitalists or employers. It is a strike against your mates; a strike against the housewife; a strike against the ordinary common people who have difficulties enough now to manage on their shilling's worth of meat and the other rationed commodities. And why should you men strike who are well paid compared with the old days, who have a guaranteed minimum wage of £4 8s. 6d. a week whether you work or not, who no longer have to go to the labour exchange and stand in the queue, and whose only obligation is to attend at the proper call times, and, if there is no work, to sign on and get your money? What a contrast with the former days.

OLD CONDITIONS

I lived in dockland for many years. I remember the old horrible conditions. I knew what casual labour meant to the women and children in East London, and to the men, too. What a sight it was to see the men at the dock gates assemble morning after morning. To see the foreman come out to pick his men.

Do you remember how the preference men, who were the strongest, had the best of the

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Do you remember how the preference men, who were the strongest, had the best of the jobs and the other poor unfortunates had the worst? Do you remember what it was like to go day after day and, as you arrived home, you were met with "any work to-day?" and the answer was "No"? How were you to manage for supper, what were you to do for the children? Do you remember going to the call stands when other men were taken on and you were left and you had to go back to the signing on shed and then, at the end of the week, all that was left was the miserable unemployment pay?

Well, for over 40 years the union struggled for a change. They argued that if men turned up day after day they should have a right to be paid. In other words, they should have a guaranteed weekly income, and during the war your old leader, Mr. Ernest Bevin, the then Minister of Labour, introduced it. It was then finally transformed into the securest situation of all, a weekly wage guaranteed by law. How many of you ever knew in the past what it was to have a week's holiday with pay? None of you! It did not exist but it was given under this scheme.

So it came as a great surprise to us that in one particular incident, men who had been earning comparatively high wages, much higher than the average in the country, refused to work a cargo because it happened to be a little dirty. And then in the end, after subsequent refusals the National Dock Board, on which you are represented equally with the employers, felt that some disciplinary action should be taken. Why stop a dock over that? When it was claimed by the men that this action was harsh, the matter was referred to an independent tribunal and the sentence reduced. They said... perhaps it was, after all, a little harsh, so we will reduce it. Ought that not to have solved the whole problem and the work of this great port continued?

LITTLE THING

Why do you want to endanger the ration and make millions of people miserable over a little thing like this? You may have felt a grievance; but you have the machinery for this in the National Dock Labour Board. If you carry on with the work your grievance will be discussed. It could have been argued and you could have given evidence, all these things could have been done. This is still the position, and any representations can be made to the Dock Labour Board as soon as you return to work: you can be sure of a square deal. Instead you are punishing thousands of innocent people and injuring your country.

Who advised you to do this? Not people of great influence, but just a small nucleus who have been instructed for political reasons to take advantage of every little disturbance that takes place to cause the disruption of British economy, British trade, to undermine the Government and to destroy Britain's position.

You have got a union, you elected your committees, and you appointed your people on these boards. They represent you, and you owe them loyalty. Loyalty means loyalty to the constitutional machinery. That has been the salvation of this country. But you seem to have got it into your heads that the only way to prove your loyalty is to be loyal to a lot of self-appointed people who have never been elected, who are unofficial, and whose purpose in this country is actuated by motives which are bad for the State, bad for the community, and indeed may wreck the most beneficent scheme that any Government has introduced for a people like the dockers.

There is no country in the world that has introduced a better scheme for security of tenure for a guaranteed week, for attendance money. The British Government never again want to see you going home to a wife who, meeting you at the door, would say "How have you got on?" and you would have to look at her and say "No work to-day, no pay."

Your clear duty to yourselves, to your fellow citizens, and to your country is to return to work.

Attlee
Clement

00740 0123 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31 / 7 3 9

5. Juli 1948

Nr. vom

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Attlee Emphasises "One Vital Point"

"One vital point" was emphasised by Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, when he broadcast last night on the coming into operation to-day of "Britain's social security system." "All our social services have to be paid for," he said. "We cannot create a scheme which gives the nation more than they put into it and it is always the general level of production that settles our standard of material well-being. Only higher output can give us more of the things we all need. This will decide the real value of the money payments."

He described the four Acts—National Insurance, Industrial Injuries, National Assistance, and National Health Service—as representing "the advance parties of the main body of the army of social security." Of the National Health Service, he said: "We are seeking not merely to provide services for those who are sick, but to make a healthy nation. A word of caution is necessary. It will take time to develop. We shall have to start with what we have, and then work up to a full service when our present shortages have been overtaken. Owing to the war, there are great arrears to be made up in the provision of hospitals and in the reinforcement of medical and nursing staffs. We shall have to be a bit lenient with the service at first."

00740 0124 BEC
The Times (London)

51 / 1 1 5
Nr. vom 5. Juli 1948

SECURITY FOR ALL

MR. ATTLEE ON SCOPE OF NEW SCHEMES

Mr. Attlee, in a broadcast talk last night, said that to-day the most comprehensive system of social security ever introduced into any country would start in Britain.

The four Acts—National Insurance, Industrial Injuries, National Assistance, and National Health Service—represented the main body of the army of social security. "Advance parties," such as increases in old-age pensions and extensions of unemployment benefit, had led the way. The four schemes gave security to all the members of the family.

National assistance, like family allowance, would be paid for entirely by the Exchequer. The national health service would be paid for mainly by the Exchequer. The other services were insurance services, paid for by direct contributions from those who were insured and from their employers (if they were employed), with assistance from the State out of general taxation.

Mr. Attlee said that he wished to emphasize a vital point. All social services had to be paid for, in one way or another, from what was produced by the people of Britain. "We cannot," he said, "create a scheme which gives the nation as a whole more than they put into it, and it is always the general level of production that settles our standard of material well-being. Only higher output can give us more of the things we all need. This will decide the real value of the money payments."

Speaking of the retiring pension, he said that the country needed the help of all who could work, and many old people were still giving good service. The idea was that a person should get a pension when he had to retire, and not simply when he reached a certain age. This was meant to help people fit for work to keep on as long as they could. Unemployment and sickness benefit would still be payable for five years after the person reached the retiring age, and if he went on working he would qualify for a higher pension. Mr. Attlee said he hoped that all who were nearing the age of retirement would think about this carefully.

COVERING MOST RISKS

Turning to the National Assistance Act, he said that it abolished the last remnant of the old poor law. National Insurance was designed to cover most risks, but it was a principle of the scheme that benefits were related to contributions. Especially in the early days of the scheme there would be people who had not contributed for long enough to qualify. Anyone whose means—whether from insurance or other sources—fell short of needs on a standard approved by Parliament, would be able to receive help from the National Assistance Board.

Of the national health service Mr. Attlee said that the scheme gave a complete cover for health by pooling the nation's resources and paying the bill collectively. But a word of caution was necessary. It would take time to develop. They would have to work up to a full service when present shortages had been overtaken. Owing to the war there were great arrears to be made up in the provision of hospitals and in the reinforcement of medical and nursing staffs. "We shall have to be a bit lenient with the service at first," he commented. With few exceptions, all hospitals would pass into the country's ownership. They would not be run from Whitehall but by voluntary local bodies. There would be just as much need of personal interest and individuality as before.

Hamburgisches
Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv

Signatur

Attlee
P. Clemens

007400125 BEC
The Times (London)

Nr. **51 / 118** vom 8. Juli 1948

MR. ATTLEE HONOURED

The Prime Minister yesterday received the honorary degree of D.Litt. at Reading University from Lord Templewood, Chancellor of the university.

Professor A. W. P. Wolters, presenting Mr. Attlee, said fate had led Mr. Attlee to his present post in a period of chaos such as the world had not seen for many centuries.

Mr. Attlee said that one of the most essential needs of civilization was to raise the level of production and the Reading University school of agriculture, which was the greatest in the country, would play a large part.

007400126

BEC

The Manchester Guardian

31776

17. Aug. 1948

Nr. vom

MR. ATTLEE AND PARTITION:
"NO PRONOUNCEMENT"

Mr. Attlee crossed from Eire into Northern Ireland yesterday escorted by a police-car on the thirty-mile journey from the border to Colebrook, County Fermanagh, where he and Mrs. Attlee are the guests of Sir Basil Brooke, Prime Minister.

At Colebrooke, Mr. Attlee was asked if he had any comments to make on the border question. He said: "I have no pronouncement to make either actual or hypothetical."

Asked whether the difference in the political ideologies of Westminster and Stormont had anything to do with the rise of the rumours in the press regarding the abolition of the border, he said it was entirely due to the enterprise of the press.

The Manchester Guardian

31822 -

BOARD OF TRADE ALLEGATIONS

Mr. Attlee Acts

MOVE FOR JUDICIAL INQUIRY

Both Houses of Parliament are to be asked to agree to the holding of a full judicial inquiry into alleged Board of Trade irregularities. As soon as Parliament reassembles a motion asking for the inquiry will be laid before both Houses. The decision has been taken by Mr. Attlee after discussion with the Lord Chancellor.

This was stated in the following announcement issued from 10, Downing Street last night:

"The inquiry which has been recently conducted by the Lord Chancellor into certain alleged irregularities has taken place in the following circumstances.

"While an investigation was being conducted by the police in the course of their normal duties, it came to the notice of the Board of Trade that allegations had been made that money obtained from a member of a firm of football pool promoters had been used to influence the course of action of the Board of Trade.

"On this matter being brought to the attention of the President of the Board of Trade he gave instructions that the fullest assistance should be given to the police in their investigations, and, since the name of Mr. J. W. Belcher, M.P., the Parliamentary Secretary, had been mentioned, he asked, with the latter's agreement, that the Lord Chancellor should inquire into the allegation.

"The matter which the police were investigating at the time was an allegation that in return for a substantial payment of cash, facilities for the import of equipment for fun-fairs could be obtained. This allegation, also, had been covered in the inquiry by the Lord Chancellor.

"No other alleged irregularity has been before the Government, nor has the Lord Chancellor's inquiry been concerned with any investigations which have been, or are being, carried out by the police and by Board of Trade investigation staff in the course of their normal duties into so-called black-market activities.

"In view of these allegations, the Prime Minister, after discussion with the Lord Chancellor, has come to the conclusion that a full judicial inquiry ought to be held. Accordingly, as soon as Parliament reassembles, the necessary motion under the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921, will be laid before both Houses of Parliament."

IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE?

The question being asked last night was whether the judicial inquiry would be in public. No information was obtainable so soon after the announcement.

The Downing Street statement comes five days after the allegations of irregularities first became public.

Mr. Belcher, who is mentioned in the statement, is 42. He has been Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade since February, 1946. At the general election he defeated Mr. Malcolm McCorquodale in the Sowerby division of Yorkshire.

A Londoner, and the son of a regular soldier, he became a railway clerk and took a course in economic and social conditions at London University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society, and before the war studied labour problems at the International Labour Office at Geneva.

Mr. Belcher left London on Monday for a short visit to Scotland. He said, at a press conference at Dundee, when asked if he had any comment on a statement he was reported to have made about the Scotland Yard investigations:

"All I can tell you is, it is not true I have had any contact at all with Scotland Yard. It is true that certain investigations are going on. There always are. While they are going on it is just as well to say nothing at all about it. We will do all the talking when the investigation is completed."

Mr. Belcher flew to Glasgow to attend a dinner given on Thursday to delegates of the Empire Parliamentary Association and left on a night train arriving in London early yesterday.

Mr. Francis Price, who claims to be responsible for the inquiry into trade permits granted by Government departments, arrived at London airport from Paris last night. A group of press photographers ran after him to the Customs hall, but Mr. Price covered his face with a macintosh, and later jumped into a car. He did not say anything except "No pictures."

The Manchester Guardian

No 31834

PREMIER TO MEET CIVIL SERVANTS

"Purge" Procedure

From our Labour Correspondent

LONDON, FRIDAY.

Mr. Attlee has agreed to receive a deputation from the staff side of the National Whitley Council for the Civil Service to discuss the staff side's objections to the present procedure in "purging" Government departments of Communists, "fellow-travellers," and Fascists.

The staff side, which represents all the Civil Service unions, complains that the purge has been extended in a way that was not implied in Mr. Attlee's original statement to the House of Commons, that accused civil servants are given no clear indication of the charges against them, and that the Government has not kept what was understood to be an undertaking, that accused people should be allowed trade union representation when they appear before the Advisory Tribunal.

Mr. Attlee is unlikely to be able to receive the deputation next week because of the opening of Parliament, but he has promised to do so as soon after next week as he can arrange it.

WOMAN CLERK'S PROTEST

Miss Beryl Lund, a clerk in the Ministry of Supply, who was placed on leave with pay because of alleged association with the Communist party, has sent the following reply to an official inquiry as to whether she has decided definitely against making written representations or having her case considered by the Advisory Committee:

"You make serious yet unfounded allegations against my integrity. Despite the promise made by the Prime Minister, you persist in refusing to produce any evidence to support your charge, and you now ask if I want to have my case considered by the three advisers, before whom I may not be represented by my trade union—a further denial of my rights.

"May I repeat, I will not take part any longer in this grossly unfair procedure, which violates the fundamental principles on which our liberty is based? You must proceed to carry out your part in this sorry business without my help."

00740 0132 BEC

Signatur: *Attlee, C.R.*

Datum: 29. Okt. 1948

The Manchester Guardian

No 31839 -

MR. ATTLEE'S ASSURANCE
TO ULSTER

No discussions on the constitutional position of Northern Ireland were held during the recent conversations at Chequers with Ministers from Eire, said Mr. Attlee (Prime Minister) in the House of Commons yesterday. "The view of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has always been that there should be no change in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland without Northern Ireland's free agreement," he added.

The Times (London)

No. 51225

BRITAIN'S LEAD IN WESTERN EUROPE

MR. ATTLEE ON A "VITAL INTEREST"

The Prime Minister, at the Lord Mayor's banquet last night, spoke of Britain's vital interest in the well-being and security of Europe and of the lead given by this country in the west. He referred also to the project of a North Atlantic pact.

Commenting on the constitutional advances in the British Commonwealth, Mr. Attlee said the Commonwealth countries had given the world its finest example of cooperation among independent and peace-loving peoples.

WORLD UNREST

TROUBLE-MAKERS' ROLE

The Lord Mayor's banquet last night returned to its historic setting in Guildhall and to much of its former splendour and ceremony. For the fourth time as Prime Minister and for the second time at Guildhall Mr. Attlee replied to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers."

Last year the banquet was held at the Mansion House and the number of guests was limited to about 300. Last night there were 850 guests. Red and white carnations, the gold plate from the Mansion House, and silver candelabra decorated the long tables in the Banqueting Hall and made a vivid contrast to war-scarred walls. The menu included the traditional turtle soup.

Proposing the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers," the Lord Mayor, SIR GEORGE AYLWEN, said the time had passed when any country could be self-sufficient and ignore its neighbours' condition. The present and the future were fraught with the gravest danger, a danger that could be averted only by a change of heart, a spiritual revival, bringing in its train good will, cooperation, and, where necessary sacrifices to the common good made by those able and willing to make them.

Britain's particular problems were devastating in their immensity. Efficiency, quality, and design must be our watchwords and distribution of population our aim. Only by such distribution could the potentials of industry and defence be built up and the British Commonwealth and Empire enabled once again to take its place in the comity of nations.

PAST AND FUTURE

In his reply Mr. ATTLEE said:—

Meeting in these historic surroundings I am always conscious of the long and splendid traditions of the City of London. The influence of the past is with us here, but we must always think of the past not as a mental refuge from our present problems but as an inspiration for the future.

It is easy for the modern statesman to envy his predecessors and to imagine that compared to his own their problems were easy and their anxieties light. I am sure they did not think so. Indeed one may read most gloomy prognostications of disaster made by men who were, as we see in retrospect, directing the affairs of a nation about to make a great advance.

This attitude is not unnatural. It is due to the fear of losing the known good and of encountering unknown evils. Yet this country of ours has set the world the outstanding example of peaceful change. We have always known how to adapt old institutions to new purposes without losing the essential principles that gave them life.

I have said that we must look to the future, but we have to work in the present. We should all like to be able to plan for the future in a quiet and leisurely fashion, but actually we have to plan in the face of the facts, the hard facts of the present time. Long-term plans have constantly to be weighed against pressing and immediate needs.

We should like to plan in and for a peaceful world, but the world is not yet at peace. We have not got that confidence among the nations which we had hoped to secure after the world war.

The times in which we live are difficult and even dangerous; our economic position as a nation, in spite of the magnificent efforts of the people, has not yet been securely reinstated; but we have made real progress in the past 12 months. Signs are not lacking that self-restraint in our purchases, coupled with determined efforts to increase our production, are bringing us nearer to the results for which we strive. With the assistance of the European Recovery Programme, that far-sighted and statesmanlike measure, our efforts to close the gap between imports and exports have borne fruit. With that aid we are managing currently to balance our dollar account.

A LONG ROAD

But we have still a long road to travel, and we cannot afford to relax or grow complacent. We are still a distance from what we all so keenly desire, to be able to stand firmly on our own feet in an economic independence which owes nothing to exceptional measures such as E.R.P.—grateful as we now are for its help, without which our situation would be grave. To achieve this object by 1952 will require an unrelenting determination in the struggle for higher output, and a stern persistence in self-denial which must put a hard test upon the stamina and the spiritual resources of our people. But we have seen enough in the past 12 months to know now that we may go forward with high courage and

confident hope, realizing that the goal is not beyond our power to reach but within what we can compass if our efforts do not flag. There is, therefore, no cause for pessimism.

But there is another cause for anxiety. The post-war settlements which we had hoped would relieve us of some of our oversea military commitments have not yet been concluded. There is a good deal of unrest in various parts of the world, and there are those in the world who seem to have an interest in creating trouble. The United Nations, support of which is the sheet anchor of our foreign policy and on which the hopes of millions of peace-loving people are fixed, has not yet got the authority or power to ensure peace throughout the world.

We have, therefore, to look to our defences. I am grateful, and I know in this I speak for the Defence Ministers, for your assistance to-day in our task of building up our armed forces so that we may make our contribution to securing peace in the world. I say our contribution to peace, because the time has passed

when any one country can be self-sufficient. This is true in the sphere of economics as well as in that of defence.

It one were to ask what was the note of the world in which we live it would, I think, be this: that no individual and no nation can live to itself alone. Our prosperity in this country depends directly upon the active exertions of our fellow-countrymen. Every one has to make his or her contribution. This interdependence in no way detracts from the need for individual effort and enterprise.

In the wider sphere isolationism in a world so closely linked up is impossible. The United Kingdom has never been an isolationist country, able to sit aside and see unmoved disorder in the rest of the world. Our interests are so widespread, we are so closely dependent on other countries, that we more than any other nation have a vital interest in world peace and prosperity.

We took a leading part in the formation of the United Nations Organization and we shall continue to strive loyally to make this great effort for unity a success; but the greater unity does not exclude the less extensive. We are vitally interested in the well-being and security of Europe. It is, therefore, natural that we in Britain have given a lead both in the economic recovery and in the political integration of western Europe through the Brussels Treaty. The United States Government have, with the same object in view, foreshadowed the idea of a North Atlantic pact, which has been approved in principle by his Majesty's Government, the other Brussels Powers, and Canada.

We are making a great contribution to the restoration of the economy of Europe under the inter-European payments scheme, which will enable Europe to continue to buy from the whole sterling area. We have taken the lead in the work of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in Paris.

TRIBUTE TO OFFICIALS

Here may I digress to pay a tribute to the work of our officials of the United Kingdom delegation in Paris. It is all too seldom that we pay public tribute to the members of our Civil Service, the finest in the world. Yet their high quality is recognized at every international gathering. I know that the outstanding work of our delegation in Paris has been the subject of high commendation from those with whom they are working.

In this work of economic recovery we are collaborating with the United States and with the countries of Europe, which have responded to the generous and statesmanlike project inaugurated by Mr. Marshall. But great as is our interest in the affairs of Europe, we have, of course, far closer ties with the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire.

wenden

Here, too, we have to consider how changing conditions can be met. I have seen in my lifetime the remarkable development which has taken place in the British Commonwealth and Empire. I recall the time when we used to talk of the colonies and dependencies. We spoke then of the Empire. The word was in truth then applicable not only to India but to the rest of the British Empire, for the United Kingdom was then the dominant unit. Since then we have had the steady development of the Dominions until by the Statute of Westminster formal expression was given to that complete equality which had in practice already been recognized.

CONTINUAL GROWTH

A fortnight ago, at the meeting of the Commonwealth conference, there were present the Prime Ministers of three great Asiatic countries, meeting their colleagues of the old Dominions and the United Kingdom on terms of perfect equality. Constitutional progress is going on all the time in the various countries of the British Commonwealth and Empire. There was a notable meeting of African representatives last month.

As these constitutional advances are made, so there come about adaptations of the relationship between the various units. Innovations of procedure, new methods of cooperation are explored. This continual growth raises at times difficult questions of adjustment, but the point is that this is growth, the growth of a living organism.

The countries of the Commonwealth have given the world its finest examples of cooperation among independent and peace-loving peoples. Here is no group of satellite Powers, bound together by a common fear, by a common subjugation to a tyrant's yoke. Here is no system of police States joined in lip-service to an ideology which none may question. Ours is an association of free and independent nations. It embraces peoples of many creeds and many races. Yet there is a unity of sympathy, a unity founded upon common belief in democratic principles. Differences there will always be, for each country has its own special problems, its own difficulties to meet. Yet, as the last few weeks have shown, their representatives are ready to travel many thousands of miles in order that they may meet together to confer with their colleagues on the many matters of common concern.

TRUE COOPERATION

Our meetings revealed clearly the strength of the community of purpose with which the Commonwealth is inspired. It was our common desire to adjust national policy to serve the needs of all, to direct each country's efforts into the channels which would most help the others. We do not at these meetings pass formal and nicely phrased resolutions; our object is to exchange views and opinions frankly and freely, as is fitting among the members of a family. So is true cooperation achieved.

Would that there were more such cooperation in the world to-day. If we could but widen the understanding which exists between the peoples of the Commonwealth to embrace the whole world we should be laying the finest foundation for lasting peace.

The ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY proposed the toast of "The late Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen," and ALDERMAN SIR FREDERICK WELLS responded.

Reports of the Lord Mayor's Show and Law Courts ceremony on page 2.

00740 0135 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51261

**FREEDOM OF STEPNEY FOR
MR. ATTLEE**

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, who was the first Labour Mayor of Stepney in 1919, was enrolled last night as first freeman of the borough, with which he has had associations for 43 years and which he represents as part of the Parliamentary Constituency of Limehouse. The ceremony was at the People's Palace, Mile End Road. Mrs. Attlee, the Lord Mayor of London (Sir George Aylwen), and the Lady Mayoress were among the guests.

00740 0136 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31880 -

MR. ATTLEE HONOURED
IN STEPNEY

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, referred to the suffering of the East End of London in the war when he received an honorary fellowship of Queen Mary College (University of London), at Stepney yesterday. "Stepney, and indeed all East London, suffered cruelly. A new East London will be rising from the ruins of the old, a brighter and more prosperous East London, I believe," he said.

"When I first came to Stepney 43 years ago," Mr. Attlee said, "Queen Mary College had not acquired its Royal patronage. It was just the East London College, but it had already many years of good service to the cause of education. When this college was founded life was harder and more difficult than to-day. The road to the university was steep and narrow for those of straitened means and few of those who could have benefited were able to go there."

He was happy in the knowledge that the Government of which he had the honour to be the head had been able and willing to provide greater financial assistance than ever before to the universities.

00740 0137 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51269 -

MR. ATTLEE'S RETURN TO LONDON TO-DAY

66TH BIRTHDAY

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The Prime Minister will return from Chequers to-day, his sixty-sixth birthday, and will resume work at 10, Downing Street.

He seems now to have recovered completely from the ill-health which forced him to restrict his activities during the autumn, and after three and a half strenuous years in Downing Street he shoulders the burden of office with marked resilience.

Except for the short period between the break-up of the Coalition Government and the general election of 1945, Mr. Attlee has now been in office continuously since 1940. In May of that year he joined Mr. Churchill's Government, and he remained a member of the War Cabinet until the Coalition was dissolved. From 1942 onwards he was Deputy Prime Minister.

He has been Labour M.P. for Limehouse continuously since 1922, and first sat on the Treasury bench, as Under-Secretary of State for War, in the Labour Government of 1924. Under the redistribution of Parliamentary seats Mr. Attlee's East End constituency of Limehouse will disappear, and at the next General Election he will be Labour candidate for West Walthamstow.

00740 0138

BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51277

NEW PATTERN OF BRITAIN

MR. ATTLEE ON TASKS ACCOMPLISHED

A NOISY MEETING

Mr. Attlee addressed his first meeting as prospective Parliamentary candidate for West Walthamstow at Walthamstow last night. His speech was punctuated by heckling, which became more violent during later speeches. The chairman, Mr. McEntee, M.P., was concerned in several passages with the interrupters, and one man was escorted from the hall.

Mr. Attlee said that during three and a half years in power Labour had a record of which they could be proud. A new pattern had been set in Britain; the social reforms introduced had not been patchy, but represented a new social order. The Labour Party had been denounced as a class party—Mr. Churchill had made such a comment in his broadcast at the last election. He (Mr. Attlee) had pointed out that it was far more broadly representative of the whole people than was the Conservative Party, and if one looked at the two sides of the House of Commons to-day it would be seen that this was true.

A member of the audience.—Why did Bevan call us vermin?

THE SOCIAL ORDER

Mr. Attlee, ignoring the interruption, said that his Government had introduced a new social order—a democratic social order based on the value of every individual citizen. In the old days social reforms were regarded as efforts to ameliorate conditions in the general, established order of society. Things were done not for the citizens as a whole but to throw something out to the less fortunate members of the community.

Although there was much talk about orders and restrictions, when the Government took off some restrictions there were invariably complaints from the Conservative side. Every restriction on one set of people meant the freeing of another, and the restrictions they had had to retain were to protect the great majority of the people from the rapacity of the few.

The Government's task, said Mr. Attlee, would be far easier if they had not to work in a world so gravely disturbed. They had always stood for the greatest measure of international cooperation. "We have tried very hard to work with Russia, as well as with other people," he said. "Unfortunately, we met with obstruction after obstruction, and we have seen our efforts at framing the United Nations frustrated by the misuse of the veto by Russia."

It was worth while to compare the records of Britain's Socialist Government with those of the Government of the U.S.S.R., which denounced it as an Imperialist Government. The British Government had brought India, Pakistan, and Ceylon into a state of free and equal membership of the British Commonwealth. When Burma decided to cut the link with the Commonwealth they had the right of self-determination; throughout the colonies there had been immense strides in self-government.

"OBEDIENT SATELLITES"

On the other side of the picture, what was happening in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and elsewhere? There was no right of self-determination there. Those countries had been made the obedient satellites of Russia, and had had the yoke put upon them. Unfortunately it did not stop there. In every country in the world the Communist Party was out to hinder and to wreck.

Mr. Attlee said that countries behind the Iron Curtain longed to come into the Marshall aid plan, which the Communist Party had decided against. . . . They did not care what happened to the workers.

There had been signs of restiveness in the hall, and this remark was greeted with applause and jeers, but Mr. Attlee added: "They are only concerned with spreading what they call their own ideology." It was their desire to make trouble all over the world.

An interrupter.—What about British troops in Palestine?

Mr. Attlee said that the short answer to the Palestine question was that we had handed the problem over to the United Nations so that the people—and there was more than one race in Palestine—could decide for themselves.

After the chairman had told interrupters, "I shall have to ask you to go, and if you do not go we shall have to have you put out," Mr. Attlee said that in countries dominated by the Communists there was no opposition—no second choice.

FAITH OF THE PEOPLE

Speaking of the future, Mr. Attlee said: "We intend to carry on building up the standard of life of this country. That will mean hard work. But we shall get that hard work because there is a faith of the people of this country in our way of life."

Mr. Attlee sat down amid prolonged cheering and a small amount of booing, which caused Mr. McEntee to say that he knew the Communist methods.

Mr. A. G. Bottomley, Secretary for Overseas Trade, spoke for about 10 minutes and was continually interrupted. When Mr. Bottomley had finished Mr. McEntee said it appeared that there were a few Fascists present. "We have had a war to stop your kind of thing," he added.

When Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P. for Epping, went to the microphone she was greeted by boos. Further shouting broke out, and after scuffles at the back of the hall one man was escorted out by a policeman. Later there were shouts of "Down with Communism" and "We want Mosley." Arguments between groups of people broke out at the back of the hall, and Mrs. Manning was sometimes inaudible. One man had his face cut.

As the meeting closed most of the audience rose and sang the National Anthem. An opposition group followed with "The Red Flag."

00740 0139 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31901

INTERRUPTIONS AT PREMIER'S MEETING

Mr. Attlee and "New Social Order"

The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, made his first public speech as prospective Labour candidate for the West Walthamstow Division at West now represents the Limehouse constituency, which will be merged with Mile End and Stepney. Mr. V. McEntee, who represents West Walthamstow, is not seeking re-election.

During three and a half years in power, Mr. Attlee said, Labour had a record of which they could be proud. "In these three and a half years you have had a new pattern set up in this country. The social reforms which we introduced have not been patchy; they have represented a new social order."

Mr. Attlee added: "We have to-day laid the foundations of a healthy community which is going to save us in future immense costs in the drive to pick up with the costs of neglect. We have had a great experiment in democratic Socialism... the vast majority of the people in this country are freer than they were before."

"VERMIN" QUESTION

"I have known our party denounced as a class party," he said. I remember that was done by Mr. Churchill in his broadcast at the last election, and in reply I pointed out we were far more broadly representative of the whole people than was his party, and if one looks at the two sides of the House of Commons to-day one will see that is true.

A member of the audience called out: "Why did Bevan call us vermin?" Mr. Attlee ignored the interruption.

When Mr. Attlee declared that Britain was not going back to her position in the nineteenth century several voices shouted "Not while you are there."

When Mr. Attlee spoke of the new Education Act, which was designed to "see that we could make full use of all the people," a man called out, "That was passed in 1944."

Mr. Attlee said his remarks were anticipated, and added, "I was about to point out that the fact that the Labour party entered into that war Government had its effects."

When Mr. Attlee said that he could remember campaigning for the abolition of the Poor Law forty years ago, a voice shouted: "What about to-day?"

Mr. Attlee replied: "It took forty years to see the abolition of the Poor Law, but it was left to the Labour Government to bring it about."

It would be far easier if they had not to work in a world so gravely disturbed. They had always stood for the greatest measure of international co-operation

and they had all hoped that all the Allies would be able to work together to repair the ravages of war.

"We have tried very hard to work with Russia as well as with other people. Unfortunately we met with obstruction after obstruction and we have seen our efforts at framing the United Nations, frustrated by the misuse of the veto by Russia, and to-day while we want co-operation we are met with abuse and attacks all the time from Communist parties everywhere.

"It was worth while comparing the records of the Socialist Government in Britain with the Government of the U.S.S.R., which denounced it as an imperialist Government. But the British Government had brought India, Pakistan, and Ceylon into a state of free and equal membership of the British Commonwealth.

"When Burma decided they would cut the link with the Commonwealth we said, 'If you have decided, it is your decision—You have a right of self-determination and you must be allowed to do so.' Throughout our colonies there have been immense strides in self-government. Look at the other side of the picture. What is happening in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and elsewhere?"

A man shouted "And in Palestine," but Mr. Attlee ignored the remark and continued: "There is no right of self-determination there. Those countries have been made the obedient satellites of Russia and have had the yoke put upon them. Unfortunately it does not stop there. In every country in the world the Communist party is out to hinder and wreck."

A growing babble filled the hall when Mr. Attlee said that countries behind the iron curtain longed to come into the Marshall Aid plan, while the Communist party had decided against it.

Mr. Attlee added: "I am not a bit ashamed to say we are receiving American aid. It will enable us, I believe, to stand on our own feet, but it will take a great deal of hard work, but if we have faith in ourselves and in the value of the British way of life we shall come through. The great majority of our people are animated by this faith, and in spite of all these difficulties we are winning through and we intend to win through."

Mr. Attlee sat down amid prolonged cheering and a small amount of booing.

Shortly afterwards, while Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P. for Epping, was speaking, police were called in to the back of the hall. One man was escorted from the hall by a policeman after calling Mrs. Manning a "Jewish Collaborator."

Arguments between large groups at the back of the hall made Mrs. Manning inaudible. There were scuffles and one man had his face cut.

Datum **15. Jan. 1949**

00740 0140 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. **51280** -

MR. ATTLEE IN GOOD HEALTH

DOCTORS' REPORT

The following statement was issued yesterday from 10, Downing Street:—

The Prime Minister has been carefully examined by his medical advisers this week. They state that he is now in good health, and that the duodenal ulcer is no longer visible under X-ray examination.

Our Parliamentary Correspondent writes:—

Towards the end of last August, soon after his return from a holiday, the Prime Minister entered St. Mary's Hospital for treatment of eczema of the feet. This condition soon subsided but it was then announced in an official bulletin that he also had an early duodenal ulcer which would require dietetic treatment for some weeks. Mr. Attlee left hospital on September 12. He was able to continue his ordinary duties but for some time he restricted his outside engagements to a minimum, and he was not present in the House of Commons during the short September session. He has now resumed all his normal activities.

20. Jan. 1949

00740 0141 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31908

GAINING FREEDOM
FROM FEAR

Premier's Appeal

Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, broadcasting last night for support of the defence programme, said: "I do assure you that I would not countenance any expenditure on defence that was not necessary. Nor would I agree to any diversion of men from industry in these difficult days were I not sure that it was essential to the safety of the country. Much has been done to give the citizens freedom from want. I ask your help to give all freedom from fear."

Mr. Attlee said that the first attempt to establish lasting peace through the League of Nations failed. They were doing all they could to make the second attempt, through the United Nations, effective, but success had not yet come. "We shall continue to strive for peace, but we cannot ignore the possibility of another war," he said. "We must therefore do our part with others by maintaining such forces as will deter any would-be aggressor."

"Our first need is to bring up to strength the Regular elements in the Navy, Army, and Air Force. Recruiting is actually better than it was in pre-war days, but it is still not good enough. Formerly unemployment was a big factor in recruiting. To-day we have full employment. We must rely, therefore, on our people's sense of duty and their will to serve." Pay and conditions of the Services had been greatly improved, and the prospects of a career and of rising in the Services are good, while the training fitted men for taking up skilled jobs on their return to civilian life.

SECURITY WORTH A SACRIFICE

After speaking of the need for volunteers to build up the auxiliary forces so as to provide the nucleus of the units in which the National Service men would put in their reserve training, Mr. Attlee said:

"I ask all those who can give this part-time service to volunteer for one or other of these Services and thus help the country in these difficult days. I know that it means some sacrifice of leisure, but security is well worth that sacrifice. I appeal to the wives also. I know very well that it is always hard on wives when their husbands undertake public service of whatever kind. It is bound to mean the loss of some hours of companionship, but I do ask them to bear it for the sake of the country. I also ask employers to encourage their employees to volunteer and wherever possible to set them an example. I know the difficulties, but I ask them to make it easy for their men to do their annual training."

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The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31915

THE PALESTINE DEBATE

Mr. Attlee's Defence of Mr. Bevin

The following report of the later stages of Wednesday's debate on Palestine in the House of Commons appeared in our later editions yesterday:

Mr. S. S. SILVERMAN (Lab.—Nelson and Colne) said that if, during the past three years, the Opposition had tabled a motion against the Government on these questions, he would have gone into the Lobby with them, but he could not do so now. The White Paper of 1938, which Mr. Churchill had described as the greatest betrayal in history, was written by the Conservative party, and the greatest mistake the present Government had made was to follow the policy of the Conservatives. He did not think the Opposition had a clean sheet in this matter, and he could not vote with them. In all the things the Opposition complained of, they had supported the Foreign Secretary. To vote against him was ungracious. The State of Israel was now a fact and an enduring fact, and if there was to be a Jewish national home in the world, it could only be in the State of Israel. "It seems to me that it affords a golden opportunity to make a new start, but let us not try to-night to forecast the outcome of history. Let us try and make history on the basis of the facts now established."

Mr. OLIVER STANLEY (C.—Bristol W.), said: "I think everyone of every party who has either spoken or is going to divide, has been oppressed with feelings of anxiety, regret, and humiliation. The most important and most humiliating event that has occurred since I have been in the House was the air incident of January 7." It was the disastrous culmination of a disastrous course of action. What has happened? Has there been any apology, any compensation, any offer in some way to repair the damage which has been done? A communication has been addressed to the Israelis, but it has been contemptuously rejected. There has been no action by ourselves or appeal by us for the support others using the machinery which the United Nations provides.

"The only thing which has happened since the Israelis shot down our aircraft is that we have granted a concession which for nine months we have obstinately refused. On Tuesday of last week the internees in Cyprus were released. Perhaps they ought not to have been there, but it was only after our aircraft were shot down that it was decided it was wrong. We promised that, later in the week, another thing which we have withheld is to be granted. I think that recognition, before would have been right, but I hate to think that recognition, when it comes, should come under the circumstances it does. What can these things do except encourage the belief that Great Britain to-day will yield to force what she obstinately declines to concede to argument?"

The Government knew the area was a battle area, and the Prime Minister knew that people in battle areas were apt to be trigger happy. He questioned whether the Secretary for Air did not know that a cease-fire was to come into operation on the very afternoon the sortie was undertaken.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Secretary for Air) said it was true that the Commander-in-Chief did not know a truce was to commence at two o'clock on the seventh, but he (Mr. Henderson) had

officially known of the truce by eleven o'clock, after the reconnaissance had started.

Mr. STANLEY asked why could not the A.O.C. Middle East have received the information at the same time as the Secretary for Air. Mr. Bevin's speech had been "a hard luck story in a big way."

It was perhaps not too late to re-establish our influence with Israel, but it depended on whether recognition was genuine or not. The degree of security and support we could give to the Arab States should be exactly defined. We could do a great deal to allay the anxieties of the future if we and, above all, America joined in guaranteeing to the Arab States that the new and reasonable frontiers, when settled, would not be allowed by America or ourselves to be encroached upon.

MR. ATTLEE

No Settlement by Force

Mr. ATTLEE (Prime Minister) replying on the debate said he had difficulty in reconciling the views expressed by the chief members of the Opposition and the views they had expressed in the past. What they had said could have been said many months ago. Mr. Churchill said the matter could have been settled immediately after the war when, with plenty of troops there, we could have imposed a settlement. There were several months at the end of the war when Mr. Churchill was in a position to do that. (Opposition cries of "Nonsense.") "It lies ill in Mr. Churchill's mouth to suggest we have been slow." (Opposition laughter.) "Every member in that Government knows Mr. Churchill shirked the question." "The real difficulty is we do not believe you will get an enduring settlement when

that settlement has been made by force. The Government had tried to get agreement, but this was difficult because feelings were exacerbated on both sides. Everyone must have great sympathy with the Jews after their terrible sufferings in Europe and for the efforts they had made to build a new home in Palestine. We had, on the other hand, to recognise there was also a case for the Arabs.

Mr. Bevin tried first to get the Arabs and Jews together and then sought the influence of America. Unfortunately, the United States did not accept the report of the Anglo-American Commission. It was not we who turned down this report. We came to an agreement with America on the Bernadotte report. It was not we who had stepped aside on that. Unfortunately, the Americans had taken a different view. Therefore it was not fair to suggest it was always British vacillation.

It was untrue to suggest that his Majesty's Government urged the Arabs to take military action believing them strong enough to conquer Palestine. Under the mandate we had obligations to both Jews and Arabs and when it was given up there was meticulous care in handing over to local bodies throughout Palestine. We urged repeatedly on all the Arab States the folly of taking military action. It was not our fault that they did. We had done everything we could to ensure an armistice, but there were extremists on both sides. "I think you might have got a reasonable settlement with reasonable people if the

balance had not been upset by extremists."

Turning to the R.A.F. incident, Mr. Attlee said it had been reported there had been an invasion of Egyptian territory. Everyone was anxious to find out the true facts, and therefore orders were sent for these reconnaissances to be made. The details were not laid down in London. They were left to the air officer on the spot. He knew perfectly well he was not to go beyond the boundaries of Egypt and was not to engage in combat unless his planes were attacked. "The fact that the cease-fire followed shortly afterwards was not known to him. He could not know. (Cries of "Why not?")

"Because this was made by the United Nations' representative locally with the representatives of the Jews and Arabs, and the first thing that was known in Egypt of it was the day after these planes went out. The news did not get through to the Arab commanders until after the reconnaissance had taken place. I am not prepared for a moment to shelter behind the Air Officer Commanding."

As regards the deportees in Cyprus Mr. Attlee said that we have been trying for months to get them back. It had been difficult because they included fighting men and the Arabs said it would be a breach of the truce if they were brought out. Asked by Mr. Stanley what were the circumstances that had made it possible to do so last Tuesday, Mr. Attlee said the Government had thought it would help the peace negotiations going on.

Acting with the U.N.

As regards recognition, Mr. Attlee said that we had been trying all through to act closely with the United Nations. "I think it would have been ill-advised to have rushed into this recognition. We have been engaged in talks with others to see whether now is not the time when we should get de facto recognition, because I believe it might contribute to this settlement." One of the difficulties of recognition had been that there were no boundaries, and there had been no clear idea of what their demands were.

Mr. S. S. SILVERMAN asked whether, subject to the reservation about boundaries, they could take it that the question of de facto recognition had been settled in principle.

Mr. ATTLEE replied: "We have accepted it in principle long ago. It is the question of the time and the doing of it we are in consultation about, and I am quite sure we would have been attacked from the other side if we had done it without consultation." It had been suggested that the policy followed in Palestine was the personal policy of the Foreign Secretary. That was untrue. The foreign policy was naturally discussed by the Government, and the Government took decisions and stood by the Minister who had to carry them out.

It had been said that Mr. Bevin had been actuated by dislike of the Jews. That was untrue. The Foreign Secretary had many good friends among Jews and had even been called "one of the architects of Zionism." (Laughter.) Yet a vendetta was being waged against him. "Why is this attack being launched to-night and why are we going to have this vote?" Mr. Churchill was an experienced campaigner. He saw an election not so very far away and he thought it would be a good thing if he could remove from the Government such a prominent figure as the Foreign Secretary. (Laughter.)

"It is quite clear that we have here a party manoeuvre by the right hon. gentleman. In this matter a vote on the adjournment, in these circumstances, is a vote of confidence in the Government. I am quite sure we shall get that confidence in ample measure."

The motion for the adjournment was defeated by 283 votes to 193, representing a majority for the Government of 90.

00740 0144 BEC

The Financial Times (London)

18652

Nr.

The Labour Party in Perspective and Twelve Years Later, by C. R. Attlee, 199 pp., Gollancz, 7s 6d.

Twelve years ago the Prime Minister wrote this party handbook. It is now reissued with an introduction by Mr. Francis Williams, formerly Mr. Attlee's Public Relations Officer at No. 10, Downing-street.

Mr. Williams seeks to show that the pre-war programme outlined by Mr. Attlee is now being carried out. For the most part, so it is. Mr. Williams also wishes to defend Socialism from the charge of dogmatically putting into effect an old party platform which is no longer relevant. This he attempts to do by leaving out of account the hard economic facts of Britain's parlous position in the post-war world. There is no mention in his Introduction of the American Loan, nor of Marshall aid, without which the present Socialist experiment would have collapsed.

Mr. Williams remarks that one newspaper columnist of his acquaintance has been notably successful in forecasting the moves of the present Government, for the reason that he has based his prophecies closely on Mr. Attlee's book. I wonder whether either Mr. Williams or the soothsaying journalist has considered such statements of Mr. Attlee's as this: "There are few workers to-day who can afford to travel. A reorganised national transport system, providing cheap fares by road or rail for those who want to spend their holidays in visiting other parts of their own country, would revolutionise the average worker's holiday time." Since nationalisation, this "revolution" in cheapness has inexplicably become more remote than ever.

Again on the subject of compensation, Mr. Attlee maintained in 1937: "In all cases where the State finds it necessary to take over private property, reasonable and just compensation will be paid. The redressing of inequalities of wealth must be effected through taxation. This process cannot be combined with nationalisation either equitably or expediently." The two Chancellors who have since served Mr. Attlee do not seem to have heard of this laudable doctrine.

One of the most curious of Mr. Attlee's statements is this: "The plain fact is that the Socialist Party cannot hope to make a success of administering the capitalist system because it does not believe in it." The losses made on many of the nationalised industries seem to show that the Socialist Party is no more capable of running a Socialist system than a capitalist one. As for the despised "capitalists," it is on their efforts that Mr. Attlee and his colleagues are now relying in the attempt to make Britain solvent before 1952!

00740 0145 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31943

MR. ATTLEE TO VISIT BERLIN

Inspection of Air-Lift

From our Political Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, TUESDAY.

Mr. Attlee will fly to Berlin on Friday to see the work of the air-lift and to show by his presence that the Government gives the highest praise to those who have made it a success. It is denied vigorously that Mr. Attlee has any other purpose in view, though he may, as an act of courtesy, see Herr Reuter, the Lord Mayor of Berlin, while he is in the city.

When Herr Reuter returned from his recent visit to London, he stated that Mr. Bevin was to go to Berlin, and Mr. Attlee's visit does not, of course, prevent other Ministers from going from time to time. The Prime Minister will be accompanied by Lord Henderson, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with special responsibilities for Germany.

Mr. Attlee will leave Northolt on Friday evening and will spend Friday night and all Saturday in Berlin as guest of the Commander-in-Chief, General Robertson. Early on Sunday he will leave Berlin for the British zone, where he will be the guest of the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief. He will visit several airfields in the zone.

Mr. Attlee will be back in London on Monday morning. This will be his first visit to Germany since the Potsdam conference.

SURPRISE IN BERLIN

BERLIN, MARCH 1.

The news of Mr. Attlee's forthcoming visit was a surprise to British officials in Berlin. German reports say Marshal Sokolovsky, the Soviet Military Governor, and his political adviser, Mr. Semeonov, met at Potsdam this afternoon to determine what significance to attach to the visit.—Reuter.

00740 0146 BEC

The Manchester Guardian
Nº 31945

**PREMIER IN BERLIN
TO-DAY**

British Hint to Soviet

BERLIN, MARCH 3.

A British Military Government spokesman said to-night that Mr. Attlee's visit to Berlin to-morrow would give Russian statesmen "a convenient opportunity to reflect on the failure of their policy since Potsdam." Mr. Attlee is the first of the "Big Three" to return since the Potsdam agreement was signed on August 2, 1945, and the spokesman suggested the Soviet authorities should mark the occasion by beginning, "for the first time," to "honour Stalin's signature."

"Not till then will it be possible to restore the political and economic unity of Germany and to discuss the Soviet proposals for the withdrawal of occupation troops," the spokesman said. The Soviet Union should honour the following points of the Potsdam agreement:—

Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to live without foreign assistance; Germany should be treated as a single economic unit;

Final delimitation of Poland's western frontier should await a peace treaty.

—Reuter.

00740 0147 BEC

5. März 1949

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31946

MR. ATTLEE IN BERLIN

Full Programme

TOUR OF AIR-LIFT BASES

Mr. Attlee flew from Northolt airport to Berlin last night. He was met at Gatow, the British air base, by the British Military Governor, General Robertson.

From our Political Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, FRIDAY.

These are the details of Mr. Attlee's programme during his week-end in Berlin:

Saturday.

Mr. Attlee will inspect the American Air Force base, at Tempelhof. Later during the morning he will meet ten senior members of the Control Commission, and afterwards will inspect a squadron of the 11th Hussars. Mr. Attlee will then be driven round Berlin. He will take lunch with the G.O.C. British troops in Berlin, Major General G. K. Bourne.

In the afternoon he will visit Montgomery Barracks where a guard of honour is to be mounted by the 1st Battalion the Worcestershire Regiment. He will see National Service men under training. Mr. Attlee will go on to the R.A.F. station at Gatow where the R.A.F. Regiment will provide a guard of honour. He will take tea with General Robertson and will meet Dr. Reuter, the Lord Mayor of Berlin, and four or five other Germans. A dinner party is to be given on Saturday evening by General Robertson in honour of the Prime Minister.

Sunday.

Mr. Attlee will leave from Gatow for Lübeck. At Gatow men of the 1st Battalion the Norfolk Regiment will be on guard. He is due at Lübeck at 11 a.m., will inspect the R.A.F. station there and will go on to Celle. He will take lunch with the G.O.C., Hanover district. In the afternoon he will inspect the R.A.F. station at Celle and at Wunstorf, where he is to have tea in the officers' mess. He will leave by car for the headquarters of the A.O.C., Air Marshal T. M. Williams, where he is to spend the night.

Monday.

Mr. Attlee will inspect the R.A.F. station at Gutersloh before flying back to England. He is expected back at Northolt at 12 15.

A MORE EFFICIENT AIR-LIFT

Modifications Needed

From our own Correspondent

BERLIN, MARCH 4.

Mr. Attlee is to spend much of his time in Germany on airfields at both ends of the air-lift bridge, and it seems likely that working of the air-lift is calling for fresh decisions.

Neither R.A.F. Transport Command itself nor the York aircraft was designed for this monotonous short-range shuttle service, and if the air-lift is to be put on a more permanent basis fresh measures are probably needed. Both men and machines are under strain but the present resources of Transport Command are said to be too limited for any improvement to be made.

BERLIN, MARCH 4.

The Western military authorities have protested against Russian firing exercises in the Hamburg air corridor, this afternoon.—Reuter.

MR. DOUGLAS IN GERMANY

Mr. Douglas, the United States Ambassador to London, arrived at Wiesbaden, the United States Air Force headquarters in Germany last night. He will inspect air-lift operations to-day.

Before leaving London Mr. Douglas called on Mr. Bevin at the Foreign Office. The subject of their conversation is not disclosed, but it is believed the delay in reaching agreement on the Occupation Statute may have been discussed. The talks began seven weeks ago.

Hamburger Echo

27

Nr.

Jubiläumsbesuch

Der Besuch des britischen Premierministers, der am Freitagabend in Berlin begonnen hat, fällt in eine ereignisreiche Zeit. Entscheidungen bereiten sich vor, die nicht nur für Deutschland sondern für die ganze Welt von nicht abzuschätzender Bedeutung sind. Daß Deutschland in dem aufregenden politischen Spiel so etwas wie eine Hauptfigur einnimmt, darf uns den Blick für die Realität des Geschehens nicht trüben. Noch immer befindet sich Deutschland in der Rolle des Objekts, und nur eng und schmal erscheint uns der Weg, der in die Gemeinschaft gleichberechtigter wirkender Völker führt. Nein, wir haben keinen Grund, hochmütig oder gar übermütig zu sein, aber nichtsdestoweniger erfüllt es uns doch mit Genugtuung, daß jenes Land Deutschland, das vor knapp vier Jahren hoffnungslos zerschlagen darniederlag —, daß dieses „Niemandland“ wieder ein Faktor zu werden verspricht, mit dem zu rechnen ist.

Jedoch: nicht das sind die Überlegungen, die wir anstellen möchten, wenn wir uns anschicken, den Premierminister des britischen Weltreiches in Deutschland zu begrüßen. Attlee hat der Hauptstadt Deutschlands einen Besuch abgestattet. Man sagt uns, daß es kein „offizieller“ Besuch sei, und zweifellos ist das richtig, denn der Premierminister trifft in Berlin keine Regierung an, die berechtigt wäre, ihn im Namen Deutschlands zu empfangen. Aber die Begriffe haben sich in mancherlei Hinsicht gewandelt.

Im Sommer 1945 ist Attlee zum ersten Male in Berlin gewesen. Damals als Führer der im Wahlkampf siegreichen britischen Arbeiterpartei. Mit anderen Augen sieht Attlee heute Berlin, und erhobenen Hauptes und mit freiem Blick heißt ihn die Berliner Bevölkerung willkommen. Berlin ist ein Teil Deutschlands, der tapferste und somit der wertvollste Teil Deutschlands, aber noch ist es Berlin verwehrt, in jenen Bund freier Menschen einzutreten, den der nach demokratischen Grundsätzen regierte Teil Deutschlands sich zu bilden in Begriff steht. Deutschland braucht eine Regierung: es trifft sich gut, daß der Premierminister Großbritanniens zu einem Zeitpunkte in Deutschland weilt, wo sich in dieser Hinsicht neue Schwierigkeiten auf-

Der Besuch Attlees ist als Anerkennung der Flieger Englands gedacht, die nun schon während 250 Tagen und Nächten in aufopferungsvoller Pflichterfüllung das von Sowjetrußland widerrechtlich blockierte Berlin versorgen. Aber der Premier wird Gelegenheit nehmen, nicht nur die maßgeblichen Offiziere der englischen Besatzungsarmee zu sprechen, sondern er hat Unterredungen mit einer Reihe deutscher politisch führender Persönlichkeiten, die auf jeden Fall wertvoll sein werden. Darüber hinaus — und das scheint uns im Augenblick von übertragender Bedeutung zu sein — beweist England durch den Besuch seines Premierministers, daß es Berlin behaupten will, mögen die Schwierigkeiten der Versorgung aus der Luft noch so kostspielig und gefährlich sein.

Die nationalen Grenzen und Abgrenzungen werden zusammenschrumpfen, sie werden an Bedeutung verlieren in dem Augenblick und in dem Maße, wie die Erkenntnis wächst, daß Europa seine Freiheit nur bewahren kann, wenn jeder Teil sich als Bestandteil des Ganzen fühlt und wenn es danach handelt.

Wir sagten am Anfang, daß der Besuch Attlees in eine ereignisreichen Zeit fällt. Die Angriffe sowjetischer Presseorgane auf die Westmächte, die Deutschland angeblich zur „Angriffsbasis“ und zum „Landsknechtreservoir“ der „Aggressoren“ machen wollen, überschlagen sich. In diese Atmosphäre platzt die Nachricht, daß der sowjetische Außenminister Molotow durch den bisherigen stellvertretenden Außenminister Wyschinski abgelöst worden ist. Was soll das bedeuten? Molotow wie auch Wyschinski sind Männer gleichen Schlages, die beide das Vertrauen Stalins besitzen. Ein Rätselraten hebt an, ob das Steuer der russischen Außenpolitik umgeworfen werden wird, und man ist geneigt, den Vorgang mit der seinerzeitigen plötzlichen Abberufung Litwinows zu vergleichen. Jedoch, alle Spekulationen, welche „Motive“ dem aufsehenerregenden Beschluß Stalins zugrunde liegen, bleiben vage Vermutungen. Schon die allernächsten Tage werden zeigen, welche Absichten mit dem Wechsel in der russischen Außenpolitik verbunden sind und ob es nur ein Austausch der Personen ist, um nach bewährter Manier zu täuschen.

00740 0149 BEC

Signatur

Attlee
P. Clements

Datum

5. März 1949

Die Welt (Hamburg)

Nr. 27

Attlee in Berlin eingetroffen

Von unserer Berliner Schriftleitung

Berlin, 4. März

Pünktlich um 23 Uhr traf am Freitag Premierminister Attlee in einer silberglänzenden York-Maschine auf dem Flugplatz Gatow ein. In seiner Begleitung befanden sich der britische Deutschlandminister Lord Henderson und der Oberkommandierende der britischen Luftstreitkräfte in Deutschland, Luftmarschall Williams. Premierminister Attlee wurde vom britischen Militärgouverneur, General Sir Brian Robertson, und dem britischen Stadtkommandanten, Generalmajor G. H. Bourne, auf dem Rollfeld begrüßt. Von deutscher Seite hatten sich der Oberbürgermeister Prof. Reuter und Stadtverordnetenvorsteher Dr. Suhr eingefunden.

00740 0150 BEC

Hamburger Echo

27

Nr.

Atlee in Berlin

Umfangreiches Reiseprogramm

Berlin, 4. März

Der britische Premierminister Atlee traf am Freitagabend gegen 23 Uhr in Begleitung des Unterstaatssekretärs für deutsche Angelegenheiten, Henderson, auf dem Gatower Flugplatz im britischen Sektor Berlins ein. Der britische Militärgouverneur, General Robertson, der Berliner Oberbürgermeister Reuter und Stadtverordneten-vorsteher Dr. Suhr wurden von ihm herzlich begrüßt. Ohne eine Erklärung abzugeben, verließ Atlee mit seinen Begleitern den Flugplatz und begab sich nach der Wohnung des britischen Militärgouverneurs.



Am Sonnabendvormittag besichtigt Atlee die Berliner Luftbrückenstützpunkte. Anlässlich eines Essens bei General Robertson wird er mit Oberbürgermeister Reuter, Stadtverordnetenvorsteher Dr. Suhr, Bürgermeister Friedensburg, SPD-Vorsitzenden Neumann und dem LDP-Vorsitzenden Schwennicke zusammen-treffen. Später werden

sich dort auch General Clay und Generalmajor Noiret einfinden.

Bereits am Sonntagmorgen will der Premier-minister nach der britischen Zone zurückfliegen und den Lübecker Flugplatz Blankensee besuchen. In Celle wird er den niedersächsischen Minister-präsidenten Kopf und den Zivilgouverneur für Niedersachsen, General Lingham, empfangen. Sein Rückflug nach London ist für Montag vom Luft-brückenflugplatz Gütersloh aus vorgesehen.

(dpd, ap)

The Manchester Guardian

Nº 31947

MR. ATTLEE'S PRAISE FOR AIR-LIFT

Meeting with West Berlin Politicians

From our own Correspondent

BERLIN, MARCH 6.

Political leaders in Western Berlin appear to be satisfied with the results of Mr. Attlee's week-end visit and particularly, it is suggested, with his attitude to the dual currency problem. Mr. Attlee left Gatow this morning to inspect air-lift bases in the British zone. His departure was delayed for forty minutes by a snowstorm.

Mr. Attlee accompanied by Lord Henderson, the Joint Foreign Under Secretary, and General Robertson, the British Military Governor, visited Tempelhof and Gatow airfields yesterday. At Gatow he gave a short press conference, at which, he said, the object of his visit was to see the air-lift for himself. He was deeply impressed with it and with the improvements in Berlin since his last visit, at the time of the Potsdam Conference. He would not comment on Mr. Molotov's resignation or on the possibility of renewed four-Power negotiations. He talked with the German workers unloading air-lift planes and with officials of the Free Trade Union.

For an hour and a half over tea he met the West Berlin city leaders—Professor Reuter, the Lord Mayor, Dr. Friedensburg, his deputy, Dr. Schreiber, Dr. Suhr, Herr Neumann and Herr Schwennicke. It is reported that they took the chance to complain against the exclusion of Berlin from the Bonn Constitution.

There has been a certain amount of speculation in the press, which has concentrated entirely on the visit's international significance. "Der Tag"

(British-licensed) in a leading article to-day sees it as evidence of Britain's determination to hold this military and political bastion, though it declares that British policy, because of its tendency to improvisation, is by no means firm and fixed. The Soviet-licensed "Berliner Zeitung" argues that "the many military inspections" and consultations with Generals Robertson and Clay show the Premier's visit to have purely a military object. It points also to the recent arrival in the United States zone of a group of Spanish Air Force officers, who are also to inspect the air-lift.

VISIT TO BRITISH ZONE BASES

Mr. Attlee's first call in the British zone yesterday was at Lübeck, in Schleswig-Holstein, where he spent twenty minutes inspecting British, New Zealand, and Australian squadrons. He said he was "much impressed with the thoroughness and regularity displayed by this base." Replying to a welcoming speech by the Premier, Herr Lüdemann, Mr. Attlee said he would do everything possible to help Schleswig-Holstein to come to an agreement with the Danish minority.

He then flew to Celle, where 44 American Skymasters operate under British administration. He lunched with General Robertson, Lord Henderson, and Lieutenant General Keightley, commanding British troops in Germany, at the headquarters of the Seventh Armoured Division and later flew to Wunstorf. He will return to London to-day.—Reuter.

007400152 BEC

Die Welt (Hamburg)

Nr. 28

Luftbrücke imponierte Attlee

Hamburg, 7. März

Der britische Premierminister Attlee ist am Montagmorgen in Begleitung von Lord Henderson und Luftmarschall Williams von Gütersloh nach London zurückgefliegen.

Attlee, der am Freitagabend in Berlin eingetroffen war, hatte am Sonntag die Luftbrückenflugplätze Lübeck, Faßberg, Wietzenbruch und Wunstorf inspiziert. Kurz vor dem Abflug erklärte Attlee, daß er von der Zuverlässigkeit und den Leistungen der Luftbrücke sehr beeindruckt



Attlee (rechts) in Lübeck mit Capt. Hall (links) und General Robertson (im Hintergrund) Foto: Conti-Press

sei. Außerdem habe die gute Haltung der Berliner Bevölkerung einen großen Eindruck auf ihn gemacht. Nach der Besichtigung des Flugplatzes Wietzenbruch hatte der britische Premier, der auf seiner Besichtigungsreise auch von General Robertson begleitet wurde, eine einstündige Unterredung mit Ministerpräsident Kopf. (Eig. Ber.—dpd.)

*

Von unserem Berichterstatter

R. Hannover, 7. März

Über seine Unterredung mit Premierminister Attlee erklärte Ministerpräsident Kopf der „Welt“, der tiefste Eindruck hierbei sei für ihn die unbedingte Aufrichtigkeit des englischen Willens gewesen, Deutschland so bald wie möglich als gleichberechtigten Partner in die Westeuropäunion aufzunehmen. In der Besprechung wurden ferner folgende Punkte erörtert: das Grundgesetz sowie die alliierte Stellungnahme dazu, die westdeutschen Grenzfragen, Besatzungskosten und die Treuhandverwaltung in der Eisen- und Stahlindustrie.

Attlee
P. Clements
Signatur
Datum 10. März 1949

00740 0153 BEC

Die Welt (Hamburg)

Nr. 29 - - -

Attlee: Luftbrücke wird noch verstärkt

Von unserem Berichterstatter

E. A. London, 9. März

Eine weitere Steigerung der Luftversorgung Berlins wurde von Premierminister Attlee in einer Botschaft an General Robertson in Aussicht gestellt. Attlee nannte darin die Luftbrücke einen gewaltigen Beitrag zur Aufrechterhaltung freier Einrichtungen in Europa.

In der Botschaft heißt es u. a.: „Durch die gemeinsamen Anstrengungen der englisch sprechenden Völker haben wir die Bevölkerung Berlins in die Lage versetzt, einen ganzen Winter hindurch den Drohungen der Aushungerung zu trotzen. Ich möchte allen Alliierten, die an der Luftbrücke teilnehmen, meine Glückwünsche übermitteln. Es hat mich gefreut, zu sehen, wie auch die deutschen Arbeiter mitwirken, die an der Aufgabe beteiligt sind, die Blockade zunichte zu machen.“

In einer Botschaft an den Befehlshaber der britischen Luftstreitkräfte in Deutschland spricht der Ministerpräsident seine Bewunderung für die hervorragende Haltung der Offiziere und des übrigen Personals der RAF, der Commonwealth-einheiten sowie der zivilen Luftfahrtorganisationen aus, die an der Luftbrücke mitwirken.

00740 0155 - BEC

West-Echo (Konstanz)

107 - - -

Clement R. Attlee

Britischer Premierminister

Clement Attlee wurde am 3. Januar 1883 in Putney bei London als Sohn eines Rechtsanwaltes geboren. Er studierte in Oxford Rechtswissenschaften, wandte sich jedoch nicht der juristischen Laufbahn, sondern als Sekretär von Toynbeed-Hall der sozialen Hilfstätigkeit zu, auch trat er der Gesellschaft der Fabier und später der Unabhängigen Arbeiterpartei bei. Von 1913 an las er dann, mit Unterbrechung



durch den Krieg, an der von den Geschwistern Webb in London ins Leben gerufenen Wirtschaftshochschule über Sozialwissenschaft. Im Krieg diente er zuletzt als Major bei einer Panzerformation.

Nach dem Krieg wurde er in dem Arbeitervorort Stepney zum Bürgermeister und 1922 auch als Arbeiterpartei in das Unterhaus gewählt. Dort machte ihn der Parteiführer und spätere Premierminister Ramsay MacDonald zu seinem Privatsekretär. Später erhielt er auch Kabinettsämter, wenn auch nur wenig einflußreiche. Als der Führer der Arbeiterpartei, Lansbury, im Oktober 1935 sein Amt niederlegte, weil er mit der Sanktionspolitik gegen Italien wegen des Ueberfalls auf Aethiopien nicht einverstanden war, trat Attlee an seine Stelle. Aber auch jetzt blieb er weiter der stille bescheidene Mann im Hintergrund, bis der zweite Weltkrieg ausbrach. Im Mai 1940 trat er dann als Stellvertreter des Premierministers in das Kriegskabinet ein. Er unterstützte Churchill während des ganzen Krieges in jeder Weise. Nach dem Krieg vertrat er England mit Eden auf der Konferenz in San Francisco, und im Juli 1945 ging er mit Churchill zur Konferenz nach Potsdam.

Während dieser Konferenz errang seine Partei einen überwältigenden Wahlsieg, so daß er als Premierminister von Potsdam zurückkehrte. Seitdem hat Attlee an der Spitze der britischen Regierung gestanden, deren radikales sozialistisches Programm den schärfsten Widerspruch der konservativen Opposition hervorgerufen hat.

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 31994

MR. ATTLEE'S "FOUR FREEDOMS"

Seeking Collective Security at
Home and Abroad

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee), Mr. Herbert Morrison, and other members of the Government, together with Labour M.P.s and trade union leaders, took part in May Day demonstrations in various parts of the country yesterday.

Mr. Attlee, after attending a memorial service at Fakenham to the founder of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, Mr. George Edwards, addressed a large open-air gathering at Norwich, where he spoke of four freedoms in which the Labour party believed—freedom of speech and conscience; freedom to choose the Government; freedom for the individual from the oppression of the strong, and from the tyranny of economic power wielded by the few.

Freedom to-day, he said, did not consist, as the old-time individualist thought, of letting the individual struggle for mastery while the Government held the ring. Freedom could only be secured in an organised society where the blind economic forces were controlled in the interests of all. "What we are building up here at home is collective security, just as in the world of economic relations we seek to build up peace by collective security against any would-be aggressor."

The question that would have to be answered at the next election was whether the policy which the Labour party had inaugurated was to be carried on or whether the clock was to be put back. Their opponents had not made up their minds what to do. There were some who realised that they must move with the times or perish, and who seemed to be prepared to accept to some extent the new society which was being built, but who would slow it down. That was the view of a minority. Others, representing the mass of the Tory party, although they had no clear policy, longed to get back to the past. They did not know what they would do about controls and subsidies, though they talked of freeing the people from them. "We intend to go forward steadily, consolidating the advances made. We are not the slaves of abstract formulæ," said Mr. Attlee.

A certain amount of dissatisfaction with the recent Budget he attributed to unwarranted suggestions of further benefits and reliefs from taxation put out by people who knew well the facts of the situation. The design had been to create alarm and despondency in the Labour ranks by raising false hopes. To some extent they seemed to have been successful. The fact, for instance, that the food subsidies, paid to keep the cost of living stable, now amounted to 3s. 6d. a week per head, or 17s. 6d. for a family of five, was obscured by the fact that the cost of living was to be increased by fourpence a week per head, or 1s. 8d. for a family of five.

It was true that none but a few irresponsibles on the other side had suggested that all subsidies should be abolished. But did anyone suppose that if the Tories were in power they would maintain the subsidies at their present level? Yet a lot of people allowed themselves to be gulled into letting the Tories capture county council seats because of the Budget.

To judge the Budgetary policy of the Government fairly, they must look at it as a whole, taking the effect of a series of Budgets together. They must compare taxation and what they got for it. There was a false idea that what was taken in taxation was somehow taken away from the people and given to the Government. What was actually done by modern Budgets was to effect on a far greater scale than before a more equitable distribution of purchasing power.

The Conservative party claimed that it had been pressing for great reforms—the party crying in the wilderness. There was a simple answer to such propaganda. The Conservatives were in power for the greater part of thirty years between the wars. They could have done all these things, but they had not the will. "We have provided more housing in rural districts than they did in their years of power. Yet to hear them talk you would think it was Labour, not Conservatism, that between the wars let the workers go from the land because of the lack of amenities and because of the low wages which they allowed."

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32001 -

BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO "THE WORLD WE WANT"

Mr. Attlee Names Three Essentials

Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, addressed 5,500 children in the Albert Hall, London, yesterday in connection with the world forum of youth sponsored and organised by the "Daily Mail" in conjunction with the Council for Education in World Citizenship. In addition to the children, the meeting was attended by about six hundred adults, including head masters and head mistresses.

The Prime Minister, who said that three contributions which Britain could make to the modern world were tolerance, the practical spirit, and our sense of continuity, concluded his speech with this "final word":

"We here believe that there are absolute values. We do not believe that you can substitute for these values concepts dictated by reasons of State. Truth and justice, mercy and liberty, are not to be perverted into what a dictator or a ruling caste consider to be the national interest. They stand above nationality, party, or creed. They form the basis for the relationship between man and man, and between nation and nation. If we are to make our modern civilisation a success, if we are to preserve the world from the ruin that threatens it, it is our duty to assert the supremacy of the moral law. Whatever our differences here may be, religious or political, except for an inconsiderable minority, we in Britain believe in the validity of the moral values on which our civilisation has been built up."

Mr. Attlee, who was speaking on Britain's contribution to "the world we want," said: "As I see it, the problem of democracy is to ensure that the will of the majority prevails without infringing the rights of minorities to express their opinions and to seek to change opinion and convert the majority. The problem of liberty is how to give the greatest freedom to the individual without impairing the unity of the whole and without preventing the exercise by the community of its common will. We have, I believe, achieved a great measure of success in this country in the solution of both these problems, but to maintain this success needs a constant watchfulness."

TOLERANCE ESSENTIAL

To his mind tolerance was the one thing essential for the practice of freedom and democracy. Tolerance was a plant of very slow growth. It flourished in a peaceful atmosphere and was always liable to perish in times of stress and danger. It might be established by law, but could only be really effective if it was alive in the hearts and minds of men and women.

"If you wish to see the exercise of this virtue at its best you cannot do better than study the practice of members of the House of Commons. Without the spirit of tolerance our Parliamentary system, which

is not logical, would not work. It is the will to make it work and the recognition of the things that unite as well as the things that divide that make it a most flexible and effective instrument of democracy. This spirit of tolerance is exhibited in other fields, including labour relations."

The second contribution he thought we might make to the modern world was the practical spirit which chimed in very well with tolerance. We did not mind if something we did was illogical provided it worked. This attitude of mind was not always appreciated by other peoples. A third contribution of value was our sense of continuity. We had had few violent revolutions here, but many great revolutions brought about quietly by changing the content rather than the names of things. The root and branch revolutionary said, "Sweep away all the old things and make all things new." That was not our method, because we did not think that our forefathers were wrong in every point. The result had been that we had gone farther and faster than some of those who sought to make great haste, because

we had not had to go back to pick up again things of value rashly cast away.

Along with reverence for the past we had here a willingness to experiment, which was of vital importance in a changing world. "There is in every country a division between Right and Left, between those who emphasise the need for caution and respect for the past and those who desire change. I think in this country that in all parties, although these differences exist, there is an absence of that obstinate clinging to the past which has elsewhere produced violent revolutions."

The Prime Minister told the representatives of foreign countries present that he would like them to carry home with them an impression that "this old country is very much alive." "It has had to adjust itself to new conditions, but I believe that it is still young in spirit. It faces the problems of the age in which we live with confidence and hope. Democracy is a great adventure. I believe that the minds of our young generation are adventurous. They do not face the future with apprehension. They are not tied to a policy of safety first."

"We here are proud of our national heritage, but that does not lead us to deprecate others. We think that we have something to give and something to receive from others. You may be certain that wherever the fight for freedom is being carried on there will be sympathy in Britain for the fighters."

The Duke of Edinburgh told the meeting that the world was facing a very grave crisis, the reason for which was very simple—that distance was no longer a matter of miles but of hours. "History," he said, "has shown that people can live peacefully close together, and now whether we like it or not we are close neighbours of the world. The choice before us is quite simple. It is either destruction of the world or a peaceful world society, and it is up to us to make the choice. We can choose to disregard our neighbours, treat them as foreigners and as potential enemies, but, on the other

hand, we can choose to understand our neighbours and treat them as individuals. That is what we are doing here to-day."

COMMONWEALTH'S CONTRIBUTION

Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P., who spoke of the special contribution the British Commonwealth could make to "the world we want," said that in our association of free nations we were all wholly independent and no compulsion was ever brought to bear by any one member upon another. If we often seemed to say the same thing it was not because anyone told us to, but because we thought alike.

"Without boasting we can claim that our Commonwealth is the one wholly successful experiment in international co-operation that mankind has ever seen," declared Mr. Eden. First among the influences that united us was a sense of tolerance, the hall-mark of civilisation. Then there was the practice of good faith to one another, which was the basis of all true comradeship, whether in political or private life. Finally, there was adaptability, which was not weakness but a sense of respect for the thoughts and feelings of others.

"It is sometimes said that the British have a talent for compromise, and it is true that we quite happily make arrangements among ourselves which anyone else would probably think illogical and extraordinary. But these arrangements work. They are possible only because each member of the Commonwealth holds that the others are all entitled to their views. We of the Commonwealth believe that a greater power for good can be wielded by States acting freely together than by any other means. We have learned to live in friendship one with another."

The platform was flanked by 26 representatives from 13 countries—one boy and one girl from each who had won a prize for an essay on "The world we want." The countries represented were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Jamaica, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, and the United States.

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The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32003

PREMIER STANDS FIRM ON ULSTER ISSUE

Must be Free to Decide Her Course

MR. EDEN URGES EIRE TO WOO, NOT TO BROWBEAT

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, WEDNESDAY.

Once more the order of the day at Westminster has been the old triangle, the British Government, Southern Ireland, and Ulster. To-day's debate on the Ireland Bill began to the echoes of yesterday's debate in Dublin. Those echoes, it was soon evident, had produced a faint annoyance in Mr. Attlee. It would peep out even though the general tone of the Prime Minister's speech could not have been more conciliatory towards Southern Ireland. Mr. Eden was no less restrained than Mr. Attlee, but he, too, regretted the Dublin speeches.

The House was full. Mr. Churchill had come in as an observer but he gave frequent vocal signs of his approval of Mr. Attlee's arguments. That urgent Ulster spirit Professor Savory kept up a cannonade of "Hear, hears" in order to assure Mr. Attlee that he, too, like Mr. Churchill, was for once behind him. Mr. Attlee could not forbear to smile. Lord Salisbury and Lord Simon looked down from the peers' gallery, while Mr. Dulanty, Eire's High Commissioner in London, made notes of Mr. Attlee's speech and, that task accomplished, withdrew.

The first "anti-partition" accents were heard, and in all their richness, when Mr. Mulvey, the member for Fermanagh and Tyrone, ventured, though a little diffidently it seemed for an Ulster Nationalist, to tell Mr. Eden what he considers the true strength of the anti-partition vote in Ulster.

MR. COSTELLO ANSWERED

Mr. Attlee's and Mr. Eden's answers to Mr. Costello on the Ulster guarantee could be summed up in Molière's: "You have willed this, George Dandin." This was the crucial issue of the debate, though the citizenship issue, with its universally admitted illogicality, also received considerable attention in nearly all speeches.

On the guarantee Mr. Attlee argued simply that Southern Ireland had exercised its unquestioned right to secede from the Commonwealth, and we wished the republic well, but Ulster must be equally free to exercise her corresponding right to decide her

course whether to remain in or leave the Commonwealth. It was Southern Ireland's decision to leave the Commonwealth that had made the present bill necessary and also made it inevitable that the bill should contain the declaration that Northern Ireland remained in the Commonwealth. So Mr. Attlee's argument proceeded.

The affirmation that she would not cease to be a member of the Commonwealth without the consent of the Northern Ireland Parliament repeated, without in the least amplifying, as some critics had suggested, the statement on Ulster's position, which Mr. Attlee made on October 28 last.

THE CHEQUERS TALKS

Here Mr. Attlee became interesting in detail. He pointed out that when it was made this statement met with no protest in Dublin, and he confessed himself surprised that the guarantee clause, which was only this statement in statutory form, should now be engendering such heat there. The Prime Minister denied Mr. Costello's statement that partition was raised at the Chequers conference. "It was only raised," commented Mr. Attlee drily, "in the sense that it was decided that it was not a matter for discussion at the conference."

Nevertheless, Mr. Attlee did put it to Mr. Costello at Chequers that the break with the Commonwealth must damage any prospects of promoting the unity of Ireland. "I was forced to conclude," commented Mr. Attlee, "that the Eire Government considered the cutting of the last tie with the Commonwealth to be a more important object of policy than the ending of partition."

Then Mr. Attlee struck the nearest thing to a controversial note. Taking the words out of Mr. Costello's mouth, he expressed the opinion that the decision to secede had "tightened the ligature fastened round the body of Ireland."

In substance Mr. Eden's speech was Mr. Attlee's. The Prime Minister had begged everybody to face the facts, but Mr. Eden stressed more strongly the cardinal fact in the situation that the people of the six counties have made it clear by a large majority that they do not wish to join the republic, and he recommended to Southern Ireland a policy of "cherishing and wooing" instead of browbeating Northern Ireland.

That was something as coming from the Deputy Leader of the Tory party. He caused Mr. Morrison almost to explode with laughter when he came to examine and gaily dismiss Mr. Costello's absurd notion that the Government stands to gain an electoral advantage over the Tories by introducing this bill.

On the other hand, Mr. Eden advanced the view that the motive for the Eire Government's conduct is to be found in the necessities of Irish internal politics and the competition of parties.

"ASSASSINATION AND ARSON"

Sir Hugh O'Neill, the leader of the Ulster Unionists in the House, supplied a new argument on the partition clause. He pointed out that the 1920 Act itself provides that partition can only be ended by an Act of the Northern Ireland Parliament. But Sir Hugh also, unfortunately, broke with the admirably restrained temper of the debate so far. He does not fear aggression from the South but he does fear, he said, resort to assassination and arson, and he went on to talk of "firm and relentless" counter-measures and the reintroduction of special constables if anything of that sort should happen.

Sir Hugh might tell protesting Labour members that he was not being inflammatory, but his speech made the worst of impressions, not confined, one imagines, to the Government side of the House. Mr. Eden, who had joined Mr. Attlee in appealing for a dispassionate approach to the question, must have deplored it.

Professor Gruffydd, the Liberal, made a frontal attack on the bill. He called for its withdrawal. He called the partition clause the clumsiest of gaffs, claimed it had inflamed the situation and neutralised the effect of the good part of the bill. There seemed to be more assertion than argument and he ended somewhat helplessly by saying: "I certainly do not know what the solution of the difficulty is, but certainly a solution is not contained in this bill, which has the distinction of being to the Irish an offence and to the English a folly."

One or two Labour members took exception to the partition clause because of the seal of approval they consider it sets on the present Northern Ireland régime.

Mr. Morrison replied to the debate with a tranquillising speech. It was not on that account any less a cogent defence of the bill. One of his more significant remarks was addressed to a member of his own party who thought the Government might become too passive toward the problem of partition.

"We are not," he said, "going to take the initiative in diminishing any part of United Kingdom territory." He also denied that anyone had attempted to coerce the Government into including the Partition clause in the bill—a suggestion that had been made during the debate.

The motion to reject the bill was defeated by 317 votes to 12 and the bill was read a second time.

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The Times (London)

Nr. 51402 -

Labour Conference

WIDE SURVEY BY MR. ATTLEE

POLICY FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT

From Our Special Correspondents

BLACKPOOL, JUNE 7

Mr. Attlee was given a great welcome when he spoke at the Labour Party conference here this morning. The Prime Minister, who presented the Parliamentary report, said that the Government had now nearly completed the balanced and clearly defined programme on which it won the General Election, and declared that the legislation which had been introduced in this term would have staggered Governments of the past. Sir Stafford Cripps, who spoke later, gave a warning that the country had now reached a tough spot in the road to economic recovery. Mr. James Griffiths was in the chair.

Mr. ATTLEE said that this was the fifteenth year in which it had been his duty to present the Parliamentary report. Whenever he did it he was conscious that the work which had been done over the past year was the work of Ministers in the Government working together as a team, of members of Parliament working together, and a great team of members throughout the country loyally cooperating.

"We are a democratic party. Unlike our opponents we do not ask for a blank cheque; we do not ask for blind confidence in a particular individual. We tell the country, quite frankly, what we intend to do if we are returned to power; what is more, when we are returned to power we carry out our promises. (Cheers.) We shall fight the next election as we fought the last election, on a clearly stated policy, but this time we shall also stand on the constructive efforts of our party and the Government during the past period of this Parliament."

CLEAR PRINCIPLES

In the admirable address that the chairman gave he had reviewed in broad outline the work of the last four years. The work of the past years was just a stage in carrying out a programme, a well-considered programme, based on clear principles balanced and fitted to the needs of the times and carried out under the exacting condition of the aftermath of the war. That programme had now almost completely been carried out.

"It is worth while dwelling on that point because, you know, it is most unusual. It is very unusual for a Government to have a clearly defined plan and policy for its work during the lifetime of a Parliament. Secondly, it is most unusual for a Government to carry out that plan."

Mr. Attlee then reviewed the work of the past year in relation to the four years of office. Looking first at the social services he said that here there was a tremendous programme. In former days, Governments that he had known, if they had introduced just one item of the

Labour Party's social programme, would have plumed themselves on being a great reform Government. The single effort would have completely exhausted them. (Laughter.) But the Labour Party in this year had completed a great social programme which had evoked the whole-hearted admiration of other nations. In this year the national insurance schemes had come into full operation. The smoothness with which these schemes had been launched was a tribute to the chairman. Their success had shown how great was the need and they had been launched successfully in spite of the violent attacks on Aneurin Bevan.

He had never known a Minister of Health that was not pretty violently criticized by the medical profession, but when, with a flourish, the Leader of the Opposition announced a tremendous attack on the cost of the health service, the trumpets had to sound a retreat. There was a complete fiasco and Mr. Churchill's unfortunate lieutenants were left to lead the assault.

NATIONALIZATION

CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH WORKERS

Mr. Attlee then spoke of nationalization. During this year, he said, to the Bank of England, Cables and Wireless, coal, electricity, civil aviation, and transport, the Government had added the gas industry, and iron and steel had gone through the Commons and was now in the House of Lords. That was a remarkable effort.

"It will take time for these great organizations to become fully effective, for we are not ashamed to say that, in the practical working out of these services, we must learn by experience. But the foundations have been well and truly laid and we shall continue, in close consultation with the workers, to improve these schemes."

"We have laid the great framework of our nationalized undertakings. We have got to be quite sure we have the spirit to work them in the interests of the whole community. That depends on good organization, the right people at the top and the right spirit throughout the rank and file."

But the background of all their work was the economic problem.

They had, Mr. Attlee continued, not only to see that the nation's work was rightly divided, but that full production was secured. No Government had had a harder task in those matters. When *laissez-faire* was departed from, and it came down to the day-by-day work of economic planning, the burden on the economic Ministers was tremendous.

The Government had been constantly adapting its economic efforts to a changing world, trying to get away from irksome controls and to retain those that were necessary. Delegates must take what had been done this year in proportion, considering what had been done in past years. That was particularly important with the Budget. Successive Chancellors had carried out a Budget policy on certain definite principles—the continuous process of raising the standard of living of the less well-to-do and reducing the excessive claims of the very wealthy. There had been constant solicitude for people with family responsibilities. There had been a policy of maintaining real wages by stabilizing the cost of living.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RALLYING POINT FOR THE DEMOCRACIES

Coming to external affairs, Mr. Attlee said that there had been difficult, intractable problems, and the Foreign Secretary had shown immense patience and skill, combining firmness and conciliation.

"I rejoice that, in these last few months, he has begun to reap his reward. Western union, the Atlantic Pact, the Council of Europe, O.E.E.C., the lifting of the Berlin blockade are tangible results of following a steady policy, often misunderstood and very often misrepresented by those who ought to know a great deal better. He has shown resolution, and to-day, more than ever before, stands out as a rallying point for all the democracies—the real democracies, not the veiled autocracies."

The Foreign Secretary had ever kept in mind the economic conditions needed as a basis of sound and enduring peace. The recently announced agreement about the Nile waters was only one of the many projects he had been pressing for, in order to raise the standard of living in those countries where a higher standard was so much needed.

POLICY FOR COLONIES

In the colonial sphere the Government had been giving more and more self-government to the peoples and developing resources in the interests not only of the natives themselves but of the whole world. In Commonwealth relations they had to meet problems which had grown to great proportions, because the Commonwealth was a living thing which grew and changed and had to be adapted in that process. "We regret that Burma and Eire have left the Commonwealth. We rejoice that India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (cheers)—Asiatic coun-

wenden

tries now free and equal members with the others—remain inside the Commonwealth.”

Speaking of the Labour Party in Parliament Mr. Attlee said:—

“I have been now in seven Parliaments and I have never known a finer or more loyal party than we have in the House. We have had to shed one or two on the left and on the right. (Laughter.) We sometimes have a few little differences among the others. But, you know, the difficulty of preserving unity in a party varies with its size. I remember when we had only 44 members. Unity was much easier then. When you have a party of nearly 400, and when you have the responsibility of government, it is a much harder job, and I would like to thank all our members very warmly. You have to have discipline. Sometimes those who break away get far more publicity than the vast majority who are loyal.”

“The last year of a Parliament is always a most testing one. The greater part of the programme has been carried. The Opposition, as the time for the General Election approaches, becomes more active, magnifying every grievance and trying to divert the minds of the electors from the solid work done through all these years. It relies on forgetfulness and on a lack of sense of proportion and strives to sow dissension in the ranks of the Government. That is the temptation for an Opposition and particularly for such a one as we face to-day, which has no policy of its own, with not the foggiest idea of what it would do if, by some misfortune, it were called upon to govern. The moral for us is plain, to carry on and preserve our unity.”

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

When last the conference met in Blackpool they had just gone through the ordeal of a great war. They assumed the responsibility of government for five fateful years and had faithfully carried out that policy they believed to be right for this country and the world, the policy of democratic Socialism. The 1945 conference was historic and marked the beginning of a new era. That 1949 conference would also be historic and would go down to history as the conference in which account was rendered for carrying into effect a great programme and at which the broad lines of Labour's second programme were laid down. Let them accept again the challenge of the times in which they lived and remember always that their task was the creation of a society in which the citizens were conscious, not only of their rights, but of their duties, a society based, not just on a particular economic system, but on the acceptance of a particular way of living. The Parliament and the Government could make new institutions, but only a great movement, inspired by high ideals, could make a new society.

They could achieve their aims only if the movement was inspired by the same spirit of sacrifice and service, the same vision and effort that inspired the pioneers 50 years ago.

TIME FOR ELECTION

AUTUMN SUGGESTED BY LORD STRABOLGI

The PRIME MINISTER then moved, amid loud applause, the adoption of the Parliamentary report.

LORD STRABOLGI warned the conference that the country was about to enter into a most difficult economic situation in which it would be difficult to explain to the people why it had arisen and what we had to do. There was a great deal of misunderstanding still, and before the economic blizzard struck us the Government should go to the country—this autumn. By so doing they would delay only two important measures, the Parliament Bill and the Iron and Steel Bill. Work already done on them would carry over to the new Parliament if they won the election. He believed they would win the election if held next year, but they would certainly win it if it was held in the autumn. “Go while the going is good,” he exhorted, amid loud interruption.

COST OF ARMED FORCES

Mr. J. HUDDOCK (Parliamentary candidate for Brighton) raised the question of the cost of the armed forces. He alleged gross waste of public money in the Royal Navy. About one-third its 1939 strength, it yet had 108 admirals on the active list, and replacement appointments were still being made. The United States Navy was three times the strength of ours and, on the basis of comparative

strengths, we should have one Admiral of the Fleet instead of 10, two admirals instead of 10, and six vice-admirals instead of 27. Not all could serve at sea; ashore they were passing memoranda one to the other.

We now had 135,000 men in the Royal Navy. There ought to be a working party to determine how many of them were either driving admirals around or waiting on admirals or running offices for admirals or maintaining the establishments of admirals. (Laughter.) He could, without any difficulty, reduce expenditure on the Royal Navy by 25 per cent. and still keep as many ships in commission.

Mr. MITCHELL (Clapham) complained of what he called a disgraceful Budget, and urged the Government to take heed of the discontent among the people over rising prices.

MR. MORRISON'S REPLY

Mr. HERBERT MORRISON replied. He said he did not share Lord Strabolgi's confidence in the imminence of an economic blizzard, and suggested that that vast public assembly was not a place in which to discuss the date of the General Election. Doubtless, Mr. Churchill would like to know it, but he was afraid they could not tell him. It was a matter to be determined by the Prime Minister after consulting such colleagues as he thought expedient. The conference would agree that the matter should be left in the Prime Minister's competent hands.

He hoped that no disciplinary action would be taken against the young lieutenant-commander, R.N.R., who so refreshingly attacked the admirals—(laughter)—and he promised attention if the speaker would furnish the Prime Minister or the Minister of Defence with facts additional to those he had mentioned.

The report was received and adopted.

WAGES AND PRICES

COMPLAINTS OF HIGH PROFITS

The conference then considered a composite resolution on the control of wages, prices, and profits. This called for: Removal of restrictions on wage increases, increased tax on profits, prevention of the distribution of reserves and bonus shares, a check on company reconstruction designed to increase capital and personal tax-free fortunes, and for continued control of the prices of commodities essential to the well-being of the workers. An interim Budget in the autumn, based on these demands, was demanded.

Mr. JACK STANLEY (Constructional Engineering Union), who moved the resolution, said that in the past year nine big firms in his trade had increased profits by £1,843,455, almost 50 per cent., and the dividends of most of the firms averaged 25 per cent. and undivided profits 50 per cent. One firm, in addition to dividend, presented a tax-free capital bonus amounting to 9.9 per cent. Could a workers' wage of 94s. 6d. be justified? His union, the first to feel the effects of the White Paper, asked for an extra 6d. an hour, but got nothing.

Mr. R. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P. (Norwood), seconding, said that if they could not reach an equilibrium between wages, prices, and profits they would lose the election. He asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would follow up his recent statement on “frightfully high profits,” with equally strong action.

Mr. F. HAYDAY (General and Municipal Workers) resisted the resolution. He insisted that since the White Paper there had been increases in wages amounting to £2m. a week, largely to lower paid workers on whose behalf claims had been prosecuted without pursuing general increases. But the White Paper had handicapped them. It had made advocacy of wage claims more difficult. It had not frozen wages but had exercised restraint on claims put in. To advocate a policy of unrestricted wage demands would worsen the general position much more than would continuance of the principles of the White Paper. The Government should bring down prices.

TASK OF PERSUASION

The delegates listened expectantly to Mr. MAURICE WEBB, M.P., chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. His criticism of the resolution as inadequate to enable an accurate decision to be arrived at was received in silence, but bursts of cheering greeted his statement

that Sir S. Cripps had failed to make the changes in his policy that the circumstances made urgently necessary.

“This conference,” he said, “can only be valuable in trying to persuade him that, without in any way abandoning the main framework of his policy, he can in some degree meet the obvious views of the industrial side of the movement. The economic situation is going to be more acute, and he must maintain the policy of wage freezing. But that policy will melt away if he does not at the same time find some way of easing the burden on the lower income groups.”

The last Budget went less far than the Chancellor could have gone. There were ways in which he could have given ordinary people a glimmering of hope. What they got was so frigidly cold, so complete a denial of what they were asking for. The Chancellor had to make much more drastic efforts to cut profits. It was no good making pious requests to company directors to put a little more money back into the kitty. “Why does he not make them put it back?” he asked amid cheers. “Why does he not use power?”

Mr. A. DEAKIN (Transport and General Workers' Union), opposing the resolution, challenged the suggestion that Government policy on prices, profits, and wages had not been to the advantage of the workers. It had had a stabilizing effect. To advocate a departure now was a policy of despair. The general council of the T.U.C. were now consulting with the Chancellor. They were not satisfied that the fullest use had been made of the Government's authority, and much more could be done to deal with profits and prices. But they knew the difficulties. They must continue to exercise restraint and common sense.

Mr. R. JENKINS, M.P. (Southwark Central), said that he hoped that a general capital levy was still possible. That would not perform miracles, but it would do something to ease some of the difficulties.

“REAL ANXIETIES”

SIR S. CRIPPS DEFINES THE OBJECTIVES

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS was warmly received when he rose to ask the conference to reject the resolution.

The discussion had brought out, he said, what he recognized were the very real anxieties of the party and of those whom they especially represented in the country. All of them shared those anxieties, against which the Government had been taking what they considered appropriate action.

They would all agree that the objective of the party was to arrange the country's economic and financial affairs so as to give the highest possible standard of living, bearing in mind that they must provide also for the general security of the country in a troubled world, carry out obligations to other countries, particularly the Commonwealth and western Europe, and not jeopardize our own future full employment and prosperity. They had not failed in those objectives over the past four years.

“It is a curious but quite understandable fact that a sort of pincer movement is going on at the moment to depress the people of this country and make them feel miserable. One jaw is the Tory machine, and the other the Communist. This dismal Desmond propaganda seeks to persuade our people and the country that we are a suffering and decadent nation, on the verge of collapse and economic annihilation.

“It is wholly and demonstrably false. We are the most virile democracy in the world. (Cheers.) We have proved our vitality convincingly and conclusively to the whole world. Anyone to-day looking objectively at the overall standard of living of our people must agree that for the vast majority of the lower income groups it is better than ever before. That is not to say that we are satisfied—far from it—but it does mean that the Labour Party in its first term of effective power has benefited the people in a way that no other party has, or ever could.” (Cheers.)

EFFECTIVE POLICIES

Their record was not one that need make them hang their heads. Past accomplishments did more than give satisfaction, they provided a promise that, by continuing with the same objectives and policies, we should travel farther

along the road which we had already, for four years, traversed so fruitfully.

"We have proved something new to the world. We have proved that the policies of democratic Socialism, as we have applied them, are not merely good theoretic arguments, but are effective in action. We have thus given life and inspiration to democracy all over the world. We have shown that democracy is not a bankrupt philosophy, with no answer to totalitarianism. It is a live, vigorous and successful form of government, fit to preserve liberty and give good economic results at the same time, provided that we do not lapse into those desperate policies that Toryism produced between the wars."

What they were concerned with was not the direction of the advance, but the speed at which they could go ahead. "Could we not get on a bit quicker?" they would ask. They must not forget their objective included, besides a higher standard of living, the maintaining of our general security, carrying out our obligations to other countries, and guarding our own present and future. It was no good engaging in get-rich-quick policies which ended in national bankruptcy and collapse.

There were prolonged cheers when Sir Stafford, after referring to the Government's frankness on the economic situation, said that "we should behave like reasonable human beings rather than like Mr. Winston Churchill, who hangs on to the out-of-date art of political vituperation, which is stupid and insulting to an intelligent electorate."

BALANCING DOLLAR TRADE

A TREMENDOUS TASK

After speaking of four hard, struggling years, Sir Stafford said that the last year's progress had been good, but our position remained grave. We were not making the headway we must with exports to the United States, and another factor making the dollar balance more difficult was the fall in price of some materials exported from the Commonwealth to the United States. There were still hundreds of millions of dollars worth of goods that we had to buy from North America because they were not available anywhere else. These were serious matters, yet somehow we must balance our dollar trade within three years even to maintain the present standard, because we could not manage without the dollar imports.

"This is really a tremendous task, and while it is on, and until we are through with it, we just cannot afford to increase materially our own standard of living at the expense of other people who are giving us gifts." We should indeed have our work cut out to reach a balance by the middle of 1952, when Marshall aid would stop. We must increase the efficiency of production, and so cheapen prices without lowering wages or lengthening hours of work.

Apart from the good work done by the Anglo-American Productivity Council, making the industries more efficient was a job we could do ourselves. Through what had already been achieved, wages for the same hours were increased up to 40 per cent., and in some cases production was more than doubled. Some prices had gone down by as much as 25 per cent., or where raw material costs had gone up by a third prices remained unaltered.

That much had been done without substantial new capital equipment, but in every case based upon full consultation between workers and management. This was their policy, and the only practical way of getting through without loss of the workers' standards.

SLICING THE CAKE

Some people suggested that instead of increased and more efficient production we should try to improve matters by increasing wages, or lowering taxation, or diminishing profits, so as to decrease prices and enable us to buy more with present incomes. Devices of this kind, even if they did no general harm to our economy, as in fact most did, could only shift purchasing power from one lot of people or workers to another. Slicing the cake in different ways did not increase its size. If the larger cake could be obtained there would be no difficulty in seeing that the right slices went to the right people, and they would look to their trade union friends to help them in this distribution. The devices he had mentioned would lead to a new inflationary situation, with serious reductions in standards for those on fixed incomes such as pensions.

On finances generally, the Chancellor said that the policy of high taxation and a large

Budget surplus was most successful, and he believed that everyone approved the result.

Practically, the cost of living was stabilized, which was what they set out to do last year. The national income White Paper showed that total wages in 1948 were 12½ per cent. greater than in 1947, with a rise in prices of seven per cent., a clear gain to the wage-earner. With improved social services in addition there was a considerable betterment of standards.

It was high taxation and Budget surplus that stopped inflation. Another factor in keeping down prices was the subsidy payments, which last year represented £9 a head of population. This year the amount of subsidy was even higher, but not enough to prevent the rise in food prices announced after the Budget. It was hoped that the present fall in world prices would cancel the extra 4d. a head a week this would cost. "All the time we are working on prices to get them down, and many have come down, although no one notes the falls as they do the rises. This year we do not have to bring about any big disinflation, but we must hold the position and avoid any fresh inflation. That means a modest overall Budget surplus of £14m."

DEMANDS FOR INCREASES

No one had suggested how savings of any appreciable amount could be made without cutting some essential services. Suggestions pressed upon him were exactly to the opposite effect. They were for increased expenditure on extensions of social services, on expediting war damage payments and post-war credits, on salaries and wages for Government employees, equal pay, higher pensions, and so on. At the same time he was asked to reduce taxation, which would mean there would not be enough for existing services.

"I can assure you that the Government would like to fancy itself in the role of Father Christmas and knock off purchase tax, but you cannot, because some essential item would have to go or a new tax of equal amount be imposed." This tax fell largely upon less essential or luxury goods, and he believed that it was often used as an excuse for high prices when in fact no purchase tax was chargeable.

Reiterating that part of the high profits made last year ought to have been used to reduce prices, Sir Stafford said it was unfortunate that the Co-op had reversed its policy in this matter. It was a mistake, though, to think that there was an easy way of turning large undistributed profits into price reductions. There were almost as many different circumstances as there were firms, and it was impossible to legislate, or even lay down any general rule of conduct. As to distributive margins there might be some room for further reductions, but it was a delusion to imagine that this could lead to anything very remarkable. A limiting factor was the great diversity of distributing agencies.

HIGHER EFFICIENCY IN PRODUCTION

ONLY WAY TO MAINTAIN LIVING STANDARDS

They must face the fact that the only way to improve the standard of living was to produce more and produce it more efficiently. They could not get still higher taxation out of profits and use those same profits to reduce prices, or increase wages, or finance new capital goods essential to higher productivity. Of the two, in the present economic state he would prefer the reduction of prices, and the use of profits for investment in essential industries.

"Let us face the situation as it is, not as we should like it to be. We have got along well with our recovery, but have reached a very tough spot in the journey, and the economic barometer is certainly not rising. We have kept inflation under control, we have shared the necessities of life among the people. Now we want to keep along that same path without endangering either what we have already achieved or what we hope for in the future."

"There is one, and only one, way in which that can be done. You cannot possibly find any solution to our present problems by juggling with money incomes or finances or fiscal measures. We must have more and more efficient production if we are to solve our difficulties without loss of standards."

"I am convinced that we can do what is necessary if we all tackle the job with a pur-

pose and with our whole hearts in it. There must be no holding back on anyone's part, and no lack of joint consultation and joint effort. With a greater volume of products produced at a cheaper price without any reduction of wages or lengthening of hours, we can retain or capture the export markets, without which we cannot live, and we can at the same time improve our own living standards."

"While, therefore, we all of us concentrate upon this battle for higher efficiency which is vital to the salvation of our existing standards of living, we must also see that the manufacturers and the distributors do not absorb the benefits of the extra efficiency in larger profits, but that it goes to the workers and consumers. That we are doing and intend to do. Our new programme shows how already we are tackling the question of price maintenance and monopolies."

MORAL LEADERSHIP

Sir Stafford said that their care was for the prosperity of the people and the safety and liberty of the country. "But it is not only from the material progress of this or that section of our population that we shall judge of our future success. Our party has always insisted, in national and international affairs alike, upon the supremacy of the moral value, and we shall continue to stress the necessity for the highest standards in all our political acts, so that we may earn and deserve a place in the moral leadership of the world, a leadership which is to-day so urgently needed. It is by that spirit of responsible leadership that we shall overcome our own difficulties, and show the way to strengthen the democratic liberties of the peoples of the world by following the wise and unselfish policies of socialism."

"Let us then cling to these wise and unselfish policies that we followed with so large a degree of success throughout the period of this Parliament, and which we are determined to make the basis of our return to power at the next General Election." (Cheers.)

The mover of the resolution would not withdraw after hearing this statement, and asked for permission to reply. The CHAIRMAN said that there was no right of reply, and put the motion to the meeting. It was overwhelmingly defeated, only a score raising their hands in its favour.

£400,000 ELECTION FUND

In private session the delegates prepared the ground for fighting the next General Election. Mr. Morgan Phillips, the party secretary, described the atmosphere as that of a revival meeting.

After hearing a supplementary report of the executive committee dealing with the party's finances and organization in relation to the election, the conference agreed that a General Election fund should be launched immediately, with a minimum of £400,000.

Delegates also learned that a recruiting campaign for individual membership is to begin next week on their return to their constituencies. The hope was expressed that the present figure of 600,000 would be raised to 1m. by 1950.

Attention was given to organization, and the need for an increase in party agents was discussed. The appointment of 80 agents during the last year has brought the total to 230, but the figure is to be 300 before the General Election.

The conference adjourned until to-morrow.

4 Juli 1949

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Home News

"HYPOCRISY" OF COMMUNISM

PRIME MINISTER'S WARNING

The Prime Minister reviewed the Labour Party's achievements in office when he addressed a meeting at Manchester yesterday. He referred during his speech to unofficial strikes and also condemned the "sickening hypocrisy" of the Communists, who he described as "merely the instruments of an alien dictatorship."

MR. ATTLEE said that the Blackpool conference was one of the most successful he could recall. The task now was to see that the fine spirit which prevailed there was shared by Labour Party members throughout the country. We now enjoyed full employment and, for the first time in our history, we had made proper provision for the aged, the sick, the industrially-injured, and the children. By the policy of rationing and by the provision of food subsidies, Labour had tried, not without success, to keep the price level steady.

We had only to look at the increased volume of production in industry and agriculture to see what great strides forward had been made under a planned economy. All this had been done under most difficult conditions in a world politically and economically disturbed. The vast majority of employers and workers alike have given good service during these testing years.

"FOOLISH ACTIONS"

But there were those workers who indulged in unofficial strikes who did not seem to understand the issues at stake.

"It may be just thoughtlessness or a lack of a sense of responsibility which causes them to be led away into foolish actions which are serious in their effect on the country. I am sure that the vast majority of them are good, loyal citizens, but they do not seem to understand how narrowly poised is our economy. To hold up food ships or raw materials at the docks means a loss of thousands of pounds to this country. It endangers the food supply and the employment of other workers."

We could not afford to have this in these difficult times.

"Unofficial strikes injure the country, injure the great trade union movement and injure the worker's own government. The only people to gain from them are those people who would like to see our great social democratic experiment fail. They care nothing for this country. They do not mind how the people suffer. Spiritually they do not belong here. Their hearts are elsewhere. Unfortunately that country which the Communists support is, from the point of view of real freedom and democracy and of true Socialism, one of the most backward countries in the world.

RUSSIAN POLICE STATE

"I am certain that if the men and women who built up our movement were to be told the true facts about Russia to-day, they would say 'This is not a Socialist society. There is no freedom. It is a classic example of a police state just as Russia under the Czars was a police state. There are class divisions, quite glaring divisions. There is no freedom of speech, of conscience, or of the person. It is collectivist but certainly not Socialist.' Yet these people who suppress all freedom whenever they are in power use all the phrases of democracy."

"I constantly get hypocritical resolutions protesting against alleged infringements of freedom in this country. I get protests because we keep out from places where secret work is carried on people who cannot be trusted. This from Communists who know that their fellows in Communist countries carry on a constant purge and ruthlessly remove from office anyone who shows the slightest sign of deviating from what their rulers consider to be orthodoxy. It is sickening hypocrisy."

The Communists were fond of denouncing our imperialism, Mr. Attlee continued. While we had applied the policy of self-government in Burma, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, on the other side, in Poland and in Hungary, Communists who dared to take the line of their

own nations were ruthlessly thrust out. Marshal Tito, for considering the needs of his own country, was attacked, vilified, and boycotted. There was no more classic example of imperialism.

"Any of the great leaders of Labour who were active in the days when I joined the Labour movement, to whatever country they belonged, would have no doubt whatever who are the Imperialists and who are the true Socialists. It is your duty to expose these hypocrites and let the workers know their real character. They are not out for the good of the workers of this country. They are merely the instruments of an alien dictatorship."

We had, however, no quarrel with the Russians. We recognized their right to have the kind of Government they liked and we realized that they had an immense task which would take them many years before they could reach western standards of civilization.

During his speech the Prime Minister was interrupted a number of times by men believed to be members of the anti-Partition of Ireland League. Three men were escorted from the hall and a fourth was ejected by stewards.

Mr. Attlee addressed two meetings which were attended by a total of some 12,000 people.

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5. Juli 1949

Niederdeutsche Zeitung (Hamburg)

№ 78

Sowjetunion klassischer Polizeistaat

Premierminister Attlee über das System des Moskauer Imperialismus

Manchester, 4. Juli (dpd-ap)

Premierminister Attlee bezeichnete die Sowjetunion in einer Rede vor 8000 Zuhörern als „eins der rückständigsten Länder der Welt“.

Die Sowjetunion ist das klassische Beispiel für einen Polizeistaat, ebenso wie Rußland unter der Zarenherrschaft ein Polizeistaat war. Attlee stellte fest, auch in der Sowjetunion gebe es eine Aufspaltung der Klassen. Dort kenne man keine persönliche Freiheit, keine Redefreiheit und keine Gewissensfreiheit. Die Sowjetunion sei zwar kollektivistisch, aber bestimmt nicht sozialistisch.

„Trotzdem gebrauchen diese Leute, die jede Freiheit unterdrücken, wenn sie an der Macht sind, alle möglichen Phrasen von Demokratie.

Mir gehen ständig heuchlerische Entschuldigungen zu, in denen gegen angebliche Behinderungen der Freiheit in Großbritannien protestiert wird.“

„Marschall Tito“, so fuhr Attlee fort, „wird angegriffen, beschimpft und boykottiert, weil er es gewagt hat, die Bedürfnisse seines eigenen Landes zu berücksichtigen. In anderen Ländern wenden Kommunisten, die sich ihre Politik von Moskau vorschreiben lassen, eine Zerstörungstaktik ohne jede Rücksicht auf den Schaden an, der dem einfachen Volke dadurch entstehen kann. In allen Ländern, in denen es eine russische Kontrolle gibt, dürfen die Menschen nichts anderes wissen, nichts anderes denken und nichts anderes kennen, als was von den Imperialisten des Kreml verfügt wird.“

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5 Juli 1949

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

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Scharfe Polemik Attlees gegen den Kommunismus

London, 4. Juni. (United Press) Der britische Premier Attlee hat am Sonntag in einer Rede vor 12 000 Mitgliedern der Labourpartei ungewöhnlich scharfe Angriffe gegen den Kommunismus vorgebracht. Er bezeichnete die Sowjetunion dabei als „klassisches Beispiel eines Polizeistaates“ und warnte die britischen Kommunisten davor, durch Anzettelung von Störungen des Arbeitsfriedens eine wirtschaftliche Katastrophe herbeizuführen. Ueber die Londoner Dockerstreiks und andere Arbeitsniederlegungen und Drohungen sichtlich empört, erklärte Attlee den Arbeitern:

„Es ist eure Pflicht, die Scheinheiligen bloßzustellen, so daß alle Arbeiter ihren wahren Charakter erkennen können. Sie setzen sich nicht zum Wohl der Arbeiter dieses Landes ein; sie sind nur die Werkzeuge einer ausländischen Diktatur. Gesinnungsmäßig gehören sie nicht hieher, ihre Herzen sind anderswo. Leider ist nun das Land, das die Kommunisten unterstützen, vom Standpunkt der echten Freiheit der Demokratie und des wahren Sozialismus aus gesehen eines der rückständigsten Länder dieser Welt. Es gibt keine Freiheit in Rußland; es ist ein klassisches Beispiel eines Polizeistaates, so wie es unter den Zaren ein Polizeistaat war. Es gibt dort Klassenunterschiede, ganz krasse Unterschiede sogar; es gibt dort weder eine Freiheit der Rede noch des Gewissens oder der Person. Das System ist kollektivistisch, aber sicher nicht sozialistisch.“

Der britische Premier verurteilte die Politik der kommunistischen Regierungen in Osteuropa, die demokratisch zu sein vorgäben, dabei aber doch jeden rücksichtslos aus Amt und Würde entfernten, der auch nur im geringsten von der orthodoxen Parteilinie abweiche. Attlee fuhr fort: „Marschall Tito von Jugoslawien wird angegriffen, beschimpft und verleumdet, weil er es wagt, die Bedürfnisse seines eigenen Landes zu berücksichtigen. Das Wirtschaftsleben dieser Vasallenstaaten muß so organisiert werden, daß es nicht ihren Völkern, sondern Rußland nütze. Es gibt überhaupt kein deutlicheres Beispiel für den Imperialismus.“

Zu den Störungen des Arbeitsfriedens führte Attlee aus: „Inoffizielle Streiks schaden dem Land, der großen Gewerkschaftsbewegung und der von den Arbeitern selbst gewählten Regierung. Ich bin sicher, daß weitaus die meisten Männer, die an inoffiziellen Streiks teilnehmen, loyale Bürger sind, doch scheinen sie nicht einzusehen, in welchem labilem Zustand sich die Wirtschaft des Landes befindet. In den Docks Schiffe mit Lebensmitteln oder Rohstoffe aufzuhalten, bedeutet für das Land Verluste von Hunderten von Pfund. Das können wir uns in den jetzigen schwierigen Zeiten

nicht leisten. Einzig die Leute ziehen daraus Nutzen, die den Zusammenbruch unseres großartigen demokratischen Experiments herbeiwünschen. Sie kümmern sich nicht um dieses Land, und es ist ihnen gleich, ob das Volk leidet.“

8 Juli 1949

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The Times (London)

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MR. ATTLEE AND A WILL TO PEACE

NEED FOR COMMON PRINCIPLES

VALUE OF CRITICISM

The Duke of Edinburgh and the Prime Minister were among the guests at a dinner held at Guildhall last night to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The KING, acknowledging a loyal message, wished the institute all success in continuance of the work which it had carried on with such good results for 30 years.

LORD CECIL OF CHELWOOD, who presided, expressed regret that Lord Astor, chairman of the council, was unable to be present because of ill-health. Lord Astor had been asked by the institute to sit for his portrait by Mr. James Gunn. The portrait would be hung at Chatham House.

Mr. ATTLEE, referring to the difficulties of the United Nations, said: "The fault is not in the machine but in some of those who operate it. In most human institutions it is the will to make them work successfully rather than their technical perfection which counts. It is not difficult in reading the debates in the United Nations to distinguish between those who are genuinely anxious to use these meetings to resolve differences and to arrive at understandings and those who are using them as sounding boards for propaganda."

ACCEPTANCE OF LAW

Speaking of efforts to build up organizations of like-minded States within the framework and in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, Mr. Attlee continued: "If you examine the discussions which have resulted in Western Union, the Atlantic Pact, and the Council of Europe, you will find there just what is missing in the United Nations—the will on the part of all to arrive at agreements acceptable to all."

"The reason is that the participants in these discussions take their stand on common principles. Without the acceptance of common principles of conduct and common conceptions of what is right we cannot build up an international society of nations."

"What we are seeking to get in relations between States is a conscious acceptance of international law. . . . There must be the acceptance of objective standards, not only by Governments but by peoples."

"Democratic institutions provide the conscience of Governments. If the people understand that there are principles other than the apparent immediate interest of their own country which must be applied in international affairs, Governments will pay heed to them. The tragedy is that over a great part of the world the people are not allowed to know anything except what their Government tells them, and no voice of criticism can be raised. If there were a Chatham House in Moscow and Warsaw, in Prague, Bucharest, and Sofia, how much more hopeful would the world outlook be."

TRIBUTE TO MR. CURTIS

The Prime Minister, who was proposing the toast of "The Institute," coupled with it the name of Mr. Lionel Curtis, president of the institute. Mr. Attlee said that in 30 years Chatham House had taken its place among the great voluntary institutions to which the country owed so much. He took the opportunity of thanking the institute publicly for the great service it rendered to the nation during the late war.

"I owe much to two great educational foundations," Mr. Attlee said. "The one, University College, Oxford, has the privilege of claiming among its Fellows that splendid fighter for peace, our chairman, Lord Cecil. The other, Haileybury College, claims among its sons Lionel Curtis. Lionel Curtis has given a lifetime of service to good causes."

"I recall as a small boy 53 years ago hearing him speak on behalf of a boys' club in Stepney which he founded and in which for many years I worked. I recall how later he served in the Government in South Africa, but most of all we think of him as the man who for many years has given deep thought to the problems of the Commonwealth and of world government, one of those to whom this institute is indebted for most devoted and effectual work."

Mr. CURTIS, responding, said that recovery and reform could not be achieved until people were convinced that war would not happen again. This could be done by placing the responsibility for decisions needed to secure world peace squarely on the shoulders of the people themselves. This was what happened when the electorates of the 13 American states adopted the Constitution drafted by the Congress of Philadelphia in 1787. The fear of war subsided. This, he believed, could be done more quickly and easily than most people thought by the Governments which had signed the Atlantic Pact, but only when they had placed this great issue before electorates to be taken or left by the voters themselves. When voters had decided to take that responsibility on themselves Governments would find they could solve problems which they were now powerless to handle.

Mr. EDEN expressed agreement with all that the Prime Minister had said about the international situation, and paid tribute to the help the institute gave when he was Foreign Secretary.

Attlee
P. Clemens

Datum 20. Juli 1949

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Handelsblatt (Düsseldorf)

Nr. 58

Attlee übernimmt Cripps' Aufgaben

Premierminister Attlee gab am Montag im britischen Parlament bekannt, er selbst werde während der Abwesenheit von Schatzkanzler Sir Stafford Cripps die Geschäfte des Schatzamtes wahrnehmen. Attlee will die von dem erkrankten Schatzkanzler am vergangenen Donnerstag vorgezeichnete Politik in ihrer Durchführung überwachen. Cripps hatte eine Beschneidung der britischen Dollareinfuhren um 100 Millionen Pfund Sterling angekündigt.

25. Juli 1949

007400165 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51442 -

"DISHONEST" PARTY DOCUMENT

MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM OF CONSERVATIVES

Thousands of miners and their families assembled on the Durham racecourse on Saturday for the annual gala, at which the principal speakers were Mr. Attlee, Mr. Herbert Morrison, and Mr. Gaitskell, Minister of Fuel and Power.

Mr. ATTLEE said that during the past four years the Government had been carrying out a policy based on moral principles. We have fought to see that in these difficult circumstances there should be fair shares for all. Where there have been shortages we have not left what there was to be scrambled for so that the people with the long purses would get it all. If we wanted to get a high standard of life for our people, we must not only have a proper division of wealth, but we must see also that there is enough wealth to be divided.

During these four years there had been a great response by all, with very few exceptions, to increase production. In spite of this, our economic position was difficult. We were not ashamed if we had loans from our friends in the United States and Canada to help us to tide over this difficult period.

The Prime Minister said that the Conservative Party had never been able to put forward a real alternative policy to that of the Labour Party. What they had tried to do was to work up every kind of grievance. He compared recent statements by Mr. Churchill with those made on the same subjects by Mr. Eden, and said: "I am afraid that nowadays the strength of Churchill's language is in inverse ratio to his knowledge of the subjects. It is unfortunate that his words are taken at the face value in other countries. They just do not realize that it is just Winnie's way."

He described the new Conservative statement of policy as "one of the most dishonest documents that I have ever read. They begin by promising a great reduction in taxation, and they proceed to give increased expenditure wherever they think that they can get the vote of large sections of people. There seem to be increases for everybody, but nothing as to how they are going to find the money, or who is going to find the money. But at every stage possible the profit-maker and the landlord are to be brought back."

"I gather they do not think they ought to put all the nationalized industries back into private enterprise, but that they will put all the parts back where they can make a profit out of it."

Mr. HERBERT MORRISON appealed to the miners to produce coal at the right price and quality, not only for home consumption but in order to win and hold markets in the export trade.

"The consumer must be considered by the Board and by yourselves," he said. "A broad view must be taken about the obligations of the Board."

Mr. GAITSKELL said that many pits, and, indeed, whole areas, are being run at a loss to-day. The task of the Coal Board and of everyone in the industry was to get away from that position, but it had to be done gradually in an orderly and sensible manner. The alternative was to cut wages, and this seemed to be the remedy of the Conservatives. They had never said that they were in favour of the improvements in miners' wages and conditions made by the Coal Board.

"ECONOMIC QUACKS"

Sir Andrew McFadyean, president of the Liberal Party, speaking at Finchley on Saturday of the Conservatives' statement of policy, said: "They are economic quacks and have no sort of solution except their preference for a limited number of Liberal policies which they had every opportunity to put into force. I distrust their sincerity and ability."

"We are in a steady decline. The only cure they attempted was to administer tariffs, which was not a tonic to get the people out of bed to work but a sedative."

*P Attlee,
Clement*

Datum 27. Juli 1949

00740 0166 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51444 -

**MR. ATTLEE TO SPEAK ON
SATURDAY**

REPLY TO MR. CHURCHILL

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The Prime Minister will go to his new constituency of West Walthamstow on Saturday afternoon to make a political speech in which he will reply to the speech on Conservative policy made last Saturday by Mr. Churchill. This will be Mr. Attlee's first speech of importance in the constituency for which he has been adopted as prospective Parliamentary candidate at the General Election. His present constituency of Limehouse will disappear in the redistribution of Parliamentary seats at the end of this Parliament, and he will become Labour candidate for West Walthamstow in succession to Mr. McEntee, the sitting member. Mr. McEntee is 78, and he has decided not to contest the seat again.

00740 0167 BEC

Datum - 1. Aug. 1949

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32072 -

Mr. Attlee's Reply

After Saturday's speeches the party political season ends for a few weeks. The House is up and the politicians are dispersing. The Prime Minister ended the summer bout of controversy with a reply to Mr. Churchill's Wolverhampton speech of the Saturday before. It was not an ineffective one. But when he rebukes Mr. Churchill for a too great addiction to faded flowers of abusive speech, a form of oratory Mr. Attlee thinks old-fashioned, he should not forget that one of his own colleagues customarily out-Churchills Mr. Churchill in the violence of his invective. Perhaps Mr. Attlee meant indirectly to censure the offensive verbal habits of his Minister of Health. On the actual points of Mr. Churchill's speech the Prime Minister had some neat counter-strokes. The Conservative party certainly presents a vulnerable front. Its programme is not so widely different from that of the Government for it to be in a position to offer an attractive alternative. All the same it is a little sad that the Prime Minister did not use Saturday's opportunity to hammer into the country the hard facts about our national position. Political sparring is all very pretty, but we have grim times ahead in which the old knockabout turns will cease to amuse.

00740 0168 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51448 -

PRIME MINISTER ON VOTE-CATCHING

REPLY TO CONSERVATIVE CHARGES

Speaking at a Labour Party rally at Walthamstow on Saturday Mr. Attlee replied to the speech made the week before by Mr. Churchill at Wolverhampton.

The most notable part of that speech, Mr. ATTLEE said, was a constant abuse of the Government and the making of baseless accusations of extravagance, squandering, and incompetence. Mr. Churchill really knew little of the facts.

Mr. Churchill had said that Labour claimed credit for all the social services. They did not, except this, that until the Labour movement began to grow strong and exert pressure social services were not introduced. The Poor Law reigned supreme. Mr. Attlee said he had never contested the claim that the Coalition Government prepared the plans for the great social insurance scheme, but the Labour Ministers took a leading part in planning them. A Labour Government carried them into effect directly it came to power.

Labour was accused of squandering the resources of the nation. Our difficulties in the dollar situation were said to be due to the Labour Government. Mr. Churchill's more responsible colleagues did not subscribe to this. He knew very well, or should know, that the members of the Coalition Government were fully aware of the difficulties which would face any Government. How disgraceful it was to try to make people believe that all our difficulties were due to Socialist mismanagement. Our position after the war was indeed, as Mr. Churchill said, "high and proud," but no one outside Bedlam ever suggested that it was economically secure.

PRODUCTIVE EFFORT

The mean and stupid suggestion was made that the Government borrowed with one hand from America and paid it out to other people. Surely Mr. Churchill should know that most of the payments were made in sterling and that dollars were borrowed to pay for things that could only be obtained from dollar countries.

Mr. Churchill had suggested that in continental countries the ordinary daily supply of food was better than in this country. He doubted if Mr. Churchill had much knowledge of how the workers lived in these countries, or here. It was utterly untrue to say that, having regard to the extent of war loss, there had been a quicker return to prosperity than in this country. It was flatly untrue to say that there was a keener productive effort in all these foreign countries than in our own. Our increase in production was greater than in Belgium, France, Holland, Luxembourg, and Norway. Our agricultural production was 21 per cent. greater than pre-war. No one of these countries had got back to the pre-war level. There was no excuse for this disgraceful misrepresentation.

Mr. Churchill now promised the agricultural community fixed prices and guaranteed markets. He was too late, the Labour Government had already done this. He was equally wrong on housing. From his programme, Mr. Attlee said he gathered that municipally owned houses were to be sold. "Bring back the landlord" was the Tory motto.

"WINDOW-DRESSING"

The Tory programme was couched in more moderate terms than Mr. Churchill's speech, but made the same utterly unsupported charges. For instance, on the social services they were told that there was shameful waste. Where was the evidence? Having heard Mr. Churchill's violent words about how this country had been brought to a low ebb in its fortunes and ruined by the Labour Government, and the wild words about wasteful expenditure, they would have expected the Tories to propose cutting down expenditure. But on the contrary; on page after page of the programme they demanded increases. They were going to lower prices, but they did not say how. Clearly they were going to increase profits. This was disguised as incentives to save. They admitted that they could not remove food rationing or price controls over prime necessities. They proposed to remove other controls, but were careful not to say which.

There was a lot of talk about reducing extravagance but not a single practical suggestion. The assumption that there were immense sums wasted in administration was quite baseless. But nevertheless there was to be a great reduction in the burden of taxation. Was it not clear that this was not a real programme? It was elaborate window-dressing. It was a vote-catching programme. The Tories were fond of accusing the Labour Party of having made extravagant promises at the General Election and of not telling the people of the difficulties. It was quite untrue. But in this programme the Tories were doing just what they falsely accused Labour of doing.

Mr. Attlee caused much amusement during his speech when, while quoting a series of Mr. Churchill's phrases, he imitated Mr. Churchill's method of delivery.

Signatur

*Attlee,
Clement*

Datum **-2. Aug. 1949**

00740 0169 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51449

MR. ATTLEE'S CHILL

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The Prime Minister, who is at Chequers, is suffering from a chill, and because of this he cancelled an engagement yesterday which would have taken him to Poole, Dorset. He had accepted an invitation to open new gates at the Poole Labour Club sports arena at Fleets Bridge. Mrs. Attlee deputized for her husband and performed the opening ceremony. The Prime Minister developed a chill on Sunday, after his visit the previous day to his new constituency of West Walthamstow. It is expected that he will be well again in a day or two.

007400170 BEC

Die Welt (Hamburg)

Nr. 104

Attlee erkrankt

Von unserem Londoner Büro

London, 1. August

Premierminister Attlee ist an einer Erkältung erkrankt und seit Sonnabend ans Bett gefesselt. Der Premierminister, der gegenwärtig in Abwesenheit von Bevin und Sir Stafford Cripps die oberste Leitung des Foreign Office und des Schatzamtes übernommen hat, hielt noch unmittelbar vor seiner Erkrankung eine große politische Rede, in der er Churchills Wahlprogramm aufs schärfste angriff.

Die von Attlee für Montag angesagte Wahlrede in Pool wurde von dessen Gattin vor dreitausend begeisterten Labourmitgliedern gehalten.

00740 0171 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32078 -

TRAGEDY OF THE IRON CURTAIN

Mr. Attlee and the Dangers Threatened by World Division

The Prime Minister (Mr. C. R. Attlee) at a United Nations Association meeting at Arundel Castle, Sussex, on Saturday, said that although our expectations had not all been realised in the four years since the San Francisco Charter of the United Nations it was necessary to avoid falling into the error of extreme pessimism.

The United Nations had not yet become a meeting ground for the peoples of the world at which greater harmony and understanding emerged; on the contrary, too often it had been an arena in which differences and animosities seemed to be given greater emphasis. It might even be suggested that it was a battle-ground of contending interests and ideologies rather than a temple of peace, but that, he suggested, was a hasty view. It should be remembered that U.N. was born out of the agony of a terrible war, which left a legacy of economic, social, and political problems which must take years to solve.

It was sometimes suggested that the fault was in the machine rather than the people who were handling it, and some put down all the trouble to the veto. With that view he did not agree. An international association could not be run on the lines of majority rule as if it were a sovereign Parliament. The real problem was not the veto but its improper use. Originally it was agreed upon as a device to be called in at the last resort to deal with major matters of policy and principle. Instead, it had been used as an instrument of obstruction.

TWO CAUSES OF WAR

But even in the political sphere the activities of the United Nations had not been entirely barren of results. Perhaps the most constructive activity of the Social and Economic Council had been in providing technical assistance to undeveloped countries. The development of a system between nations and

a co-operative effort to raise the standard of life in undeveloped and backward countries was one of the most constructive means of combating war. The two great causes of war were poverty and ignorance. Where there were evil social conditions, there was the soil from which sprang dictatorship. Where there was ignorance, there was, ready to hand, a people who might easily fall victims to those who told them that the cure for their evil was by attacking somebody else.

The success of U.N. in the long run would depend on the acceptance by the peoples of all countries of the principles for which it stood, and, in particular, on a realisation that the world had now been drawn so closely together that it was only by working together that mankind could face the dangers that spring from division.

"Here," he concluded, "is the great tragedy of the 'Iron Curtain' that cuts off a great part of the human race from community with the rest. Here is the tragedy of preaching an ideology which rejects the moral values accepted hitherto by all civilised peoples, however imperfectly they have been put into action."

Lord Simon, who presided over the meeting, said two difficulties had to be surmounted if the United Nations were to exercise the power of an effective world organisation. The first arose from the necessity of agreement between the Great Powers. The veto of one of them not only prevented agreement but stultified proposed action. The second difficulty arose from the circumstance that even when agreement was reached the power to enforce it was often lacking. They had to recognise that an admirable document like the Declaration of Human Rights was a formulation of rules which every nation should observe although it was not a piece of enforceable law. Difficulties like these should not abate one jot of their heart or hope. In the end, the united determination of the common people of the world would prove more powerful than tyrants or dictators.

00740 0172 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51454 -

EUROPEAN RECOVERY

MR. ATTLEE'S FIGURES QUESTIONED

Speaking at a Conservative rally at Dartford on Saturday Mr. Eden said that the Prime Minister, in a recent speech, had been very indignant at Mr. Churchill's comparison between the recovery made in this country and that made by other countries in western Europe.

It was the constant boast of the Socialist Government that they were the best Government in Europe. Others perhaps might be forgiven if they did not take quite the same view. Mr. Attlee had referred to the figures published in the Survey of Europe, though Mr. Eden said he noticed that the only figures he quoted from that Survey he managed to get wrong. He had been looking at the monthly bulletin of statistics published in June this year by the United Nations. This showed that, comparing industrial production to-day with that of 1937, Norway, Holland, and Denmark had all forged farther ahead than we had, while France was on a par with us. But this was only part of the story. Those countries were overrun and occupied for several years by the enemy. When peace came and they started the process of recovery their production in many cases was down to a half or a quarter of pre-war. Against this we had had to reconvert a large part of our industry from war to peace.

If they took a fair balance, it was, he thought, true to say that they had reached a point at least equal to ours in the restoration of pre-war production. In face of these facts how could the Prime Minister claim that we led those countries in production increase, or accuse Mr. Churchill of misrepresentation?

Mr. Eden said he was disturbed by the report of a new financial agreement with India. It seemed that a similar agreement was shortly to be announced in respect of Pakistan. They were all anxious to do everything in their power to help India and Pakistan and to foster trade with those countries which were our partners in the Commonwealth. But it was surely a matter of serious concern to India, as well as to us, that a financial agreement made with India only a year ago had already to be revised, after the Government of India had overdrawn sterling to the extent of £80m. above the agreed limit. He also noted that an agreement had been made to release very large quantities of blocked sterling to India, and presumably to Pakistan also. At a time when the Government here were putting all possible pressure on our exporters to concentrate upon the dollar market, the opening up of this wide new competing demand, however much we might wish to meet it, was surely a very formidable factor.

At the start of Mr. Eden's address there were cheers when he referred to the exploit of H.M.S. Amethyst.

Signatur

Attlee, Clement

Datum **20. Juli 1949**

007400173 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51438

PROGRESS TOWARDS RECOVERY

MR. ATTLEE'S MESSAGE

WEST LEEDS
Candidates { Mr. T. C. Pannell (Lab.)
{ Mr. Bertrand Mather (C.)

POLLING TO-MORROW

GENERAL ELECTION.—Mr. W. Stamford (Lab.), 26,593;
Maj. J. Adams (C.), 12,457; Flt. Lt. J. Booth (Lib.),
6,008. Labour majority, 14,136.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LEEDS, JULY 19

Mr. Churchill's letter yesterday to the Conservative candidate in the West Leeds by-election has been followed to-day by a message from Mr. Attlee to Mr. Pannell. The Prime Minister writes:—

When the Labour Government took office it was clear to everyone that after the losses caused through the war it would require a great effort to restore the economic stability of Britain. During the past four years great progress has been made towards recovery.

We have been aided by generous help from the Commonwealth and from the United States of America, but our margin of safety has been narrow, while our responsibilities to other countries whose currencies are linked with ours are very great. Comparatively slight economic changes in other parts of the world have serious effects upon our position.

The Government are taking counsel with the rest of the Commonwealth and with the United States in order to concert with them measures to deal with the difficulties that have arisen, for the solution of this problem can only be found in close cooperation with other countries. It is essential to increase our production and to maintain full employment, for it is only thus that we can provide the standard of life to which our people are entitled.

The Labour Government have carried through an unexampled programme of social reform and industrial reconstruction. In spite of all the difficulties a great housing programme has been carried out, agriculture has been put on a sound basis, with the result of a greatly increased production. The health of the nation, and especially of the children, has been vastly improved. This great record of achievement redounds to the credit of the Government and the people of Britain.

Mr. Eden will tour the constituency before addressing a public meeting in Bradford to-morrow.

00740 0174 BEC

The Times (London)

Nr. 51481 -

MR. ATTLEE'S SPEECH

"When I entrust important business of this kind to two colleagues in whom I have complete confidence I leave the matter in their hands." With these words at Bridlington yesterday the PRIME MINISTER restated his own peculiarly anonymous interpretation of the public role of the first Minister of the Crown and dispelled the expectation that he might use this occasion for the first full-dress pronouncement on the national emergency by any Minister since Parliament rose a month ago. MR. ATTLEE was invited to Bridlington to say a few words of cheer to the Trades Union Congress on behalf of the Labour Government, and he did not presume to step too far out of his part in the proceedings. He spoke of the high seriousness of the questions of world trade and international payments which are now being discussed at Washington. He reminded his hearers that both the standard of life and the possibility of full employment depend upon the ability to keep up the flow of imported food stuffs and raw materials, many of them from dollar countries, by producing goods at competitive costs and prices. But, characteristically, he made no attempt to drive these points home as the test and challenge that will decide this nation's future. He did not try by rhetoric or by exhortation to strike fire or fear into his hosts; he was, on this occasion, the invited and fraternal guest, not the *deus ex machina* from Downing Street.

This marked sense of propriety is among MR. ATTLEE'S most pertinacious qualities. Even though it does much less than justice to the part which the PRIME MINISTER plays in the process of policy making and decision at times of trouble and emergency, it reflects a personal diffidence which has been unusual, to say the least, among leading statesmen. It was not for him yesterday, as he saw it, either to invade the province of his colleagues in Washington or to take it upon himself to set up a platform of his own at Bridlington from which to address the world outside. In their fashion the characteristics which made MR. ATTLEE'S speech yesterday an undeniable anti-climax are to be admired. Joined as they have been, throughout his public service as Leader of the Opposition,

war-time Deputy Prime Minister, and then Prime Minister, with conscientious industry and consistent good sense, they have done much to make a niche for him in his country's history. Even so, a little more thought or a little more imagination might have made it evident that yesterday's performance could not be kept within these narrow and modest confines. It was no more possible for MR. ATTLEE to divest himself yesterday of the larger responsibilities of his office in outside eyes, at home and abroad, than it was possible for PRESIDENT TRUMAN the other day to keep his remarks to the American Legion within the domestic concerns of his audience. No doubt he was abundantly right not to utter a word which might complicate or embarrass the crucial discussions in Washington, but the fact remains that the British people have still not had a plain statement from any of their rulers of the calls which economic necessity are likely to make upon them. There could have been no better audience for such a statement than this responsible gathering of working people; and there could have been no more suitable spokesman than the PRIME MINISTER himself.

As it was, the balance and composition of the speech inevitably seemed somewhat out of tune with what MR. ATTLEE himself described as "times that are critical both for this country and the world." He had much to say, no doubt rightly and necessarily, about the hard work which has been, and is being, done by the British people; too much is said nowadays which suggests, quite wrongly, that idleness has become a national habit. He had much to say, too, with equal justice, about the remarkable self-restraint of "the great majority of employers and workers" in aid of the Government's attempt to hold wages, prices, and profits steady. All this was proper and appropriate to the occasion. Where the speech seemed incomplete was in its references to the other side of the medal. It appeared to leave the impression that the faithful pursuit of present policies might be enough to save the day. The PRIME MINISTER did not explain how the "all out effort," of which he spoke, to "produce goods that in price and quality will command a market in the dollar area" would call for new policies and new determination to get rid of the swollen structure of inflated costs and prices which at present bedevils all the efforts of the sterling countries. He justly

applauded the decision not to press for higher money wages, but he said much too little about the harsh decisions and strenuous endeavours which may be demanded in order to prevent real wages from coming down.

Indeed, MR. ATTLEE may well have left some of his hearers wondering how it is that, in spite of all that has been done, this crisis and emergency have come about, with the country's last reserves of gold and dollars being drained away, and a steadily growing threat to the power to pay for the necessities of subsistence and employment. He recognized the need for British goods to become competitive in the markets of the world, but gave little indication of what the process of becoming competitive might mean in terms of public retrenchment and harder work. He seemed content rather to put down the present difficulties to "the growing disequilibrium between the old world and the new which was a disquieting feature between the wars" and to "the immense sacrifices which Britain made for victory in the common cause." Yet, even if it were true that the difficulties were due entirely to these factors and to the baffling problem of the continental American economy with its chronic surplus of goods, it would still be necessary for the people of this country to make both ends meet and the best of a bad job. It would not have helped SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS and MR. BEVIN to have had their leader standing in a white sheet at

Bridlington or calling down the wrath to come upon British trade unionists, but what might have been expected was a somewhat graver note of warning and a much more precise indication both of the dark clouds which are gathering round this country and its people and of the measures now demanded to dispel them.

"The economic margin on which we work," MR. ATTLEE said, "is very narrow. It is up to all of us, to help to widen it and to make a stronger basis for the future." Here was the note to strike much more resoundingly. "We are resolved," he said, "to get back to a position in which we can stand here on our own feet." Here was the theme which, given chapter and verse, might have fitted the need of the day much better than some electioneering passages of self-defence against political criticism. The PRIME MINISTER spoke with sincere feeling of the "need for a higher conception of social obligation" and he warned his trade union audience equally against "bad economics and bad social morality." Here, too, he spoke, as he is personally entitled to speak, in the right accents. To-day's ordeal, with the call to the British people to earn their living and their welfare afresh by new efforts, is a moral as well as an economic test. The doubt about yesterday's speech is whether the PRIME MINISTER said nearly enough about the over-optimistic economics upon which so many of the best beliefs and highest hopes of the British Labour movement still tend to rest.

00740 0175 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32105 -

MR. ATTLEE WAITS

The Prime Minister did not take his speech to the T.U.C. as an opportunity to prepare the trade unions, and the country, for the immediate future—for the changed Government policies that must surely be settled by the end of this month. That his reticence confounded the prophets does not necessarily make it mistaken. Though Mr. Attlee himself talked of the Government having decided its policy, he cannot have meant much more than that it had defined its attitude before the Washington talks which began yesterday. Plainly the full scope and force of the measures necessary to earn more dollars will not now be settled until Sir Stafford Cripps returns. To have hinted darkly at them might easily have done more harm than good; that the speech was unconstructive was inevitable in the occasion—given that the Government decided months ago to wait on the Washington conference,—and Mr. Attlee is not to be blamed for it. But if he cannot now prepare minds for new measures, it is the more important at least to prepare emotions. As far as it went, what Mr. Attlee said yesterday was sensible and useful; three years ago it would also have looked adequate to Britain's economic circumstances. Whatever case there may have been for giving no impression of panic in July, it is late now to study to avoid, as Mr. Attlee seemed to do, any impression of urgency. He rightly stressed to the T.U.C. the British Government's resolve to contribute all it can to the solving of the general international problem of dollar trade. He hardly made it clear that the problem with which Sir Stafford Cripps's policies will be chiefly concerned is to earn more dollars to keep the factories in full employment with imported raw materials next summer.

On the immediate issue of restraint in wage claims, which the T.U.C. debates to-day, Mr. Attlee was less forthright than the General Council. Higher wages without increased production would, he said, "gravely impair our chances of getting rapidly over our difficulties." It is not often in the last two years that senior Ministers—or even leading Conservatives—have encouraged the illusion that there is any quick way through our difficulties. To say that widespread wage increases would destroy the Government's full employment and welfare policies—would be, in the T.U.C.'s word, "disastrous"—is truer as well as more impressive. But if Mr. Attlee did not add force to the appeal for wage restraint he did usefully stress the part of that policy which is hardest for the trade union. If unskilled workers get a rise in pay it is, in his strongest phrase yesterday, "bad economics and bad social morality" for more highly paid workers to demand an increase in order to maintain the differential in their favour. (Was Mr. Attlee thinking particularly of the National Union of Railwaymen?) On the understanding of this much may depend in the next year. If devaluation of the pound should raise the cost of living it will be essential that the cheapening of British exports should not be offset by generally increased wages; but for all wages to stand still would involve real hardship for the bottom groups of wage-earners. The possibilities of a further advance in social justice, of keeping the burden of the country's difficulties from the most needy, depends on the willingness of the unions to see small wage increases for the unskilled narrowing the traditional differentials. If Mr. Attlee has helped to get this understood he has done good service. He has not made the Government's course on the wider issues either easier or plainer.

Attlee über die Pfundabwertung

Llandudno (Wales), 24. Sept. ag (Reuter)
Der britische Premierminister Clement Attlee hielt am Samstag vor einer Versammlung der Labourpartei eine Rede, in welcher er erklärte, die *Aenderung der Parität der britischen Währung* sei kein Zaubermittel, welches Großbritannien von seinen gegenwärtigen Schwierigkeiten befreien könnte. Es handle sich vielmehr um eine Maßnahme, die unumgänglich gewesen sei. Der britische Premierminister sprach das Wort „Abwertung“ nicht aus, sondern sprach nur von einer „Aenderung der Parität“.

Attlee führte aus, die Aenderung sei von Großbritannien freiwillig vorgenommen worden. Die getroffene Maßnahme werde die Lasten in gerechter Weise auf das gesamte Volk verteilen. Bei einigen Waren seien *Preiserhöhungen* unumgänglich, doch sei eine allgemeine Preissteigerung nicht zu erwarten. Attlee betonte die Notwendigkeit, die Produktion zu steigern, die Kosten herabzusetzen und die Verkaufsmethoden zu verbessern. Eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Regierung und dem Volke sei ebenfalls notwendig.

Die Aenderung der Währungsparität sei das wirksamste und schnellste Mittel, die Dollarpreise der britischen Waren herabzusetzen. Sie bedeute aber auch, daß Großbritannien für seine Importe mehr bezahlen und das Vertrauen zum Pfundsterling als einer internationalen Handelswährung wiederherstellen müsse. Dieses *Vertrauen zum Pfund* sei durch Operationen im Schwarzhandel erschüttert worden. Wirtschaftliche Schwierigkeiten könnten nicht von einem Volke allein aus der Welt geschafft werden. Zu diesem Zwecke brauche man Zusammenarbeit. Attlee betonte, er sei dieser Zusammenarbeit sicher.

Der britische Premierminister führte aus, unglücklicherweise hätten die *Russen* seit Kriegsende alles unternommen, um sich von der übrigen Welt zu isolieren. „Wir sahen uns der Gefahr gegenübergestellt, daß die Währungsschwierigkeiten zu einer vollständigen Spaltung der demokratischen Welt auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiete hätten führen können.“ Die jüngsten Finanzbesprechungen in Washington zwischen Großbritannien, den Vereinigten Staaten und Canada hätten weitgehend dazu beigetragen, diese Gefahr abzuwehren. „Ich hoffe, daß als Folge dieser Besprechungen beiderseits des Atlantik eine Aktion unternommen werden wird, welche einer freieren Gestaltung des Handels den Weg ebnet.“

Einige Gegner der Labourpartei hätten versucht, die ganze Verantwortung für die Weltlage auf die Labourregierung und deren sozialistische Politik abzuwälzen. Diese dummen Versuche müßten entschieden zurückgewiesen werden. Die in der Industrie Tätigen müßten begreifen, daß nichts ihre Bemühungen verhindern dürfe, die höchste *Produktivität* zu erreichen. Sowohl die Arbeiter als auch die Unternehmer wirkten nicht nur für sich allein, sondern für die wirtschaftliche Existenz des Landes.

Wörtlich sagte er dann: „Die im Weißbuch über *Löhne und Gewinne* niedergelegten Grundsätze bleiben nach wie vor gültig. Eine allgemeine Steigerung des persönlichen Einkommens würde unsere wirtschaftliche Wiederaufrichtung schwer beeinträchtigen. Die Spekulanten mit Goldaktien haben diese Woche unliebsame Szenen in der Loner City verursacht. Es gibt immer noch Leute, die nur an ihre egoistischen Vorteile denken. Es gibt aber auch Arbeiter, die sich zu *inoffiziellen Streiks* verleiten lassen, welche die Wirtschaft des Landes schädigen, und es gibt noch viel schlechtere Leute, welche absichtlich solche Streiks hervorrufen wollen.“

Im Laufe der nächsten neun Monate werden wir in Großbritannien *allgemeine Wahlen* durchführen. Diese Wahlen werden darüber entscheiden, ob Großbritannien den von uns eingeschlagenen Weg fortsetzen soll, den Weg des demokratischen Sozialismus, oder ob Großbritannien einen Rückfall erleidet und zur Not und Ungerechtigkeit des Kapitalismus zurückkehrt. Der Kampf wird zwischen der Labourpartei und den Konservativen ausgefochten werden. Ich glaube, daß diese Wahlen nicht nur für Großbritannien, sondern für die ganze Welt von sehr großer Bedeutung sein werden. Die auf Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit basierte Sozialdemokratie bildet heute die Hoffnung der Welt. Die Labourregierung setzt sich für einen demokratischen Sozialismus ein, der den Wünschen der Arbeiter viel eher entspricht als der russische Kommunismus. Im Falle eines Erfolges würden die Kommunisten die Arbeiter mit viel stärkeren Ketten fesseln, als es selbst die Ketten des Kapitalismus sind.“

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The Manchester Guardian

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Nr.....

MR. ATTLEE ON DEVALUATION

Greater Industrial Efficiency Still the Urgent Need

DANGER OF WAGE INCREASES

From our Labour Correspondent

LLANDUDNO, SUNDAY.

The Prime Minister's preference for political anonymity has the defects of its curious qualities. He slipped in and out of Llandudno yesterday with the quiet efficiency of a solicitor who visits a client to give disinterested advice about a mortgage.

His is a personality without banners. It may make him an admirable chairman of the Cabinet, where detached thought is no doubt preferable to inspired oratory, but it produces an unsatisfying sense of anticlimax when the public has assembled for a great occasion.

Mr. Attlee seems deliberately to deny himself political occasions. At Bridlington three weeks ago he had the Trades Union Congress eager to applaud him, and the world waiting to hear what the Prime Minister of Great Britain had to say at a critical time. He contented himself with a homily about the virtues of unselfishness, and the necessity of trusting one's colleagues.

At Llandudno yesterday, where he addressed a rally of some two thousand delegates of the North Wales Federation of Labour parties, and a big audience who stood outside the pavilion to listen to him through loudspeakers, he had the world waiting to hear him again. The morning papers had been full of the news that the Russians had incontestably made an atomic bomb, and everybody wanted to learn more of what the British people are expected to do to make the best of the devalued pound. But once more he preferred to stick to generalities. He said nothing whatever about atomic bombs, and little about the Russians, except to regret that they had "unfortunately done their utmost to cut themselves off from the rest of the world."

GREAT EFFORT REQUIRED

He explained that currency difficulties had created the danger of division in the democratic world, and spoke comfortingly of the Washington talks as having "gone far" to avert that danger. Devaluation or, as he preferred to call it, "the alteration in the exchange," he explained as "just one of the things which have to be done." He did not want people to think that devaluation by itself would solve our problems.

"Let us be clear (he said) that the

which we must buy the things we need and would, therefore, defeat the whole object we have in view. Without an increase in wealth production, money payments merely give a false illusion of wellbeing."

He admitted that devaluation would mean increased prices for "some commodities," but pointed out that Sir Stafford Cripps had already declared that there was no justification for a general rise in prices. He denounced "one newspaper" for what he called "gloatingly anticipating further price increases," and said sternly that it was the duty of every citizen to co-operate with the Government in preventing inflation.

He praised "the great trade unions" for their "statesmanship" over wages, recognised that trade union leaders had "a difficult problem," and urged the rank and file to support their leaders. He rebuked "mischief makers," the selfish "who think of nothing but their own profit," and some Tory newspapers.

"There are mischief-makers," he said, "who do all they can to foment demands for wage increases. They pretend to be friends of the workers but they do not care what happens to British workers because their hearts are not here. They only want to bring down this country and, in particular, the Labour Government. They would like to see bad economic conditions here because that is their hope of getting support for their Communist aims."

"Curiously enough the game played by some Tory newspapers has just about the same effect. I believe that most employers and workers are co-operating with the Government, but it is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that there are those who do not. I thought that an unpleasant scene in the City of London the other day, the scramble of the gamblers in gold shares."

Mr. Attlee got one of the biggest cheers of the afternoon for saying this, and there was a hush of expectancy while people waited to hear what he would say next.

But having expressed his personal distaste for gambling in gold out of the same circumstances which force others to pay more for bread, the Prime Minister left it at that. It seemed almost as if he forgot for a moment that he was speaking as Prime Minister, and that people are inclined to look to Governments to try to do something to prevent "unpleasant scenes."

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"Let us be clear (he said) that the alteration in the exchange, necessary as it was, is no magic wand that is going to get us out of our difficulties. It is just one of the things which have to be done. It is part of what we have been doing these four years to bring us into a position in which we can stand on our own legs.

"It is a necessary adjustment to enable us to sell more goods in dollar markets, provided we make a real effort. On their side, the Americans and the Canadians will help us by reducing obstacles which stand in the way of our selling our goods, but we are not in the least relieved from the necessity of increasing our production, lowering our costs, and improving our selling methods. To do these things will require a great effort from our business men and from our workers.

"It was rather natural that during the last few years, when there was a sellers' market, not sufficient attention was given to lowering costs and to salesmanship by some of those engaged in industry. It is vital that all engaged in industry should realise that nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of getting the highest efficiency. Old-fashioned methods must be swept away, and workers and managements must feel the real urge to do better."

People must realise that work, provided it was useful, was more than a matter of earning a living. It was essential to the economic survival of the country. That did not apply only to the export trades, for those were themselves dependent on all the other economic activities of the nation.

PERSONAL INCOMES

He spoke of wages only in general terms. "I say again," he said, "that I do not believe that efficiency is to be obtained by refusing to pay adequate wages, but the principles laid down in the White Paper on prices, wages, and profits continue to be as valid and vital as ever. It is still absolutely true that a general rise in personal incomes would do great harm to our economic recovery.

"There is always a danger of it, you know, when there is a change in the exchange. Such rises would do nothing to increase the sum total of the wealth on which incomes have a claim. It would only alter its distribution. Some would gain at the expense of others, but the general effect would be inflationary and by raising the cost of production would make it harder for us to sell our goods to the countries from

for wage increases. They pretend to be friends of the workers but they do not care what happens to British workers because their hearts are not here. They only want to bring down this country and, in particular, the Labour Government. They would like to see bad economic conditions here because that is their hope of getting support for their Communist aims.

"Curiously enough the game played by some Tory newspapers has just about the same effect. I believe that most employers and workers are co-operating with the Government, but it is no good shutting our eyes to the fact that there are those who do not. I thought that an unpleasant scene in the City of London the other day, the scramble of the gamblers in gold shares."

Mr. Attlee got one of the biggest cheers of the afternoon for saying this, and there was a hush of expectancy while people waited to hear what he would say next.

But having expressed his personal distaste for gambling in gold out of the same circumstances which force others to pay more for bread, the Prime Minister left it at that. It seemed almost as if he forgot for a moment that he was speaking as Prime Minister, and that people are inclined to look to Governments to try to do something to prevent "unpleasant scenes."

ELECTION ISSUE

The "Daily Herald," perhaps showing commercial rather than political prescience, displayed an enticing poster in the hall, saying "Best election results in the 'Daily Herald,'" but the Prime Minister gave nothing away about the proximity of the election.

There was some straightforward electioneering in his claim that the Labour Government had pursued "for the first time in peace" a policy of preferring the interests of all citizens to the sectional interests of some, and in his appeal to people to remember "the years of unemployment, the means test, and the poor law." He also seemed to touch on election tactics by claiming that devaluation of the pound "spread the load fairly over the whole nation" instead of singling out the workers in certain trades for special suffering. "It excludes," he said, "the rival method, which has its advocates in this country although they are shy of saying it openly, of cutting down the social services and the standard of life of the poorer sections of the people."

He saw the election as "a clean cut issue between Labour and Conservatism," with the Labour party as the only party with "the strength, the faith, and the moral fervour" to carry forward the great ideals of democracy and British radicalism. He grouped together Liberals and Welsh Nationalists and urged them to remember their own traditions and to realise that "votes cast for splinter parties are ineffective."

To his own party he said: "I want the Labour party to be ready to go to the country as a great united force. I see lots of silly stories in the papers, trying to sow dissension between me and my colleagues—that is the first I hear of them. You will know that those stories are the kind of thing which is 'put up,' and you will disregard them. I believe that the election will be profoundly important, not only for Britain but for the world. Social democracy based on freedom and social justice stands to-day as the hope of the world."

It was simple, it was sincere, and the loyal audience cheered. There is no doubt about the Labour party's affection for the Prime Minister, but there seemed something a little puzzled about the cheering. It seemed to say, "Of course we are ready to follow you, but will you please tell us soon a bit more precisely where we are going, and how we are going to get there?"

00740 0179 BEC

The Times (London)
51496

MR. ATTLEE CALLS FOR RESTRAINT

EXCHANGE RATE NOT A MAGIC WAND

Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, speaking at a Labour Party regional rally at Llan-dudno on Saturday, said that the alteration in the exchange rate was "no magic wand" which was going to get us out of our difficulties but was just one of the things which had to be done. He renewed the Government's appeal to prevent a general rise in personal incomes.

The alteration in the exchange, he said, had the great merit over other methods that it spread the load instead of picking out for suffering the workers in the special trades. It excluded the rival method, which had its advocates in this country, although they were shy of coming into the open, of allowing heavy unemployment and of cutting down the social services and the standard of life of the poorer sections of the people.

"Let us be clear," he said, "that the alteration in the exchange, necessary as it was, is no magic wand which is going to get us out of our difficulties. It is just one of the things which have to be done. It is just part of what we have been doing during these four years to bring us into a position in which we can stand on our own legs."

ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

"It is vital that all those engaged in industry should realize that nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of getting the highest efficiency. Old-fashioned methods and old customs must be swept away where they hinder. Workers and management are not just working for their own livings, but for the economic survival of the country."

"... the principles laid down in the White Paper on prices, wages, and profits continue to be as valid and vital as ever. It is still absolutely true that a general rise in personal incomes would do grave injury to our economic recovery. Such rises would do nothing to increase the sum total wealth on which incomes have a claim."

"Without an increase in wealth production increased money payments merely give a false illusion of well-being. It would largely nullify the effect of the change in the exchange rate. Therefore the appeal which the Government made in the White Paper still stands. The great trade unions of this country have shown statesmanship in this regard. But it is necessary that all should realize the position, and should give full and loyal support to their leaders."

"There was an unpleasant scene this week in the City with gamblers in gold shares. There are still people who think of nothing but their own selfish profit. There are workers who allow themselves to be led away into unofficial strikes which damage the economy of the country and there are, far worse, those who deliberately seek to cause them."

"Do not fail to counteract the silly talk which suggests that Government expenditure is waste and private expenditure is not. The social services are economically a sound investment. Good health is an asset to the nation. We shall not be led into false economies."

00740 0180 BEC

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Nr. 283 - - -

Das Echo auf den Entscheid Attlees

Tel. unseres Korrespondenten

Sch. London, 14. Oktober

Die Meinungen darüber, ob Attlee recht oder unrecht hatte, als er die Wahlen auf nächstes Jahr verschob, sind in jeder Hinsicht geteilt. Der offiziöse „Daily Herald“ unterstützt die Regierung mit wahltaktischen Argumenten. Dem Volk müsse Zeit gegeben werden, um sich über die Politik des Labourregimes und über den Mangel an Alternativvorschlägen der Konservativen klar zu werden. Die sozialistische „Tribune“, die zu ihrem Unglück wenige Stunden vor dem Entscheid des Premierministers erschien, tritt noch einmal und womöglich noch schärfer für sofortige Wahlen ein. „Die britische Regierung benötigt die volle Autorität, die nur ein Wahlsieg verleihen kann, um der Forderung der Stunde gerecht zu werden.“ Das Blatt spricht von einer *allgemeinen Vertrauenskrise*, die nur durch einen Wahlsieg überwunden werden könne.

Die *liberale Presse* und die „Times“ verlegen das Schwergewicht ihrer Kommentare auf die Erörterung der jetzt notwendig gewordenen Maßnahmen. Sie argumentieren nicht länger über das Pro und Contra einer baldigen Wahl, sondern stellen fest, daß die Regierung jetzt schleunigst und mit aller Energie die *Senkung des Lebensstandards* und die *scharfen Einsparungen* vornehmen müsse, falls sie sich des Vertrauens der Nation nicht unwürdig erweisen wolle.

Die *konservative Presse* ist natürlich erbittert. Die Partei mußte ihre führenden Männer sofort ins Treffen schicken, um die Enttäuschung, die wegen der Verschiebung der Wahlen überhand genommen hat, zu überwinden. Churchill benützte die Gelegenheit eines Empfangs bei den konservativen Gewerkschaftsführern, um Attlee die Verantwortung für die seit einigen Wochen herrschende Unsicherheit zuzuschieben. Gleichzeitig forderte er die Regierung auf, nunmehr

die notwendigen Sparmaßnahmen vorzunehmen und — was den Konservativen ebenso sehr am Herzen liegt — weitere Verstaatlichungen aufzuschieben, um auf diese Weise der Krise Herr zu werden. Lord Woolton erließ sofort eine Erklärung, in der betont wird, daß es für die Geschäftsleute wie für die Regierung nun nötig wäre, auf lange Sicht zu planen, daß diese Planung aber angesichts des nun beginnenden Wahlkampfes und der aus der Verschiebung des Wahltermins folgenden monatelangen Ungewißheit nicht möglich sei.

Die *Kommunisten* haben ebenfalls eine Lanze gegen die Labourpartei eingelegt. Sie haben das kuriose Argument angeführt, Bevin sei offensichtlich mit dem Befehl aus Amerika nach London zurückgekehrt, „die Offensive gegen den Lebensstandard des englischen Arbeiters aufzunehmen“. Die englische Arbeiterschaft wird aufgefordert, ihren Kampf gegen die Verschlechterung ihrer Lage, die von den Tories wie von der Labourregierung befürwortet werde, zu verschärfen.

Im *Lager der Regierung* ist man sich offensichtlich der Tatsache bewußt, daß energische und tiefgreifende Maßnahmen nötig sind, um aus der zwiespältigen Situation, in die die englische Innenpolitik geraten ist, herauszukommen. Attlee kündigte bei einer Rede gestern abend an, daß einige derartige Maßnahmen geplant seien. Sie zielten darauf ab, den Export und die Leistung zu steigern, während der Lebensstandard ungefähr auf dem gegenwärtigen Niveau gehalten werden müsse. Das bedeutet also, wenn es der Regierung ernst ist mit ihren guten Vorsätzen, daß in Wirklichkeit eine Senkung des Lebensstandards, eine Erhöhung der Arbeitszeit und eine Verringerung des Reallohnes, aber auch in ziemlich großem Umfang der Einkommen und Profite eintreten werden. Ob Attlee und Cripps wirklich so weit gehen wollen, ist allerdings eine andere Frage.

Eine weitere Folge der Verschiebung der Wahlen auf nächstes Jahr besteht darin, daß die beiden großen, politisch so heftig umstrittenen Gesetze, nämlich die *Reform des Oberhauses* und die *Verstaatlichung der Eisen- und Stahlindustrie*, nun wahrscheinlich doch durchgeführt werden. Das Gesetz über die Reform des Oberhauses, welches das Einspruchsrecht der Peers beschränkt, wird im Dezember in Kraft treten, so daß die Verstaatlichung der Eisen- und Stahlindustrie in den ersten Monaten des kommenden Jahres durchgeführt werden kann, ohne daß das Oberhaus mehr die Möglichkeit hätte, sein Veto einzulegen.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Datum

Montag

287

Nr.

Verschiebung der Erklärung Attlees

Enttäuschung im Unterhaus

Tel. unseres Korrespondenten

eg. London, 18. Oktober

Die Labourregierung hat erklärt, nicht in der Lage zu sein, im Parlament noch diese Woche die Erklärung über die im Zusammenhang mit der Pfundabwertung zu ergreifenden *Notmaßnahmen* abzugeben, die von Attlee am letzten Donnerstag „in einigen Tagen“ in Aussicht gestellt wurde. Das bedeutet klar und deutlich, daß die heutige Kabinettsitzung sich noch nicht endgültig über die ihr unterbreiteten Vorschläge schlüssig zu machen vermochte. Es verlautet, daß insbesondere gewisse Anregungen zu Einsparungen am Wehrdienst auf Bedenken und Widerstände gestoßen seien. Der Premierminister hofft jedoch, wie der Führer des Unterhauses, *Herbert Morrison*, ankündigte, am nächsten Montag die Erklärung abzugeben. Diese Mitteilung am Ende der Fragestunde der heutigen Sitzung des Unterhauses hat beide Seiten sichtlich *enttäuscht*. Die Abgeordneten waren auffallend vollzählig zur heutigen Wiederbesammlung des Parlaments erschienen. Offenbar hofften manche unter ihnen, vielleicht heute schon das eine oder andere über die bevorstehenden Krisenopfer zu vernehmen, mindestens aber bestätigt zu erhalten, daß die Eröffnung am Donnerstag erfolgen werde. Die Verschiebung bis Montag hat mehr enttäuscht als eigentlich überrascht, und eine weitere Verzögerung wird in parlamentarischen Kreisen schon heute wenigstens nicht als unbedingt ausgeschlossen betrachtet.

Der Aufschub ist eine sehr ernste Sache. *A. thony Eden* hat als Führer der Opposition gewiß der Besorgnis des ganzen Hauses Ausdruck verliehen, indem er die Verlängerung der Ungewißheit bedauerte und als „*ungehörig*“ bezeichnete, daß die Verzögerung nun schon bald zwei Monate sich erstrecke, seitdem das Labourkabinet zum Abwertungsbeschluß gelangt sei. Die Stimmung unter den Abgeordneten auf beiden Seiten des Unterhauses ist sichtlich unruhig und hat sich auf die heutige Mitteilung *Morrison*s hin noch mehr verschlechtert. Bissig fliegen die Vorwürfe und parteipolitischen Sticheleien hin und her. Es muß eine recht unerquickliche Session daraus werden, weil alle Redner bei jedem Wort sich die Wirkung auf die Wählerschaft im bevorstehenden Wahlkampf vor Augen halten müssen.

Ein bedauerliches Beispiel dafür ist die durchaus unerwartete Art und Weise, wie von

den *Konservativen* die Frage nach der Aufhebung der *Zwangslenkung der Arbeitskräfte* aufgeworfen wird. Obschon die Labourregierung von der Vollmacht zur Zwangslenkung so gut wie keinen ernstlichen Gebrauch gemacht hat, wird sie bei jeder Gelegenheit angegriffen und aufgefordert, auf diese freiheitswidrigen Vollmachten endlich zu verzichten. Man kann sich füglich fragen, ob die Opposition mit ihrer kritischen Einstellung in diesem Punkt der Ueberwindung der Wirtschaftskrise nicht einen denkbar schlechten Dienst leistet. Die bloße Furcht vor einer eventuellen Zwangslenkung hat bisher zweifellos doch manche Arbeitskräfte gefügiger gemacht. Wenn allzu klar gemacht wird, daß eine Zwangslenkung nicht zu befürchten sei, wird jedenfalls die Beschaffung von vermehrten Arbeitskräften in den exportwichtigen Industrien damit nur erschwert werden.

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32144 -

"DEVALUATION A SPRINGBOARD"

Premier Asks for Co-operation of All Industries

From our Special Correspondent

HARROGATE, SUNDAY.

The cotton industry had for years been one of the great, if not the greatest, of all our export trades, and it could play a major part in the production drive, said the Prime Minister (Mr. C. R. Attlee) when he spoke at the Cotton Board's conference for directors, managers, and trade union officials here to-day.

He reminded delegates that in March, 1948, he asked them to increase production and exports, particularly to Canada. Now, after seeing the Cotton Board's report, he had to thank the industry for its great achievement. The industry had done particularly well in increasing exports to the sterling area, and that was of great importance. Britain, as banker of the sterling area, had to take into account the dollar purchases and the contributions to dollar payments by sister nations when she made her calculations on the balance-of-payments problem.

The present problem, he said, had existed in a greater or lesser degree for many years, and even without the war the growing economic disequilibrium between the new and old world would have puzzled statesmen.

Speaking of "the very heavy drain on our reserves," Mr. Attlee said Britain's great difficulty derived from her operation with a reserve that was too small in relation to her responsibilities. He could not anticipate the statement he would make to the House of Commons to-morrow, but he could say what he and his colleagues would be saying to other industries of the country: "We can only get through our difficulties if every industry, and all the people who work in it, in whatever

capacity, co-operate with a firm will to conquer. That note of co-operation is one we shall strike," he said.

After emphasising the importance of cotton as a key industry, he said that one of the biggest factors in the payments problems was how to pay for food from Canada. This had become of crucial importance. The opportunity of increasing exports to Canada and the United States afforded by devaluation had to be seized. "Remember," he said, "that devaluation is designed to be a spring-board and not a feather-bed for industry."

Canada appeared to realise that she could not dispose of food products to Britain unless she was ready to receive payments by buying British goods. The cotton trade therefore must produce goods, at as low a cost as possible, that Canada and America would take, and it had to expand sales in the Western hemisphere. If necessary other markets, including the home market, would have to be deprived of goods, but the better way lay in expanding production. Where changes in trade technique and organisation were necessary they would have to be made.

Great issues were at stake, among them the very existence of the cotton trade as a great industry, but Lancashire would not fail.

Among others present at the conference were Mr. Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. George Isaacs, Minister of Labour, and Mr. J. Edwards, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. Sir Raymond Streat, chairman of the Cotton Board, said that "despite the emergencies of the moment," the Prime Minister was fulfilling an engagement he entered upon in June.

Die Brücke(Hamburg) 156

Halbe Maßnahmen

THE TIMES
25. Oktober 1949

Durch seine gestrige Erklärung hat Premierminister Attlee seine Regierung nicht vor die Schranken der Politiker, sondern der Tatsachen gefordert, um ihren Urteilspruch zu empfangen. Dieser Spruch wird im Laufe der kommenden entscheidenden Monate durch die Gestaltung der Zahlungsbilanz, das Aussehen des Staatssäckels und die Entwicklung der Kosten und Preise verkündet werden. Selbst ein vorläufiges Urteil ist nicht leicht zu fällen, solange nicht nähere Einzelheiten über die geplanten Maßnahmen bekanntgegeben und im Parlament erörtert worden sind.

Einstweilen muß jedoch der erste Eindruck der einer tiefen Beunruhigung sein. Attlee und seine Mitarbeiter haben zwar endlich den richtigen Weg beschritten, aber es ist ihnen nur gelungen,

eine bescheidene Strecke auf diesem Wege zurückzulegen. Die von ihnen vorgesehenen Einsparungen, von denen nicht wenige Mut veratzen und auf der richtigen Ebene liegen, müssen als zu geringfügig und zu langsam in ihrer Auswirkung betrachtet werden. Nur selten kann eine so wichtige und mit dem ganzen Drum und Dran eines großen nationalen Ereignisses abgegebene Erklärung als ein so trauriger Fall verpaßter Gelegenheiten erschienen sein.

Daß die Regierung überhaupt so weit von früheren hartnäckigen Irrtümern abgerückt ist, darf ihr als Verdienst angerechnet werden. Sie wird jede Unterstützung bei der Durchführung der Sparmaßnahmen erhalten, die — als so unzulänglich sie sich auch erweisen mögen — zum mindesten eine wenn auch verspätete Einsicht in die drin-

gendsten und wesentlichsten Erfordernisse der Nation verraten.

Eine Einsparung öffentlicher Ausgaben in einer Höhe von insgesamt 250 Millionen Pfund ist, wie Attlee gestern abend sagte, für sich betrachtet „eine sehr große Summe“, wenn sie auch als sehr viel kleiner erscheint, sobald man sie den großen Zahlen des Etats und der Investitionen Großbritanniens gegenüberstellt. Er gehört schon politisch ein gewisser Mut dazu, das Wohnbauprogramm anzutasten, die Nahrungsmittelsubventionen zu streichen, und am meisten vielleicht dazu, sich zu dem Grundsatz einer Gebühr für die Verschreibung von Rezepten im Rahmen des Gesundheitsdienstes zu bekennen.

Dennoch bietet sich einem überall, ob man nun die Gesamteinsparungen oder jeden einzelnen Posten betrachtet, ein Bild halber Maßnahmen. Die ganze von der Regierung in diesem Kampfe aufgebrachte Kraft scheint darauf verwendet zu sein, die erste Hürde zu nehmen; danach verlor sie den Schwung, obwohl das Rennen noch lange nicht gewonnen ist. Die Einsparung von 140 Millionen Pfund an Kapitalinvestitionen, vor allem für das Wohnbauprogramm, sonstige Bauten und für die Brennstoff- und Energiewirtschaft erstreckt sich auf das Programm für das Jahr 1950 und kann daher erst nach einem weiteren Jahr voll zur Auswirkung kommen. Daß sich die Einsparungen im Wohnungsbau vor allem auf das private Bauwesen richten, bildet die einzige merkliche Ausnahme von dem erfreulichen Fehlen einer politischen Diskriminierung in andern Punkten des Sparprogramms.

Von der Einsparung von rund 100 Millionen Pfund bei andern öffentlichen Ausgaben stellt die Herabsetzung der Verwaltungsausgaben um einige 40 bis 45 Millionen Pfund den größten Posten dar, und er erscheint als offensichtlich unzulänglich. Die zweitgrößte Einsparung laufender Ausgaben — 36 Millionen Pfund — durch Streichung der Subventionen für Futtermittel erfolgt nicht vor dem nächsten Frühjahr und ist bezeichnend für die Tatsache, daß auch jetzt, abgesehen von einer gewissen Erhöhung der Preise für Fisch, Trockenei und Rosinen, das Problem, mit der Befreiung von der schweren Last der Nahrungsmittelsubventionen einen Anfang zu machen, politisch so schwer lösbar ist wie je zuvor.

Das britische Volk wird die Empfindung haben, die im Parla-



Premierminister Attlee

Foto: Karsch

wenden

ment bereits besteht, daß dies bescheidene Opfer sind; war es doch darauf vorbereitet und auch willens, im Interesse seiner eigenen Zukunft und der des Landes viel größere zu bringen. Die Minister werden vielleicht die Ausmaße ihrer Entscheidungen damit zu rechtfertigen suchen, daß es einfach ihre Aufgabe war, die überschüssige Kaufkraft zu beseitigen, die sich nach dem disinflationistischen Etat des vergangenen Jahres in unsere Wirtschaft eingeschlichen hat, ein Überhang, den scharfsinnige Sachverständige vor etwa einem halben Jahr mit 100 Millionen Pfund veranschlagten.

Argumentieren sie nicht in dieser Weise, so werden sie sowohl das Ausmaß verkennen, in dem die öffentlichen Ausgaben fortgesetzt den Ertrag der Volkswirtschaft überschritten haben und dies immer noch tun, als auch die Notwendigkeit, sich auf einen viel energischeren Kampf mit der Weltkonkurrenz gefaßt zu machen, als sie es sich im Jahre 1948 träumen ließen. Das heißt, sie werden die Tatsachen verkennen, die sich in dem unheilvollen Fehlbetrag in den Überseekonten klar abzeichnen, sowie in der glatten Unfähigkeit Großbritanniens, seinen Verbindlichkeiten nachzukommen. Sie werden die klare und bittere Lehre ihrer eigenen Abwertung des Pfundes um 30 Prozent verkennen. Sie werden verkennen, daß nichts anderes helfen kann als ein revolutionärer Wandel in der Leistungsfähigkeit und dem Ertrag der nationalen Arbeit und der Investitionen, ein Wandel, den ihre Maßnahmen einleiten sollten.

So wie die Dinge liegen, scheint es, als solle die Revolution nicht nur auf halbem Wege abgeblasen werden, sondern schon ehe sie überhaupt begonnen hat. Daß es nicht am guten Willen fehlt, ist deutlich genug. Attlee weiß, welche Früchte sein Sparprogramm tragen müßte — die Ablenkung des Warenstroms vom Inlandmarkt auf erfolgreiche Verkäufe nach dem Ausland, die Herabminderung übermäßiger Anforderungen der Binnenwirtschaft an Menschen und Produktionsmitteln, bis diese lebenswichtige überseeische Rechnung aufgegangen ist, die Ausrichtung der Arbeit und der Investitionen in der Heimat auf solche Vorhaben, die es der Gemeinschaft ermöglichen, ihren Verpflichtungen nachzukommen, oder die sich selbst tragen.

„Wir müssen einen Weg finden“, so sagte Attlee am Montagabend zu seinen Zuhörern, „um auf

eigenen Füßen zu stehen, und zwar sehr bald.“ Er kennt auch, wie das Sparprogramm selbst beweist, die Wege, auf denen die Gesundung und der Ausgleich gefunden werden müssen. Trotzdem, so scheint es, hat am Ende immer noch die Zaghaftigkeit den Ausschlag gegeben. Man hat sich zwar zu dem Grundsatz bekannt, von den Patienten eine Gebühr für die im Rahmen des nationalen Gesundheitsdienstes verschriebenen Rezepte zu verlangen, aber gleichzeitig wird versichert, daß diese Maßnahme nur der Abstellung von Mißbräuchen dienen soll, und scheut die logische Folgerung, eine wirklich ins Gewicht fallende Einsparung durch eine Erweiterung des Gebührenprinzips etwa auf die Verordnung von Brillen und Zahnersatz zu erzielen.

Der Wehrhaushalt wird in einem vollen Jahr um 30 Millionen Pfund gekürzt werden, aber nur, um eine gegenwärtige Mehrausgabe wettzumachen, so daß bis zur „Entscheidung über den zukünftigen Aufbau der Wehrmacht“ dieser gewaltige Posten, der fast mit Gewißheit einen Kostenanteil für Untüchtigkeit einschließt, unangetastet bleibt. Der Wohnungsbau und das sonstige Bauwesen sollen eine weitere Einsparung von 70 Millionen bringen — vorausgesetzt, die Ausgaben auf diesem Gebiet schleichen sich nicht wieder unbemerkt in die Höhe, wie sie es auf andern Sektoren getan haben —, aber das verwickelte und kostspielige System der Subventionen für den Wohnungsbau und verwandte Gebiete wird nicht durchgekämmt.

Alle diese Maßnahmen erscheinen auf den ersten, erwartungsvollen Blick hin nicht dazu angetan, die Bahn für die freie Entfaltung wirtschaftlicher Leistungsfähigkeit freizugeben. Und was die andere Seite der „Kraftanstrengung“ betrifft, die der Premierminister forderte, die überaus große Notwendigkeit eines „positiven“ Beitrages von jeder Industrie und jedem einzelnen Arbeiter, so hat die Regierung weiter nichts als Ermahnungen zu bieten. Alle, die in dem Kampf um niedrigere Kosten, um Erhöhung der Produktion und um eine Ausdehnung des Exports ihren Teil beitragen, suchen vergeblich nach einem Anreiz in der Form einer besonderen Belohnung oder einer Gewährung von Erleichterungen. In diesem Sparprogramm ist nichts von dem zu finden, was Professor Robbins als den „täglichen Ansporn der Aussicht auf einen Extrageinn“ bezeichnet hat, nachdem dieser Anreiz durch „sich nahe der

Höchstgrenze bewegende Steuersätze“ verwässert worden ist.

Der Prüfstein, das muß nochmals gesagt werden, werden die Tatsachen und Zahlen sein. Wenn die Überziehung der Auslandskonten tatsächlich zurückgeht, wenn die offenkundige Überhöhung der öffentlichen Ausgaben tatsächlich geringer wird und aufhört, die Menschen und ihre wirtschaftlichen Hilfsquellen von der Verfolgung notwendiger und rentabler Unternehmungen abzulenken; wenn Auslandsverkäufe in die Höhe schnellen, während Kosten und Preise für die wichtigen Erzeugnisse sinken und wenn das Pfund im Inland und in Übersee ständig an Wert gewinnt, dann kann der Urteilsspruch immer noch zugunsten der Regierung ausfallen.

Endlich müssen die Minister uns noch erzählen — wenn sie etwas darüber zu sagen haben —, welche Vorschläge sie zu machen gedenken (und sie müssen welche machen, wenn sie auf die Aussicht rechnen, sich zu behaupten), um die Tilgung der drückenden Sterlingsguthaben auf das bescheidene Maß zurückzuführen, das sich das Land gerade noch leisten kann. Das Parlament und das Volk wird der Regierung bereitwillig Gehör schenken und ihre Maßnahmen auf eine faire Probe stellen, doch gleichzeitig werden Tag für Tag und Stunde für Stunde die Tatsachen das entscheidende Urteil sprechen.

Das eine steht fest, was das Ergebnis auch sein mag: jeder einzelne wird gut daran tun, sich die klare Aufforderung des Premierministers zu erhöhter Arbeitsleistung zu Herzen zu nehmen.

00740 0187 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32154 -

PREMIER ON
DEMOCRACY

Soviet's Ideology

The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee), speaking at a United Nations meeting at Walthamstow last night, said we were living in a dangerous world wherein the forces of destruction threatened to be stronger than the collective will of mankind to control them.

In the years ahead, he said, the question every individual must ask himself was "What can I do to prevent the coming generations from suffering as my generation has suffered—of suffering worse things than the human race has heretofore experienced?" The hope on which they must rest was that the collective will for peace of the vast majority of mankind would make itself felt. In time perhaps this might be possible, even in those countries where liberty was utterly suppressed.

Throughout the proceedings of the United Nations since San Francisco, said the Premier, there had been constant frustration owing to the attitude of the Soviet Government and its satellites. The Soviet Government had used the veto as an instrument of power politics and for furthering the Imperialist aims of that Government.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC

"The fact is," said Mr. Attlee, "that, despite all their professions, that group of Powers in Eastern Europe who obey the orders of the Kremlin are anti-democratic. Their philosophy comprises the belief in the right to rule of an aristocracy of ideology. They believe in force; they are totally unacquainted with the methods of democracy which obtain in States which have a long experience of civilisation.

"It cannot be denied that this

makes the working of the United Nations difficult. Some time will elapse before the countries of Eastern Europe are educated up to understanding the nature of democracy. This may take some time, but it is not wise to despair of the United Nations.

"We all deplore the passing of the democratic Czechoslovakia built up by President Masaryk. That country, which was a shining example of democratic practice between the wars and which had close affinities with the Western world, has now been reduced to the status of such countries as Bulgaria, Poland, and Rumania, which have never had much more than a façade of democracy." On the other hand, Yugoslavia, although still very far from partaking in the freedom which was the heritage of the West, had shaken herself free from the complete domination of the masters of the Kremlin.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

But far more important than this was the emergence into complete self-government of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Thus, though in Eastern Europe the tide of democracy had temporarily receded, in Asia it was flowing. Our Commonwealth of Nations was a United Nations in miniature. In view of the frustration caused by Communist intransigence at the United Nations we had taken the lead in establishing, in consonance with its principles, organisations on a more limited basis for the purpose of collective security. Western Union and the Atlantic Pact, so far from being contrary to the basic conception of the United Nations, were in harmony with it. It would be wrong to judge and condemn the United Nations on account of the failure up to the present to deal with the major question of peace and security. Much had been accomplished in other fields.

Signatur *P Attlee Clement*
Datum **15. Nov. 1949**

00740 0188 BEC

The Manchester Guardian
Nº32163

**MR. ATTLEE TO INSPECT
AMETHYST MEN**

Men of H.M. ships Amethyst, London, Consort, and Black Swan, and some members of the crew of an R.A.F. Sunderland aircraft will be inspected by the Prime Minister when they assemble on the Horse Guards Parade on November 16 for London's parade and official reception. Mr. Attlee will be accompanied by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Hall, and followed by the First Sea Lord, Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Fraser, and the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir John Lang. After a service of thanksgiving in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Mr. Attlee and members of the Board of Admiralty will attend the luncheon at Guildhall.

00740 0189 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

Nr. 32175

MR. ATTLEE WELCOMES NEW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

"Nations Turning from Totalitarian Systems"

From our Labour Correspondent

LONDON, MONDAY.

The Constituent Assembly of the new anti-Communist Trade Union "International" was opened at the County Hall to-day with a message of encouragement from the Prime Minister, read by Mr. George Isaacs, and with addresses of welcome by Mr. H. L. Bullock, chairman of the T.U.C., and Mr. J. W. Bowen, chairman of the London County Council.

Mr. Attlee welcomed to London "the accredited representatives of the trade union movement of the free countries of the world," and he saw the assembly as "growing evidence that the nations of the world are turning resolutely away from every form of compliance with totalitarian systems of government, and are united in their determination to give effect to the institutions of democracy and of free citizenship."

Mr. Bullock said that standards of employment, methods of collective bargaining, and trade union programmes of reform necessarily differed between one country and another, but the Assembly affirmed the common conviction that universal economic well-being rested on the organisation of free labour. "Denial or restriction of the elementary rights of free labour is an affront to human dignity, a threat to peace, and a source of totalitarian tyranny which we shall always and everywhere strive to counteract. Forced labour anywhere is a menace to free labour everywhere," he said.

PATH OF FREEDOM

He believed that the world to-day stood at a parting of ways and that the path to freedom led away from authoritarian systems of government and economic organisation. It might sometimes be difficult to exclude political questions from the new "International," but they were not forming it to become involved in political controversies, or to engage in national politics. They must not make

the mistake of confusing economic and industrial activity with politics

"The autonomy of the national organisations which will be in affiliation with this new world confederation is the corollary of the basic principles of free labour and the independence of trade unions which we take as a cardinal doctrine of our faith and practice," he said.

Mr. Bowen spoke with pride of London's "great tradition" as the host of international assemblies, and he thought it appropriate that England, which had seen many of the early struggles for trade unionism, should have been selected for the inaugural conference of the new "international."

"The first steps towards international trade unionism began in this city," he said. "It was in London in 1864 that the International Working Men's Association, the first international, was founded. Its fundamental aim was like yours, the union of working men of all countries for the emancipation of labour."

He had to admit, however, that, while many causes had prospered from their London origins, there had also been "disappointments," one of which was the World Federation of Trade Unions, which was formed in that same County Hall in 1945. He hoped that from the present assembly a free and unfettered body would emerge which would provide for a "clearer expression of the democratic aims and aspirations of all freedom-loving people."

"CHRISTIAN" UNIONS

Soon after these hopeful speeches, however, international trade union history began to show an unhappy tendency to repeat itself. There were no Communists to cause trouble, but there was sharp division of opinion on whether the various "Christian" or denominational trade union organisations that exist in many European countries and in Canada should be permitted to join the new "International."

The preparatory committee had decided to invite only those "Christian"

organisations which the main trade union movements in the countries concerned were willing to accept as fellow-members, and the report presented to the Assembly to-day recorded that "as a consequence of the observations received the committee has restricted its invitation to the French Confederation of Christian Workers."

M. Bouladoux, for the French Christian trade unionists, objected strongly to this on behalf of all the excluded Christian unions. He claimed that the Christian unions had always shown complete loyalty to democratic trade unionism. Were they now to submit to the decision of some outside body as to whether they were or were not "democratic?" French Christian unionists were glad to have been admitted, but why should all the others be regarded as outside the pale? "I think that I am not expressing myself too strongly when I say that they have been insulted," he said.

Signor Giulio Pastore, of the Italian Libera Confederazione Generale del Lavoratori, who was a member of the preparatory committee, made a personal statement dissenting from the committee's decision about the Christian unions. He declared that it was "offensive to the dignity of human personality" to exclude the Christian unions, and he urged that they should be invited. He went further, and threatened that if they were not invited, his Italian confederation "would be obliged to reconsider its position with regard to the new world federation."

This was a plain hint of secession even before the new organisation is formally in being. But the opponents of admitting the Christian unions feel equally strongly. Signor Pastore complained that to invite other trade union movements to approve or disapprove the Christian unions amounted to giving them a power of veto, but the Belgian T.U.C. declared equally strongly that "national" as distinct from denominational trade union centres had a right to be consulted in the matter.

There was combined American backing from the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. for a proposal that a special committee should be appointed to go into the whole question, but this was resisted by Mr. Arthur Deakin, for the T.U.C., who said that it should properly be dealt with by the credentials committee. In the end there was a compromise, by which the credentials committee was instructed to make a special report. M. Paul Finet (Belgium), the chairman of the Assembly, stopped further argument by insisting that until the committee had reported it was useless to go on with the controversy.

Many of the Christian unions at present excluded are Catholic organisations, but there are Protestant bodies also in some countries, including Holland and Switzerland. The Catholic unions were formed in opposition to the Marxist traditions of trade unionism in most Continental countries, and they were encouraged and formally approved in the encyclical *rerum novarum* of 1891. Papal encouragement was re-emphasised in another encyclical in 1931.

00740 0190 BEC

Signature

Datum 3. Jan. 1950

The Times (London)

Nr. 51579 -

MR. ATTLEE 67 TO-DAY

**RETURN TO LONDON AFTER
CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY**

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The Prime Minister, who will be 67 to-day, returned yesterday from Chequers—where he spent the Christmas holiday—to 10, Downing Street. In the afternoon he presided at a meeting of the Cabinet committee. Mr. Herbert Morrison, who is spending a holiday near Scarborough, is expected to return to London towards the end of the week.

7) Mlle
L. Z.
11. Jan. 1950

The Manchester Guardian

Nº 32210-

**CIVIL SERVICE PAY
MUST WAIT**

Premier's Reply

From our London Staff

FLEET STREET, TUESDAY.

The Prime Minister has replied to-day to the Association of First Division Civil Servants rejecting their claim for increased salaries now, which was made in a letter sent before Christmas. A similar letter has been sent to the Institute of Professional Civil Servants. A statement will be published to-morrow giving the substance of the correspondence.

It is understood that the Prime Minister has given an undertaking that the increases recommended in the Chorley report will be paid by October, 1951. The Government had previously accepted the report of the Chorley Commission, which suggested increases amounting to some £400,000 for the higher grade of the Civil Service. In September it informed the association that in view of devaluation, and the imperative need to prevent any general increase in personal incomes, it could not act upon the Chorley recommendations immediately.

00740 0192 BEC

25. Jan. 1950

The Times (London)

N^o 51598-

CANDIDATES HEAR MR. ATTLEE

ELECTION ISSUES REVIEWED

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

More than 550 Labour M.P.s, prospective candidates, peers, and party officials, in addition to a large number of Ministers, attended a meeting arranged by the national executive of the party at the Caxton Hall, London, yesterday morning.

They were addressed by the Prime Minister, who reviewed the record of the Government, outlined the general issues of the coming election, and spoke of the duties and responsibilities of Labour candidates. After a period of questions from candidates, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, made the final speech in which he gave a full review of the plans for the election campaign. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Sam Watson, chairman of the party, and lasted more than two hours.

In the afternoon the Prime Minister presided at a Cabinet committee and later at a meeting of Ministers at 10, Downing Street. This morning he will attend a meeting of the national executive of the party.

PARTY TITLE DISPUTE

The quarrel between the Liberals and the Conservatives over the use of the word "Liberal" continued unabated yesterday. In the afternoon Lord Moynihan, chairman of the Liberal Party Executive, and other officials of the party, conferred with counsel on the possibility of legal action against candidates unconnected with the Liberal Party using the name "Liberal." It was decided at the conference that further information would be collected relating to the 60 constituencies mentioned in the joint statement of Mr. Churchill and Lord Rosebery. No reply has as yet been received from Mr. Churchill to Mr. Clement Davies's letter. It was thought that Mr. Churchill may turn his attention to the matter when he returns to London to-day.

During the day instructions were being sent from Liberal headquarters to their area offices for a questionnaire to be put in the hands of all candidates not officially recognized by the Liberal Party who are using the word "Liberal" in their title. The candidates will be asked to say when they were last subscribing members to the Liberal Party, of which Liberal Association they were members, whose

Whip they would take if elected, and whether they supported the Liberal policies of abandonment of conscription, fostering of free trade, abolition of imperial preference, proportional representation, self-government for Scotland and Wales, and compulsory profit-sharing.

LORD TEVIOT'S REPLY

Yesterday's contribution to the argument from the National Liberal headquarters was the following statement from Lord Teviot, chairman of the National Liberal Party:—

"Lord Moynihan's reply to Lord Woolton and the statement issued yesterday by Liberal Party headquarters must be taken to indicate that the left-wing Liberals are becoming alarmed at the growing measure of cooperation between Conservatives and Liberals. As Lord Woolton stated in his reply to Lord Moynihan the National Liberals have at least as much right to the name 'Liberal' as the group led by Mr. Clement Davies.

"There are historical reasons for this. In the 1931 General Election all Liberals, except the members of the Lloyd-George family, were, with Conservative backing, elected as supporters of the National Government, but in the autumn of 1932 a section of the Liberals, led by Sir Herbert Samuel (as he then was), broke away from the National Government and joined the Labour Party in opposition. This section was a minority of the Liberal members. The majority, who were known as Liberal Nationals, continued to support the National Government, which they were elected to support. In the 1935 General Election 33 Liberal National members were elected as against 21 'left-wing' Liberals, including the Lloyd-George group.

"In the present Parliament there are 13 Liberal Nationals (now called National Liberals) as against 10 left-wing Liberals. With regard to the allegation that the combined associations under the Woolton-Teviot agreement are 'controlled by the Conservative Party,' the fact is that each of these associations is affiliated to both the National Liberal Council and to the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and in the constituencies control is exercised jointly by local Liberals and Conservatives. It should be added that in the constituencies represented by National Liberals since 1931 the association supporting the member is the original and long-established Liberal association; after 1931 these associations became affiliated to the National Liberal Council.

"In most cases the original title of Liberal association was retained, while in others the title was changed to National Liberal. These associations have as much right to the name 'Liberal' as any association affiliated to the Liberal Party. It may well be asked why this question has suddenly cropped up now. For the past 18 years the National Liberal Party has been working with the Conservatives—it has not been swallowed up, but still maintains its independence. Finally, the National Liberal Party is recognized as such by Parliament, by the Press, and by the people."

7.1. 1950
C.R.

00740 0193 BEC

27. Jan. 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32224

BRITAIN IN INDIA

Mr. Attlee's Tribute to Joint Contribution

The birth of the Indian Republic was marked in London last night by a meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, organised by the India League, at which Mr. Attlee said that in the accomplishment of India's transition both British and Indians had made their contribution. He added:

"Looking back over the years, Indians will not, I think, deny the work that was done by the British in welding together the parts of this great sub-continent and in training Indians in self-government and in the art of administration, although they may think that recognition of the right to self-determination should have come earlier.

"It will always be a matter of pride to us that Indians have learned the principles of democracy from Britain. The new Constitution has been based broadly on the principles and practice of Western democracy."

India had freely chosen to be a republic, but she had also chosen to remain in the Commonwealth.

The Prime Minister said he would like to send to the President of the Republic, Pandit Nehru, and his colleagues and all the people of India his most sincere good wishes. "May they enjoy peace, prosperity, and happiness, and may India be in Asia a light of democracy, freedom, and social justice."

Mr. Clement Davies, leader of the Parliamentary Liberal party, said this was a moment when the British people stood united not only in expressions of goodwill but in pledging themselves to assist in every way the peoples of India and their chosen Government.

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C. R.

11. Feb. 1950

00740 0194 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32237

UNSPECTACULAR

There is something very characteristic of the Prime Minister in the modesty of his election tour, which touched Lancashire yesterday. It would have been easy to have called in the publicity experts, to have made the tour from London to Scotland into a circus, and to have summoned the crowds in a hundred villages and towns to stand and wave. He could have had what the Americans call a "motorcade," adorned with ribbons and enlivened with sirens. But Mr. Attlee dislikes such trappings and he must be honoured for it. No political leader in this election has tried harder to keep the discussion on a plane of reason. This in itself is a sound contribution to democratic politics, and also, perhaps, good election psychology. Rhetoric wears less well than it used to do. People enjoy, but with a touch of impatient cynicism, full-blooded invective. A great many of them are not thinking of this election in terms of black and white. The older generation, perhaps, is more inclined to be absolutist than the younger and to like its political drink strong. But whether people agree with Mr. Attlee or they do not it is no bad thing to find a political leader who puts aside so many of the obvious tricks of the profession. With the content of his speeches the political organisers may be less satisfied. He does not rouse and enthuse. He does not make—or hint at—extravagant promises. There may be something a little terrifying in his assured belief in Socialist remedies, but it goes with a moderation of statement that is an asset if only by force of contrast with others. This is a non-spectacular kind of politics. But is it the kind that wins votes?

00740 0196 BEC

7.1 Attlee.
C.R.
15. Feb. 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32240

AN APPEAL TO THE HEART

Mr. Attlee's Tour

From our Special Correspondent

YORK, TUESDAY.

Mr. Attlee's tour has something of the quality of Mr. Truman's personal approach to the Americans that confounded all the prophets in the Presidential election. Both have that quality of "ordinariness" which is a good deal rarer than it sounds—and both know how to use it. The Prime Minister may or may not succeed in winning the election for the Labour party, but no one can doubt that he has won a secure place for himself in the affections of the people.

He arrived in York this evening in that comfortable, slightly dilapidated car that seems the epitome of the family car that every home-loving man either has in his garage or would like to have. He had been driven from Edinburgh by his wife. A few policemen were needed outside the Co-operative Hall to prevent the crowd from blocking the whole roadway, but they were certainly not needed for the Prime Minister's protection. It was a friendly, homely crowd. It greeted Mr. Attlee by singing "For he's a jolly good fellow," and that was obviously what it felt.

Inside the hall Mr. Attlee could only spare about half an hour, because he has set himself a ferocious programme and had to get on to meetings at Doncaster and Sheffield before he went to bed to-night. He talked neither politics nor economics in any very precise sense; his whole appeal was to kindness and confidence.

He asked people to look back on Labour's four and a half years of government as a whole, and not to let "small griefs" overshadow the big things. "The Labour Government, with the people of the country helping them, have done great work in four and a half years. There is no end to the possibilities of advance when the people will it," he said.

PLANNING AND FREEDOM

He assured anyone who might have any fear of Socialism that Labour believed in the individual, but he declared that the individual could only flourish in a community that gave him a chance to make the most of himself. That, in his view, was the justification of Labour's planning. "If we want to get the society in which everybody has his fair share, we must plan for it," he said.

He dismissed the Conservative programme as inconsistent and incoherent, and said flatly that the promises in "The Right Road for Britain" could not be carried out. He saw the question facing the electors as the simple one of "whether to go forward with Labour or backwards with the Conservatives." He treated the Liberals unkindly by lumping them with "odds and ends of other candidates."

To him the enemy was the Tory party. The essence of his appeal could be put in two words. "Trust Labour," with the corollary "Don't trust the Conservatives."

There may be much in this uncritical approach that the politically minded can pick holes in, but Mr. Attlee is fundamentally appealing to hearts rather than to heads. It is a powerful appeal. The Prime Minister is unquestionably one of Labour's greatest personal assets.

00740 0197 BEC

21. Feb. 1950

The Times (London)

N^o 51621 -

MR. ATTLEE'S CLAIM

Mr. Attlee, addressing an audience of nearly 1,000 in a works canteen in his constituency at Walthamstow, E., yesterday, said:—

"We have had an enormous increase in our output and exports, but the only way in which we can raise our standard of life is by increasing our total production. What we have been working on is to try to see that we did first things, first, and that the producers get a fair share of the wealth they produce, because that influences what is to be produced for home consumption.

"If you have a very uneven distribution of wealth, as we used to have, there would be an over-production of luxury goods for the few and a smaller production of goods for the many, because production will go where purchasing power is. During the last four and a half years there have been great changes and a considerable levelling up. Some people call it levelling down. Of course, it depends where you start.

LEVELLING UP

"If you were right at the top you were levelled down. If you were down you were levelled up. If you were in the middle you were about where you were. But I am certain one of the reasons we have had such good work has been because we have tried so far as we can to have a principle of fair shares.

"Another great task we have had is to try to bring down costs. We will do that by increased efficiency, increased utilization of science, and a considerable addition to capital. Prices are still too high, and we have taken steps to try to reduce the gap in that respect, but many things lie between what the producer gets and what the consumer has to pay."

Mr. Attlee said that a great deal of reorganization was needed, particularly with perishable foods, such as fruit and vegetables. That was not easy because of their seasonal nature. In all such matters Britain, of all countries, could not act by itself. We had to work with other countries. "We have been trying to do that both in the political field and the economic field," he said, "trying to build up not only in this country but in the world the kind of conditions that will make for peace.

MONOPOLY CONTROL

"It has not been awfully easy. You always have a very disturbed world after a great world war, but big advances have been made, particularly in our own case. We wish to maintain the social services, we wish to maintain the principle of fair shares, we shall continue to control monopolies, and where there is a danger of monopolies we shall take them over and turn them into national services."

Mr. Attlee said he was not claiming that in the last four and a half years they had done everything. They had not. They had not built all the houses they would like to have done, but their efforts had been limited by the amount of labour and material.

"I do not claim we have managed to set right all the things that have gone wrong in my view for very many decades, I do say we have made very great advances and that with your support I am confident we can overcome our external economic difficulties provided we get the full support of the people such as we have had before. This country then, far from having shown itself down and out, has shown itself the leading country for reconstruction."

In reply to questions, Mr. Attlee said he could not agree that the National Health Service was a Conservative conception. It was something that was set on foot by a Labour minister in a Coalition Government. The conception of the National Health Service arose out of a report which the Coalition Government called for under the guidance of Mr. Arthur Greenwood, called the Beveridge Report.

WORK FOR PENSIONERS

Speaking at a meeting of the Walthamstow Old Age Pensioners' Association, Mr. Attlee said that every fair-minded person would agree that what had been done for old-age pensioners during the last four and a half years vastly exceeded what had been done by any previous Government. With full employment young people were marrying earlier, so that the demand for houses always outran expectation. They could be quite sure that whenever the time allowed, old-age pensioners would have their full share of what was available.

"I am not going to promise anything I do not think I can afford," said Mr. Attlee. "I am not going to promise you an immediate increase in the flat rates. I am going to say we shall have a look at these things, and see what we can do in fairness to old and young as our resources increase. We are going to try to reduce prices by better scientific methods by cutting out some of the intermediate profits."

TISSUE OF OPPOSITES

Mr. Attlee, accompanied by Mrs. Attlee and their two daughters, was given a big reception from about 2,000 people when he spoke at Leyton Baths last night. Mr. Attlee said he could not pin their opponents down to what particular items of expenditure they thought to be lavish or too wasteful. If there was that lavish waste and extravagance which they alleged, it should have been discussed on the floor of the House of Commons.

The funny thing was that the Opposition were always demanding more expenditure on the special things in which they were interested. In the Conservative programme they were asking for increased expenditure on quite a number of items. What would happen to their Budget if they had to present one nobody knew. It would be a pretty kettle of fish if their Chancellor of the Exchequer—if they had one, but he did not think they would—had to carry out the programme that they put before the country.

00740 0198 BEC

*7) Attlee
L.R.*
27. Feb. 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32250

AT No. 10, DOWNING STREET



A new photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Attlee.

Datum *2. März 1950*

00740 0199 BEC

Interpress (Hamburg)

Nr. 52

Clement Attlee

Nr. 52/1950

Der Mann, der Labour rettet

Premierminister Attlee hat sich durch seine kluge Politik als die entscheidende Persönlichkeit der Arbeiterpartei behauptet.

(Interpress) - Vor dem ersten Weltkrieg verirrte sich ein junger "Ultra-Tory" in die Elendviertel des Londoner East End. Wenige Monate später mietete er sich dort ein. Aus dem 25jährigen stockkonservativen Rechtsanwalt Clement Attlee war der "Slum-Missionar", das Mitglied der Fabian Society und der Sozialist geworden. "Ich wurde nicht durch Marx bekehrt," sagte er einmal, "sondern zuerst mit dem Herzen." Sein Vorbild war der römische Feldherr Fabius, der grosse Zauderer, der Hannibal bezwang, weil er die Geduld besass, auf seine Stunde zu warten. Vierzig Jahre darauf übertrug der schüchterne, nervöse Intellektuelle jener Avantgarde der Arbeiterpartei, der damals für streikende Arbeiter Butterbrote strich und mit herumstrolchenden Jungen Freilübungen machte, das klassische Beispiel der römischen Kriegsgeschichte in die Parteipolitik des 20. Jahrhunderts. In fleissiger Schreibtischarbeit, durch zähes Festhalten an seiner klugen Einsicht, der sich in der entscheidenden Stunde des Wahlkriegsrates auch der radikale Bevan beugen musste, der die Partei in die mächtige Oppositionsstellung zurückziehen wollte, steuerte er Labour soweit nach rechts, dass er den Konservativen genügend Wind aus den Segeln nahm. Heute kann es keinen Zweifel mehr geben, dass kein anderer als Attlee der Mann ist, der den Ausgang der britischen Wahlen für Labour entschieden hat. Der Gigant Churchill ist an dem unauffälligen, so sehr einem Normalbürger gleichenden Fabius gescheitert.

wenden!

Dabei haben weder die Tabakpfeife, ohne die man ihn kaum sieht, noch sein Golfspiel ihm die Popularität eines Winston Churchill gewinnen können, mit dem ihn die Freundschaft ihrer Frauen verbindet. Attlee ist auch kein faszinierender Redner. Offensichtlich scheut er die Menge. Gelegentlich liest er in der Kirche am Bibel-pult vor der Gemeinde das Kapitel des Tages, ein wenig monoton. Ist es diese trockene, nüchterne Sachlichkeit, die ihm Vertrauen wirbt? Gewiss trägt sie dazu bei. Mehr dürfte das Geheimnis seines Erfolges in der Unabhängigkeit seiner Persönlichkeit zu suchen sein. Er besitzt innere Handlungsfreiheit und lässt sich in seinen Entschlüssen nicht beirren. Dass er zudem ein geschliffener Taktiker ist, ein nicht zu ermüdender Verhandlungsführer, gibt ihm das Format, dem es bisher immer noch gelang, mit Parteirevolten fertig zu werden und Kabinettskrisen zu meistern. Nicht nur als Staatsmann, auch als ersten Funktionär des britischen Sozialismus beherrscht Attlee, der durch Überarbeit und Nikotin seinen Magen ruiniert hat und in seltenen Mussestunden Entspannung im Familienkreis oder in seiner kleinen Tischlerwerkstatt sucht, das Pflichtbewusstsein eines Beamten.

Den "Administrator der Revolution" hat man Attlee einmal genannt. Die Revolution und ihre Köpfe allerdings kennt er aus eigener Anschauung. 1936 schon war er in Moskau mit Kaganowitsch, Bulganin, Litwinow und Tuchatschewski zusammengetroffen. Damals hatte man ihn gerade als Nachfolger Lansburys zum Labour-Führer gewählt. Als er dann 1937 nach Spanien fuhr, wagte er sich bis in die Schützengräben vor Madrid, und die Republikaner taufte eine internationale Brigade auf seinen Namen. Auf dem Rückflug im Flugzeug Negrins wurde er fast abgeschossen. Auch dieses Kriegsklima war dem einstigen Hauptmann, der vor 35 Jahren unter Churchill in Gallipoli kämpfte, nicht neu. In Mesopotamien hatte er eine Kompanie zum Sturmangriff auf die türkischen Stellungen geführt und war, nach der Genesung von einer schweren Schrapnellverwundung, im letzten Weltkriegsjahr an der Spitze einer Tank-Abteilung in die deutsche Westfront eingebrochen. Sicher hat ihn auch damals weniger Draufgängertum als Pflichtgefühl getrieben. Es ist die gleiche Tugend, mit der er seit fünf Jahren Grossbritannien regiert.

Interpress (Hamburg)

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2. 3. 1950

Attlee, Clement Richard, britischer Staatsmann. - Geb. 3. Januar 1883 als viertes Kind des Rechtsanwaltes Henry Attlee und seiner Frau Ellen geb. Watson, der Tochter eines namhaften Kunstkritikers. Die Ahnenreihe der Familie Attlee (früher "Althea") lässt sich über mehrere Jahrhunderte zurück verfolgen. Als Achtjähriger Erziehung durch eine Gouvernante. 1892-96 Besuch der Grundschule in Hertfordshire. 1896-1901 Schulbesuch in Haileybury, wo er sich literarischen und Diskussionszirkeln anschloss. 1901-04 Studium der Rechte und neueren Geschichte am University College, Oxford. 1905 Zulassung als Rechtsanwalt, 1906-09 Ausübung einer Anwaltspraxis. 1908 Mitglied der Fabian Society, der Unabhängigen Arbeiter-Partei (Independent Labour Party) und der Nationalen Angestellten-Gewerkschaft (National Union of Clerks). Praktische Sozialarbeit in den Arbeitervierteln Ostlondons. 1910 Generalsekretär von Toynbee Hall, einer Vereinigung sich in der sozialen Arbeit betätigender Intellektueller. 1911 Vorlesungen über Gewerkschaftswesen und Gewerkschaftsrecht am Ruskin College, 1913-23 über Sozialwissenschaft an der Londoner Handelshochschule (London School of Economics). Obgleich Pazifist, meldete er sich bei Kriegsausbruch freiwillig und trat in das South Lancashire Regiment ein. 1915 Hauptmann. Einsatz in Gallipoli und Mesopotamien. Verwundet; Lazarettaufenthalt in Bombay und England. Versetzung zur Panzer-

truppe. Führt eine der ersten Panzer-Einheiten, die 1918 in die deutsche Westfront einbrachen. Rückversetzung zur Infanterie; 1919 als Major entlassen. 1919-20 Bürgermeister von Stepney (London). Von 1919 bis 1927 stets als Vertreter Stepneys in den Londoner Stadtrat wiedergewählt. Unterhausabgeordneter (Arbeiter-Partei) seit 1922 für den Wahlbezirk Limehouse. 1922-24 parlamentarischer Privatsekretär des Oppositionsführers Ramsay MacDonald, dem damaligen Vorsitzenden der Arbeiter-Partei. Unterstaatssekretär im Kriegsministerium des 1. Labour-Kabinetts MacDonald, Januar-November 1924. Als Mitglied der Simon-Kommission 1927 in Indien. Kanzler des Herzogtums von Lancaster (Minister ohne Geschäftsbereich) 1930-31, als Postminister 1931 im 2. Labour-Kabinetts MacDonald. Mitglied des Nationalen Exekutivausschusses der Arbeiter-Partei. 1931 Stellvertretender Vorsitzender der Arbeiter-Partei im Unterhaus. 1935 Vorsitzender der Arbeiter-Partei als Nachfolger von Lansbury, Fraktionsführer und Führer der Opposition im Unterhaus. Geheimer Staatsrat (Privy Councillor) 1935. 1936 zu einem Besuch in der Sowjetunion, 1937 während des Bürgerkrieges in Spanien, wo er die republikanische Front von Madrid besuchte (Eine antifaschistische internationale "Attlee-Brigade" führte seinen Namen). Im Koalitionskabinetts Churchill Lordschutzbewahrer 11. Mai 1940-20. Februar 1942, Dominienminister 20. Februar 1942-25. September 1943, Lordpräsident 25. September 1943-23. Mai 1945, Stellvertreter des Ministerpräsidenten 20. Februar 1942-23. Mai 1945. Ministerpräsident und Präsident des Schatzamtes seit 26. Juli 1945, Verteidigungsminister 26. Juli 1945-5. Oktober 1946. Teilnahme an der Konferenz von San Francisco April 1945, an der Potsdamer Konferenz Juli 1945, an der Pariser Konferenz August 1946. 4.-7. März 1949 zur Besichtigung der Einrichtungen der "Luftbrücke" nach Berlin in Deutschland. In den Parlamentswahlen vom 23. Februar 1950 als Unterhausabgeordneter (Arbeiter-Partei) für den Wahlbezirk Walthamstow/West gewählt. 28. Februar 1950 Neubildung des Kabinetts. Ehrendoktor der Universität Cambridge 1946, der Universität London 1947, der Universität Reading. - Verheiratet seit 10. Januar 1922 mit Frau Violet Helen geb. Millar. Kinder: Janet, geb. 1923, verheiratet November 1947 mit dem Elektroingenieur Harold Shipton; Felicity, als Lehrkraft in einer Schwesternschule tätig; Martin, Angehöriger der britischen Handelsmarine; Alison. - Veröffentlichungen: The Social Worker; The Town Councillor (mit W.A. Robson); The Will and the Way to Socialism; The Labour Party in Perspective, 1937; War comes to Britain. - Anschrift: 10 Downing Street, S.W.1., London; Telefon: Whitehall 1234.
 Interpress (Hamburg)

2.3.50

- E n d e -

P. Attlee
Clement

3. März 1950

Frankfurter Allgemeine Nr. 53

Attlee auf schwierigem Kurs

hl. Das Wahlergebnis hat dem englischen Premierminister keinen weiten Spielraum gelassen. Attlee, jedem kühnen Experiment wesensmäßig abhold, hat ein zu waches Empfinden für Fairneß, als daß er auch nur den Versuch machen würde, einen Kurs zu steuern, zu dem er kein Mandat der Mehrheit der Wähler besitzt. Die kommende Thronrede, mit deren Ausarbeitung der Premier im Augenblick beschäftigt ist — sie wird lediglich vom König verlesen und stellt nicht etwa, trotz der Ichform, die Meinung des Staatsoberhauptes dar —, wird das deutlich machen. Aber schon die Zusammensetzung der Regierung und vor allem des engeren Kabinetts ist Beweis genug. Attlee hat darauf verzichtet, auch nur eines der entscheidenden Ministerien ohne Not neu zu besetzen, obwohl traditionsgemäß alle Minister ihre Posten zu seiner freien Verfügung gestellt hatten.

Es mag dem Premier in der schwierigen Lage, in der er sich befindet, willkommen gewesen sein, daß er keinen neuen Leiter des Foreign Office zu bestimmen brauchte. Obwohl Ernest Bevin sich noch vor der entscheidenden Sitzung des Kabinetts wiederum einer kurzen Krankenhausbehandlung unterziehen mußte und seit langem als amtsmüde gilt, hat er sich bereit erklärt, auch im neuen Kabinett das Außenministerium weiter zu führen. Sein Rücktritt, der in jedem Falle freiwillig gewesen wäre, hätte Attlee vor eine schwer lösbare Aufgabe gestellt, da dann sofort die Frage aufgetaucht wäre, ob er bei der Neubesetzung dieses wichtigen Amtes an Aneurin Bevan hätte vorübergehen können. Von der Bereitschaft Ernest Bevins, seinen Posten beizubehalten, hing also für die Aufstellung der Kabinettsliste sehr viel ab. Die Rivalität zwischen Bevin und Bevan ist ein offenes Geheimnis.

Kommende Stürme

Die starken Worte Attlees nach der geheimen ersten Sitzung der neuen Labour-Fraktion des Unterhauses sind dahin ausgelegt worden, als sei die Regierung entschlossen, von ihren im Wahlprogramm festgelegten Grundsätzen nicht abzuweichen, obwohl deren Verwirklichung bei der knappen Mehrheit mehr als fraglich erscheint. Das würde bedeuten, daß sie auf die acht Stimmen der Liberalen Partei nicht zählen kann und sie durch Zugeständnisse auch nicht erkaufen will. Wahrscheinlicher ist aber, daß der Premierminister durch Entschlossenheit den Eindruck vermeiden wollte, als sei die Regierung zur Ohnmacht verurteilt. Es ist leichter, in einer Fraktionssitzung gegen Heißsporne aus den eigenen Reihen das Feld zu behaupten, als den Stürmen einer gefestigten und gekräftigten Opposition zu trotzen, deren Führer Winston Churchill heißt.

Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß das neue Unterhaus scharfe Kämpfe zwischen den beiden großen Parteien bringen wird, die lediglich im Anfang durch den Umstand gemildert sein werden, daß die Opposition keine große Lust verspürt, allzubald den Versuch zu unternehmen, die Labour-Regierung zu stürzen. Da mehrere Dutzend Labour-Abgeordnete Regierungsposten übernommen haben, die ihre Anwesenheit zu jeder selbst wichtigen Unterhausabstimmung praktisch unmöglich machen, andererseits die Regierung aus eigener Kraft nur über eine Mehrheit von wenigen Stimmen verfügt, schwebt das neue Kabinett Attlee dauernd in der Gefahr einer Niederlage. Das braucht nicht notwendig zu seinem Rücktritt zu führen, der nach der Tradition aber unvermeidbar ist, wenn es sich um wichtige Fragen handelt, in denen die Regierung der Opposition unterliegt.

Labour-Krise?

Ist schon diese Lage für Attlee fast unerträglich, so wird sie noch schwieriger dadurch, daß der unentschiedene Ausgang der Wahlen unumgänglich zu scharfen Kämpfen und Konflikten innerhalb der Labour-Führung in der entscheidenden Frage der weiteren Verstaatlichungen führen muß. Es ist undenkbar, daß der Führer des linken Flügels der Labour Party, Aneurin Bevan, nach Wesen und Vergangenheit nicht alles aufbieten wird, um sich einem maßvollen Kurs zu widersetzen, der für Attlee und Morrison heute mehr noch als vor den Wahlen als der allein gangbare erscheinen muß.

Wir haben darauf hingewiesen, daß es seit den Anfängen der nunmehr fünfzigjährigen Geschichte der Labour Party den Zwiespalt zwischen einer klaren sozialistisch-marxistischen und einer je nach den Zeitumständen mehr oder minder gemäßigten Richtung gibt, die in ihren Anschauungen nicht von Karl Marx lebt. Selbst in den vergangenen fünf Jahren, in denen die Labour Party eine nicht zu erschütternde Mehrheit im Parlament hatte, die Regierung also jeder Richtung Genüge tun konnte, hat sie mit den Vertretern des linksradikalen Kurses in ihren eigenen Reihen große Mühe gehabt. Ihre ungebändigsten Anhänger hat die Partei schließlich ausgestoßen. Sie sind bezeichnenderweise als unabhängige Kandidaten alle bei der Wahl den offiziellen Labour-Kandidaten unterlegen und haben damit das Los der kommunistischen Kandidaten geteilt, denen sie in ihren politischen Anschauungen näherstanden als etwa dem Kreis um Attlee, Morrison und Bevin. Es ist ja bei diesen Wahlen nicht nur die Liberale Partei um den Sinn ihres riesigen Einsatzes gekommen, sondern auch die äußerste radikale Linke außerhalb der Labour Party hat die Schlacht bis zur Zertrümmerung ihrer Hoffnungen verloren.

Die Linksradikalen

Aneurin Bevan weigert sich, daraus zu folgern, daß die vorsichtig zwischen beiden Lagern abwägende Wahltaktik den Attlee und Morrison richtig gewesen ist. Er hat in seinem walisischen Wahlbezirk den größten persönlichen Erfolg erzielt, den irgendeiner der 625 Kandidaten aufzuweisen hat. Aber auch Shinwell, Richard Crossman, Jan Mikardo haben sich zum Teil mit großem Erfolg durchgesetzt. Nicht ein einziger der bedeutenderen Vertreter des linken Flügels Labours ist unterlegen.

Dennoch sind die Argumente Bevans schwach. Was die Labour Party mit einem scharf sozialistischen Kurs, so wie ihn Bevan wünscht, auf der äußersten Linken an Stimmen hätte gewinnen können, hätte sie fraglos mehrfach im Zentrum verloren. Diese Einsicht, der sich der linke Flügel bewußt oder unbewußt verschließt, bewahrt Attlee nicht vor schweren Konflikten. Er hat zwar oft genug bewiesen, daß er in den Fragen der Führung seiner Partei eine überraschende Energie entwickeln kann. Aber hinter Bevan und seinen Gefolgsleuten in der Labour-Führung steht eine Arbeiterschaft, die sich nur widerwillig bereit erklärte, bis zu den Wahlen den Burgfrieden zu wahren. Alle Zeichen deuten darauf hin, daß der Waliser zum Angriff sammelt.

3. März 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32254

PRIME MINISTER CHOOSES HIS JUNIOR TEAM

Eleven New Government Members

MR. GLENVIL HALL DROPPED: POST FOR MISS M. HERBISON

From our Political Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, THURSDAY.

The minor Government changes were announced this afternoon, and the cause of most comment was the dropping from office of Mr. Glenvil Hall, formerly Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He is well liked, and the gentle reasonableness of his manner, which roused some of the Conservatives to attack, had been hardened into something more durable before the end of the last Parliament. Mr. Douglas Jay (whose former office of Economic Secretary to the Treasury has been abolished) takes Mr. Hall's place, and the Treasury is now completely controlled by old Wykehamists: Sir Stafford, Mr. Gaitskell, and Mr. Jay.

Eleven people become Ministers for the first time. They are: Mr. A. Crawley (Under Secretary of State for Air), Mr. Frank Beswick (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Civil Aviation), Mr. Tom Cook (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), Lord Holden (Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations), Mr. Stanley Evans (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food), Mr. Ernest Davies (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Mr. Fred Lee (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and National Service), Mr. Bernard Taylor (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of National Service), Miss Margaret Herbison (Under Secretary of State for Scotland), Mr. Hervey Rhodes (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade), and Lord Lucas (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport).

MR. CALLAGHAN MOVED

Mr. L. J. Callaghan has been moved from Transport to become Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, and Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas has gone from the Air Ministry to be Under Secretary of State at the Home Office. One of the two Parliamentary Secretaryships to the Ministry of Supply has been abolished, and as a result Mr. Jack Jones leaves the Government. Mr. John Freeman remains in his former position.

Miss Herbison takes the place at the Scottish Office formerly held by Mr. J. J. Robertson, who has been relieved of office. Apart from these changes, all the junior appointments remain unaltered.

The more interesting of the new appointments are those of Mr. Hervey Rhodes to the Board of Trade and of Mr. Stanley Evans to the Ministry of Food. They are both middle-aged and moderate, and both have a good deal of horse-sense. Mr. Rhodes, the member for Ashton, is a textile manufacturer and was a member of the Parliamentary mission which visited Japan during the

last Parliament. Mr. Stanley Evans is a sand and gravel merchant. He has shocked the more theoretical Socialists from time to time by his blunt pragmatism.

TWO CABINET MEETINGS

With the Ministerial appointments now made and the House of Commons busy swearing itself in, the Government is almost ready to meet Parliament. There was a Cabinet this morning attended by Mr. George Strauss, the Minister of Supply, whose presence suggests that Ministers were deciding what to say if challenged on iron and steel during the debate on the Address. Another meeting of the Cabinet will be held to-morrow.

Mr. Churchill's visit to Buckingham Palace last night has naturally made Westminster hungry for news, but none is offered. The state of the parties in the House, Mr. Churchill's constitutional position as Leader of the Opposition, and his personal position as a political leader of great experience make his visit natural enough: it would have been more remarkable if it had been paid before the reconstituted Government had been announced.

THE APPOINTMENTS

The new Government appointments announced yesterday are:

Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty: Mr. L. J. Callaghan.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Air Ministry: Mr. Aiden Crawley.
Parliamentary Secretary, Civil Aviation: Mr. Frank Beswick.
Under-Secretary, Colonies: Mr. T. F. Cook.
Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations: Lord Holden.
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Food: Mr. Stanley Evans.
Under-Secretary, Foreign Office: Mr. Ernest A. J. Davies.
Under-Secretary, Home Office: Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas.
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour: Mr. Frederick Lee.
Parliamentary Secretary, National Insurance: Mr. Bernard Taylor.
Parliamentary Secretary, Scottish Office: Miss Margaret Herbison.
Parliamentary Secretary, Town and Country Planning: Mr. G. S. Lindgren.
Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade: Mr. Hervey Rhodes.
Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Transport: Lord Lucas of Chilworth.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury: Mr. Douglas Jay.

[Other appointments on page 10]

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11. März 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32261

MR. ATTLEE'S SEVERE ATTACK ON STEEL AMENDMENT

"Mere Party Manoeuvre"

During the closing stages of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday on the Opposition's amendment regretting "that the gracious Speech contained no reference to the future of the iron and steel industry,"

Mr. ANTHONY EDEN (Deputy Leader of the Opposition) said the Minister of Supply had said the Opposition was approaching the question as though it had won the election. This was not true, for if it were they would be asking for the repeal of the Act. They were not even asking the Government to amend the Act. "All we are asking them to do is to make use of certain powers which they enjoyed under the terms of the Act. We have only asked for this amendment because we contend that the country at the last general election did not endorse or give a verdict in favour of this Act. We have in fact no alternative but to take the action this amendment embodies."

Was it not fair to say that any vote given for a Conservative or Liberal candidate on this issue could honestly be considered as a vote against the Iron and Steel Act. It might be that the majority of the men engaged in the steel industry would like nationalisation. "That is not a decisive argument in favour of nationalising the industry. What this House has to decide is what the view of the nation is on the issue. If you set up a board under this Act, it must be competent. Under present conditions it would be virtually impossible to secure a first-class board."

It had been questioned why they should have brought up the issue so early in the life of the present Parliament. During the last Parliament they did not ask for a debate on the programme of nationalisation at the time of the debate on the King's Speech and when, after a few months, the Government was asked for time to debate nationalisation Mr. Morrison told them they should have raised the matter as an amendment to the Speech.

If the industry was in economic trouble, if there was internal strife, then there might be reason for nationalisation. "Most important of all, the price of our steel is the lowest in the world except for Australia, where there are special reasons which we all know about." The report of the steel division to the E.C.A. said that there would be a surplus of 8,000,000 tons of steel-making capacity in Europe by 1953. "If that is correct, the fact that our steel prices are now so very low in comparison with competitors will have a greater bearing in 1953 than it has to-day." If the Government believed that, by transferring the industry at a time when prices were so low and the record so good, it would cheapen the cost of making steel and make the industry more effective then the divide between the Opposition and the Government was complete.

No One Specific Issue

Mr. C. R. ATTLEE (Prime Minister), replying on the debate, said: "The broad decision a general election comes to is by what party the country should be governed, and they take that party with its programme. There is no doubt that whatever else was decided most emphatically at the general election it was that they did not want Mr. Churchill and his party. Accordingly his programme fell with him, and it was not for want of angling for the Liberal vote. I cannot admit for a moment the right of the Opposition to say that the votes cast for the Conservative party and for

the Liberal party were given on one specific issue."

"If there was one overmastering issue on which the Opposition wished to challenge the Government, why had they put down two official amendments to the Address. It has never been done before. Everyone knows that an amendment to the Address is equivalent to a vote of censure."

"An official Opposition amendment means that those who sponsored it are prepared to take the responsibility—(Opposition cheers)—and the same applies to those who support it (Government cheers). It was a little difficult to follow the argument of Mr. Bowen. He wanted to have the best of both worlds—to have the credit of voting against the Government without the risk. I suggest the Liberals must take their full responsibility. I must assume that this is sincerely meant on both sides and that the Liberal party would hope to see the Opposition in power." It had been suggested that there should be yet another election on that issue. How many elections was the country to have? Mr. Churchill had had two elections on that and he had been beaten both times. Was every industry to be kept in a state of suspense until he won a general election?

"The design in all this is, of course, directed to the Liberal vote more than to the Government. In fact, I think it is obvious that the Conservative party, and particularly Mr. Churchill, is much more interested in trying to destroy the Liberal party than the Government. Mr. Churchill has been a very ardent lover of this very elderly spinster—the Liberal party. He has an inescapable belief that if it was not for the existence of the Liberal party, all those who vote Liberal would vote for him I think that is open to doubt. I am certain that with a party which believes so strongly in freedom it would be a great mistake to think that all of them, or even a majority of them, if there was not a Liberal party would vote Conservative."

"This amendment is put forward as a party manoeuvre. I do not think it is genuine, and I think it is a pity. We have brought forward a King's Speech, admittedly not exciting, which

recognises the conditions of the times under which this House is acting and recognising the play of forces in the country. We shall not shrink the responsibility which we have taken upon us in spite of our small majority.

"The country will, in due course, judge between the sense of responsibility evinced by the Government in the gracious Speech, and the irresponsibility of the factious manoeuvring in the putting down of this amendment. The dates at which the Act comes into operation are a long way ahead. What the right hon. gentleman has done is to select a particular occasion which he knows is the equivalent of a vote of censure, and he proposes to press that to a division. In the present position that is an irresponsible act, and I think most members on the bench opposite think so."

"An action of this kind will not raise their reputation and position in the country. I am sorry for it because, in these times, we should try to see that the government of this country is carried on under these very difficult circumstances in such a way as will give confidence to the world. This action will go far to destroy the confidence people had that the Conservative party could rise above mere party manoeuvres."

Others who took part in the debate included Mr. H. C. P. Fraser (C.—Stafford and Stone), Lord Hinchinbrooke (C.—Dorset S.), Mr. G. Jeger (Lab.—Goole), Mr. F. J. Errol (C.—Altrincham and Sale), and Mr. G. R. Chetwynd (Lab.—Stockton-on-Tees).

The Opposition's amendment was defeated by 310 votes to 296, and the debate was adjourned.

00740 0204 BEC

31. März 1950

The Manchester Guardian
No 32278

MR. ATTLEE DECIDES TO CARRY ON

Back to 1905 for Precedent

LABOUR'S LOST SHEEP FACING THE WHIP

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

WESTMINSTER, THURSDAY.

Mr. Attlee, who presided at a Cabinet meeting this morning, told the House of Commons this afternoon that he did not intend to regard last night's defeat (on the motion for the adjournment of the House) as a vote of censure on the Government. Ministers will therefore carry on.

The defeat compelled the Prime Minister to lay before the House the principles by which he would be guided in deciding whether his Government had received a mortal blow or merely a bruise. It is curious that he chose a precedent not in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's declaration of 1924 but in the conduct of Mr. Arthur Balfour in 1905. Action is to be decided in each case that arises "by time, by circumstances, and by the subject of the debate."

Thus the Prime Minister treated the constitutional aspect of the affair. The Parliamentary aspect which the house dwelt on longest to-day—and in its gayest mood—is the least sombre. No Government should expect consideration from any Opposition and, as Mr. Attlee said to-day, "The Government forces ought to have been in full strength."

BACK-STAGE REPROACHES

The back-stage arguments and reproaches reach the level of high comedy. The Opposition machine has been attacked by Lord Beaverbrook's press: Lord Beaverbrook has had his answer. Some Labour members sought the advice of Tories yesterday evening and when told by their enemies that there was not the slightest chance of a

division they ingenuously went home. Other Labour members got the same advice from their own Whips and went home perhaps not quite so ingenuously but in culpable innocence. Some Labour members tend to regard the Tories as cads for voting on an adjournment motion. "There never is a vote on the adjournment is there?" On May 8, 1940, Neville Chamberlain's Government was killed by a division on an adjournment motion. The news that the Labour Opposition would divide the House at the end of that debate was announced by Mr. Herbert Morrison.

Labour's main retort in the confusion of last night's defeat is to claim that Mr. Anthony Eden, with his promise not to be "fractious or factious," and Mr. Walter Elliot, with his counsel of moderation to a meeting of Conservatives the other day, have been scorned by Mr. Churchill's practice.

The persistence of this charge has drawn a comment from the Tories. Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill though expressing themselves differently think alike; Mr. Elliot's remarks were of no consequence—he was speaking for himself. Henceforth Ministers who may have been tempted by weariness to rely on Mr. Eden's disavowal of faction and faction, will revert to the attitude of sleepless suspicion of the Opposition which they should never have abandoned. Indeed the Opposition is waiting for the results of the by-elections before deciding just how much further it can go in exhausting the Government.

Certainly it is a strain on both sides. Barristers who hope to keep their practices, members with urgent interests in the remoter parts of Wales and Scotland, find it difficult always to be in their places in the House so that both sides can poll their full strength. When either side fails to secure a good vote it is chided by its candid friends.

All this means that the pressure for another general election with the hope that it would produce a working majority for one party will increase. The Parliamentary structure is ramshackle if the "Council of State" idea

does not prevail—and it will not prevail at any rate until another general election has shown that the electorate will produce no clear majority.

The party aspect of last night's defeat is taken seriously by both sides. The Tories are triumphant. They hope to have wiped out the shame of their poor vote in the division which ended the debate on Seretse Khama on Tuesday.

Labour party officials are naturally enraged by the sloppiness of their own supporters. The Parliamentary Labour party, which heard something about discipline yesterday, will hear a good deal more next week. The sanctions that can be applied against offenders are these, in mounting order of severity: (1) a reproach from the regional Whip; (2) a reproach from the Chief Whip; (3) reference to the liaison committee of the Parliamentary party; (4) withdrawal of party whip; (5) reference to the national executive of the party; (6) denial of endorsement as prospective candidate; (7) expulsion from the party.

The Chief Whip should have no difficulty now in explaining to his awkward squad what the effects of abstention from a division may be. There were moments during the last Parliament when rebellion was on such a scale that the Government, with its great majority, approached the danger-zone, but there were always just enough to save the rebels from the consequences of their own actions. Not so now.

The Government was beaten last night by 26 votes. The lost sheep have been sought diligently to-day and it appears that 21 of them are under a cloud (whether for their simple trust in the sportsmanship of the Tories, their ignorance of their duties, or their wilfulness is not known). They are:

Mr. Fred Bellenger (Bassetlaw), formerly War Minister, Mr. Raymond Blackburn (Northfield), Miss Elaine Burton (South Coventry), Mrs. A. Cullen (Gorbals), Mr. N. Dodds (Dartford), Mr. S. Dye (South-west Norfolk), Mr. E. Evans (Lowestoft).

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Mr. W. K. Field (North Paddington), Mr. Eric Fletcher (East Islington), Mr. Peter Freeman (Newport), Mr. Arthur Greenwood (Wakefield), Mr. R. J. Gunter (Doncaster), Mr. J. D. Mack (Newcastle under Lyme), Mr. I. Mikardo (South Reading), Mr. W. H. Oldfield (Gorton), Mr. G. A. Pargiter (Southall), Mr. J. Paton (North Norwich), Mr. R. Richards (Wrexham), Mr. J. J. Robertson (Berwick and East Lothian), formerly Parliamentary Under Secretary for Scotland, Mr. M. Turner-Samuels (Gloucester), and Mr. Tudor Watkins (Brecon and Radnor).

"MISSING" MINISTERS

Seven Ministers (of whom one was Mr. Ernest Bevin, now in Strasbourg) were absent and had not "paired"—that is to say had not had their absence cancelled out by arrangement with Tory absentees. Excepting Mr. Bevin, the missing Ministers were Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. E. Shinwell, Mr. James Griffiths, Mr. George Strauss, Mr. Hector McNeil, and Mr. Ernest Davies. If these Ministers and the lost sheep (some of the Ministers would no doubt have been counted among the sheep if their rank had not saved them) had supported the Government last night honour would have been saved by one vote. There were in all 51 Labour members missing from the division lobby. Of these 15, including seven Ministers, had "paired" with Opposition members. These were Mr. Harold Wilson, Mr. John Strachey, Mr. R. R. Stokes, Mr. Maurice Webb, Mr. David Hardman, Mr. A. G. Bottomley, Mr. Hervey Rhodes (all Ministers), Mr. David Kirkwood, Mr. Tom Brown, and Mr. McInnes (all ill), Mr. G. Cooper, Mr. Fred Longden, Mr. Marcus Lipton, Mr. E. W. Moeran, and Mr. C. C. Poole.

Eight others who did not vote have for various reasons dodged the official cloud. They are Mr. A. Albu, Mr. F. Anderson, Mr. G. Dagg, Mr. Jack Jones, the Rev. Gordon Lang, Mr. D. L. Mort, Mr. O. G. Willey, and Mr. Henry Osborne.

Whatever doubts may have existed hitherto in the minds of Labour members it will now be made clear to them that the Government will treat all votes on the Budget and on the Finance Bill (unless a trifling issue is raised) as votes of confidence.

00740 0206 BEC

16. Mai 1950

The Times (London)
Nº 51692

MR. ATTLEE ON THE WAY TO
PEACE

ACCEPTANCE OF COMMON
IDEAS

The PRIME MINISTER and FIELD-MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM spoke yesterday to a large gathering of young people at the Albert Hall assembled for the "World Forum of Youth" organized by the *Daily Mail* in association with the Council of Education in World Citizenship. Twenty-six delegates to the forum from 15 countries overseas have spent the past nine weeks in this country.

MR. ATTLEE, speaking on "The Commonwealth and the World," said that the British Commonwealth was a unique organization. A powerful State had by deliberate policy transferred its power to those who were formerly subordinates and made them equal partners. The organization worked without any constitution. Twice, in the great test of war, it had proved stronger than States which from the point of view of a paper constitution seemed to be far more closely knit together. Cooperation between peoples and States did not really depend on the perfection of written constitutions but on the will to cooperate and on the acceptance of common ideas. If they wanted to build a peaceful world they would not build it on a mass of formalities. They would build it, first of all, on an acceptance of common ideas, particularly the common idea of democracy. They would build it on personal friendships and on the understanding of other people's points of view.

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM said that when young people went out to set this world to rights they should do it in a spirit of adventure. So much was done for us in these days that we were inclined to sit back and wait for somebody to do something for us when we should be much better off doing it ourselves.

00740 0207 BEC

p Attlee
Clement

The Manchester Guardian

14. Juni 1950

No 32341

BRITAIN'S RESERVE ON SCHUMAN PLAN

No Alternative Proposals

A CAUTIOUS STATEMENT BY MR. ATTLEE

FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

WESTMINSTER, TUESDAY.

While an elegant fraction of the population of London was going off in the sunshine to Ascot and Lancashire were battling to make 300 runs in 200 minutes at Lord's, the House of Commons reassembled to-day for its seven-week lap before it goes into recess again. The House has quite a lot on its plate or, more reverently, on its mind, as question-hour showed, but there was no doubting which current subject it was keenest about. It was the Schuman Plan and Mr. Attlee's promised statement, and the interest in the statement had certainly not been diminished by to-day's publication of the Labour Executive Committee's declaration of policy on European unity.

When Mr. Attlee had made his statement Mr. Churchill sweetly inquired of the Prime Minister whether his statement was to be collated with the Labour Executive's statement of policy, to which Mr. Attlee quietly replied that the Executive's pronouncement was not a statement of Government policy but a general statement of the Executive's attitude to the ultimate necessities of fully developed European co-operation.

LABOUR M.P.'S' QUESTIONS

There was some amusement on the Opposition benches at this attempt of Mr. Attlee to divorce the two statements. Questions asked by one or two Labour members showed that they were more than willing to rest gratefully on the executive's rejection of the idea of a supra-national authority, and

Mr. Harold Davies, the Labour member for Leek, took it as the rejection of any kind of threat to Socialist planning for full employment.

Mr. Attlee's statement repeated the Government's arguments for not joining in the Franco-German negotiations. What was new in it was his announcement that the British Government does not intend to put forward alternative proposals, since they may be considered by the French Government as a diversion. This was coupled with a firm warning to the House that the Government must have regard to the basic economic needs of the country and its own responsibilities in all parts of the world.

The statement concluded with a reminder of how much national freedom of action is already being limited by the claims of Atlantic solidarity and of how the new "decisive and formative" phase of Atlantic organisation, following the Foreign Ministers' conference, must involve an unprecedented surrender by Governments to the right to do as they please.

Once Mr. Attlee called the Schuman plan a "valuable piece of European co-operation" and once he described it as "the sketch of a great idea." There followed a great to-do about the need for an early debate. Mr. Churchill was naturally in the van in insisting that there should be an early debate—next week in fact. In this he was strongly supported by Mr. Clement Davies and by Mr. Eden, sitting beside him.

However, nothing came of it. Mr. Morrison, while not opposed to a debate, deprecated a debate until the House could be put in possession of the details of the plan. A debate before the House had these details, Mr. Morrison urged, could only be a debate in a void and of no earthly use. If the Opposition was set on having a debate and would give up one of its Supply days for it the Government could not resist, but if the Government was to provide the time it must be on his condition that the details

of the plan must first be available to the House.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Davies took the view that Mr. Morrison was arrogating to himself the right that properly belongs to the House itself—its right to have a debate on a matter of such great moment. Mr. Davies repeated what he has said outside the House that the Schuman Plan is the most promising development since the war, while Mr. Churchill reinforced his arguments by claiming that if the debate had to wait on the emergence of the plan from the present negotiations it probably could not be held for months. Nothing, however, could move Mr. Morrison from the position he had taken up, and Mr. Attlee, who was frequently being drawn into the discussion, took exactly the same line as Mr. Morrison.

This battle over, the debate was interesting for the fleeting illumination it provided of the attitude of members to the deeper issues raised by the Schuman Plan. For one thing, it is quite clear that the Opposition does not see its way clearly yet. Mr. Churchill was on his feet time and again on the question of the debate and all ears were strained to catch every syllable from him on the merits of the plan itself. But none came: at least not for a long time.

At last, however, roused by a remark of Mr. Attlee, Mr. Churchill protested that he was not prejudging the issue. The plan, he conceded, required careful consideration in many of its aspects. That bit of hedging was as far as the House got to discovering where the Opposition stands on the plan.

Mr. Harold Davies's fervent outburst against a supra-national authority that might interfere with British Socialist planning, already mentioned, drew a good deal of support on the Labour benches. That seemed to show how the minds of the bulk of the Government's supporters were moving. But there were Labour members who struck a different note.

Mr. Edelman sought an assurance from the Prime Minister that the Government gives its full support to the idea of a European steel and coal organisation. To this Mr. Attlee merely replied that Mr. Edelman would find the Government's views set out in the White Paper. Sir Richard Acland suggested that the Government should put forward its own ideas, but Mr. Attlee repeated that the Government did not want to embarrass the French Government by putting forward proposals of its own.

Mr. J. B. Hynd, who once answered for German affairs as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, favoured a debate. He maintained that the plan, in its principles and implications was a proper subject for debate and that a debate would be valuable since it would enlighten the French Government on British opinion about the plan.

DIALECTICAL SUNSHINE

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A shaft of dialectical sunshine fell across the discussion once. Mr. Churchill is obsessed with the thought that Mr. Attlee is the only Socialist Prime Minister in the English-speaking world. To-day he leaned across the box to commiserate with Mr. Attlee on this distinction. Mr. Attlee made a pleasing rally. He reminded Mr. Churchill that he was the only Conservative Prime Minister among the Allies during the war and also that he received strong support from the Labour Governments of the Commonwealth.

"I was only expressing my sympathy with your loneliness," rejoined Mr. Churchill soothingly. Mr. Attlee's retort came quick and handsome. He was, he said, only fortifying himself by the recollection how well Mr. Churchill stood up to his isolation during the war. Honours in this encounter were certainly even.

00740 0208 BEC

P Attlee
Clement

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No 32341

THE SCHUMAN PLAN

Mr. Attlee was plain and honest in his comments on the Anglo-French disagreement about the Schuman Plan. The White Paper leaves no further doubt that the French tactics were highly unusual. It would have been easy enough for the British Government to have hidden behind its justified objections to these tactics. The Prime Minister instead went out of his way to stress that he does not resent the French conduct and that the British Government "appreciates" that there were good reasons for "achieving the greatest possible impact for this new departure in Franco-German relations." This required a good deal of patience. Not only did M. Schuman announce his plan to the press in Paris only a few hours after giving the scantiest notice to Mr. Bevin, but a fortnight later he sent to London an invitation to attend a conference which was to be opened by a declaration accepting the principle of the Schuman Plan; and in the same communication he stated that the German Chancellor had already accepted both the invitation and the terms of the declaration. The fact that German agreement had been secured before Britain was even invited did not make progress easy for the British Government. It was no longer possible for Britain to attend the talks without being committed in advance to the French formula that the decisions of the proposed coal-steel authority would be binding on the participating Governments. But while clearly setting out the "substantial difference of approach" on procedure, the Prime Minister refrained from seeking shelter behind diplomatic tactics. He did not try to counter the temporary diplomatic triumph won by France, nor even the impression that will be created both in Europe and in America that Britain is once again refusing to be drawn into Europe.

In the face of the Labour party document rejecting any supra-national authority that might interfere with national industrial planning, Mr. Attlee would have found it hard to pretend that the difference of opinion with the French Government was merely over procedure. It is, in fact, fundamental. Nothing that he said, and nothing that the White Paper reveals, conflicts with the statement made by Mr. Acheson in Texas yesterday that the Schuman Plan held "the promise of a great new era in Europe." His hope that the scheme will help to deal with "ancient rivalries and prejudices" is shared by the British Government. Mr. Attlee emphasised that the Government wanted to "help and not hinder" the progress of the scheme, and hoped to find ways of associating this country with the pooling of coal and steel resources in the Rhine basin. But he left no doubt that "the basic economic needs and security of the United Kingdom" are the paramount consideration. On Tuesday, therefore, the French and German and some other European Governments will open discussions on the pooling plan without British participation. They will declare at the outset that they intend to set up an international authority to carry out the pooling of coal and steel production, and that the decisions of the authority will be binding on the participating Governments. It is a departure of high promise and immense implications. If it succeeds, we shall regret having remained outside. In that case we shall probably find some mechanism by which Britain can be associated with the pool. Meanwhile we have been outmanoeuvred by the quick and ruthless tactics of the French Foreign Minister. We shall have to wait for another opportunity to consider the issue of European industry at our own pace.

007400209 BEC

27. Juni 1950

The Manchester Guardian

No 32352

DEEP CONCERN OVER KOREA

Premier's Statement

In a statement on the situation in Korea Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister, said in the House of Commons yesterday:

"Reports were received yesterday indicating that forces from North Korea had crossed the 38th parallel at a number of points in the course of invasion of the Korean Republic. At the request of the Government of the United States of America an emergency meeting of the Security Council was held at which a resolution was passed to the effect that the action of the forces of North Korea constituted a breach of the peace.

"The resolution called for the immediate cessation of hostilities and called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel. The resolution further called upon all members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities. The delegate of the Soviet Union did not attend.

"His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that this breach of the peace should have occurred in a country which is the special responsibility of the United Nations and where a United Nations commission is actually functioning. His Majesty's Government welcome the resolution adopted by the Security Council and it is their earnest hope that all concerned will duly comply with it."

The Premier promised Mr. Churchill to keep the House informed from day to day in the next day or so on the matter.

Mr. A. Fenner Brockway (Lab.—Eton and Slough) asked whether the Premier, "in view of the momentous gravity of a possible situation and the absence of the Russian members from the Security Council owing to the Chinese representation upon it," would take steps through the Secretary of the United Nations to try to find other means of opening discussions with Russia in this matter.

The Prime Minister: This is a matter before the Security Council. It is not a matter of opening discussions with the Russians. This situation has arisen between North Korea and South Korea.

Mr. Peter Roberts (C.—Heeley): If the Northern Korean Government refuses to consider this resolution will he advise his representatives in the United Nations to ask for the use of the atomic bomb on the capital of North Korea?

Labour members: "Oh!"

Mr. Roberts: Oh, Yes. . . .

The Speaker: That is a hypothetical question and is bound to be out of order.

PRIME MINISTER ON THE SITUATION IN KOREA

"The World is Indebted to America for Its Prompt Action"

One of the Excuses

Moving in the House of Commons yesterday "That this House fully supports the action taken by his Majesty's Government, in conformity with their obligations under the United Nations Charter, in helping to resist the unprovoked aggression against the Republic of Korea,"

Mr. ATTLEE (Prime Minister) recalled that Korea had become a fully independent State in 1895 as a result of the Sino-Japanese war, and had subsequently fallen under the domination of Japan. When Japan was defeated in 1945 it had been arranged between the Governments of Russia and the United States that all the Japanese north of the 38th parallel should surrender to the Russians and those to the south to the Americans. "It was not the intention to make a permanent division of the country. Repeated endeavours were made by the United States to bring about unification of the country. All those attempts were frustrated by the insistence of the Russians that only Communist-controlled parties should be consulted in the formation of a Provisional Government.

"In those circumstances the problem of Korea was submitted to the United Nations, and in November, 1947, the General Assembly set up a temporary commission which supervised the elections held in May, 1948. The result was the establishment of the present Government, headed by Mr. Syngman Rhee, the President. It is alleged that here is an example of American imperialism. What happened was that the United States Government went to the United Nations, they arranged that there should be full and free elections, and they left the government of that country to Koreans. Nothing could be less like either old-fashioned or new-fashioned imperialism." The United States occupation was formally ended in 1948, the last United States troops left in June, 1949, and the British Government recognised the Korean Republic in January, 1949, after recognition had been granted by America and China. The recognition of many other States followed.

On December 12, 1948, the General Assembly resolved that a lawful Government of the Republic of Korea had been established, having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations' Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of Korean people lived. The resolution stated that that Government was based on elections which expressed the free will of the electorate and that it was the only such Government in Korea. When the invasion took place, the commission was in the country. In the meantime, North Korea had developed into a Communist satellite State. On May 30, 1950, South Korean elections were observed by the commission. The South Korean Government was a fully constituted and

"I say that because one of the excuses put up for the attack on Korea is that it is not a 'very good' Government. I am not concerned to defend that Government or to estimate whether it is 'good' or 'bad.' I never knew that the excuse for assaulting somebody who is peacefully proceeding on his way was that his character was not awfully good." The United Nations was never allowed in North Korea, and on June 25 the invasion started. There was an extreme inversion of fact when it was suggested that South Korea had attacked North Korea. Anything less likely in view of the fact that North Korea was heavily armed and South Korea was not could not possibly be made, and there was also not the slightest sign or any evidence. "The world was faced by an act of naked aggression committed against a sovereign State established by the United Nations and recognised as the lawful Government of South Korea. There could not be a greater affront to the United Nations, and any suggestion of condoning such action would, in my view, have struck at the whole basis of the United Nations, which has been set up to try to preserve the peace of the world." (Cheers.)

Mr. Attlee recalled the emergency meeting of the Security Council on June 25, the resolution then passed by nine votes to none, and the resolution of June 27 recommending assistance to South Korea which was passed by seven votes to one. Dealing with the validity of those resolutions, he pointed out that the Charter laid it down that decisions of the Security Council, on other than procedural matters, must be by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurrent vote of the permanent members. The resolution of June 27 did not include the concurring vote of Russia, which was absent from the proceedings. The custom and practice had grown up that if a permanent member present at a meeting chose to abstain from voting, the resolution of the Council should be regarded as legally effective and not invalidated by the fact that the permanent member had not cast an affirmative vote in favour of it.

Practice in the U.N.

That practice had had the support of Russia. Other members had, on occasion, abstained, such as Britain in connection with Israel's admission and France and China in connection with Indo-China. If a member of the Security Council—in particular a permanent member—chose to refrain from exercising the right of voting, not by failing to vote when present but by refraining from being present, that member must be regarded as having deliberately abstained from voting. The absence of a permanent member had on two occasions been accepted as not invalidating a resolution. The first was in 1946 in the Soviet-Persian dispute when Russia absented itself, and more recently in connection with the Kashmir dispute. There was, if anything, a stronger reason for regarding the deliberate absence of a member as not invalidating a vote. The Charter prescribed that the Security Council should be so organised that "each member shall be represented at all times on such an organisation." That made it clear it was not intended that the activities of the Council should be impeded by the

It justified the conclusion that the Charter did not permit a permanent member, by deliberate absence, to impose a blanket veto on the proceedings of the Security Council. It was also suggested that the State of China was not validly represented. Under the rule, the right of an individual to take part in the proceedings of the Security Council was a matter of credential and had to be decided by examination of credentials. It was clearly a matter of procedure and by practice had been treated, as such—that was, the validity of a member's credentials was a matter to be decided by a simple majority of seven members. When Dr. Tsiang was originally appointed as representative of China there was no dispute as to validity. His right to continue to represent China had been challenged and subjected to a vote. His right to represent China and the right of the Nationalist Government to appoint a representative had been approved by a majority of the Security Council. Therefore, Dr. Tsiang was entitled to occupy China's seat and Russia had no right to impose its view of Chinese representation on every member of the Council.

In view of the sudden aggression and great disparity between the forces of North and South Korea there was great danger in delay, which might well have meant that the United Nations would have been faced with a fait accompli. "Past experience has shown that is the favourite technique of the aggressor. I think the world is indebted to the Government of the United States for its prompt action—(cheers)—and with equal promptitude his Majesty's Government decided to support this action. (Hear, hear.) I believe the Government was justified in taking this action on behalf of the Charter." He thought no one could have any doubt whatever that there was a case of naked aggression. "Surely with the history of the last twenty years fresh in our minds no one can doubt it is vitally important that aggressors should be halted

at the outset. (Cheers.) If the United Nations is not to go the way of the League of Nations, the members must be prepared to act when need arises. If the peoples wish to avoid another world war they must support their Governments in asserting the rule of law.

A Great Solidarity

"I do not conceal from the House there are dangers in the situation, but the question is: 'Is it dangerous to take action or to fail to take action?' The danger of war would be increased were action not taken in this case. (Hear, hear.) Forty-three States have intimated their approval of the action taken in this matter. There is a great solidarity among all the free and democratic countries of the world. This act is one of open aggression, but it is only one manifestation of Communist pressure all over the world. We are resisting its attack in Malaya. We have to be on our guard in other parts of the world, and we are taking all the steps possible to try to build up conditions in the world which will not be fruitful soil for Communist propaganda.

"The main matter that concerns all of us is the preservation of peace. I have no doubt at all that this matter has to be carried through and settled to show that aggression does not pay. I hope it will be realised by all the people in all the free countries that to preserve peace the rule of law must be upheld, that we are in this and you cannot leave it to someone else to do it. It concerns us all. We have pledged ourselves to the support of the United Nations. We have taken action with others and I confidently ask the House and the country for its unanimous support.

PRIME MINISTER ON THE SITUATION IN KOREA

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Moving in the House of Commons yesterday "That this House fully supports the action taken by his Majesty's Government, in conformity with their obligations under the United Nations Charter, in helping to resist the unprovoked aggression against the Republic of Korea,"

Mr. ATTLEE (Prime Minister) recalled that Korea had become a fully independent State in 1895 as a result of the Sino-Japanese war, and had subsequently fallen under the domination of Japan. When Japan was defeated in 1945 it had been arranged between the Governments of Russia and the United States that all the Japanese north of the 38th parallel should surrender to the Russians and those to the south to the Americans. "It was not the intention to make a permanent division of the country. Repeated endeavours were made by the United States to bring about unification of the country. All those attempts were frustrated by the insistence of the Russians that only Communist-controlled parties should be consulted in the formation of a Provisional Government.

"In those circumstances the problem of Korea was submitted to the United Nations, and in November, 1947, the General Assembly set up a temporary commission which supervised the elections held in May, 1948. The result was the establishment of the present Government, headed by Mr. Syngman Rhee, the President. It is alleged that here is an example of American imperialism. What happened was that the United States Government went to the United Nations, they arranged that there should be full and free elections, and they left the government of that country to Koreans. Nothing could be less like either old-fashioned or new-fashioned imperialism." The United States occupation was formally ended in 1948, the last United States troops left in June, 1949, and the British Government recognised the Korean Republic in January, 1949, after recognition had been granted by America and China. The recognition of many other States followed.

On December 12, 1948, the General Assembly resolved that a lawful Government of the Republic of Korea had been established, having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations' Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of Korean people lived. The resolution stated that that Government was based on elections which expressed the free will of the electorate and that it was the only such Government in Korea. When the invasion took place, the commission was in the country. In the meantime, North Korea had developed into a Communist satellite State. On May 30, 1950, South Korean elections were observed by the commission. The South Korean Government was a fully constituted and recognised Government based on elections supervised by the United Nations.

"I say that because one of the excuses put up for the attack on Korea is that it is not a 'very good' Government. I am not concerned to defend that Government or to estimate whether it is 'good' or 'bad.' I never knew that the excuse for assaulting somebody who is peacefully proceeding on his way was that his character was not awfully good." The United Nations was never allowed in North Korea, and on June 25 the invasion started. There was an extreme inversion of fact when it was suggested that South Korea had attacked North Korea. Anything less likely in view of the fact that North Korea was heavily armed and South Korea was not could not possibly be made, and there was also not the slightest sign or any evidence. "The world was faced by an act of naked aggression committed against a sovereign State established by the United Nations and recognised as the lawful Government of South Korea. There could not be a greater affront to the United Nations, and any suggestion of condoning such action would, in my view, have struck at the whole basis of the United Nations, which has been set up to try to preserve the peace of the world." (Cheers.)

Mr. Attlee recalled the emergency meeting of the Security Council on June 25, the resolution then passed by nine votes to none, and the resolution of June 27 recommending assistance to South Korea which was passed by seven votes to one. Dealing with the validity of those resolutions, he pointed out that the Charter laid it down that decisions of the Security Council, on other than procedural matters, must be by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurrent vote of the permanent members. The resolution of June 27 did not include the concurring vote of Russia, which was absent from the proceedings. The custom and practice had grown up that if a permanent member present at a meeting chose to abstain from voting, the resolution of the Council should be regarded as legally effective and not invalidated by the fact that the permanent member had not cast an affirmative vote in favour of it.

Practice in the U.N.

That practice had had the support of Russia. Other members had, on occasion, abstained, such as Britain in connection with Israel's admission and France and China in connection with Indo-China. If a member of the Security Council—in particular a permanent member—chose to refrain from exercising the right of voting, not by failing to vote when present but by refraining from being present, that member must be regarded as having deliberately abstained from voting. The absence of a permanent member had on two occasions been accepted as not invalidating a resolution. The first was in 1946 in the Soviet-Persian dispute when Russia absented itself, and more recently in connection with the Kashmir dispute. There was, if anything, a stronger reason for regarding the deliberate absence of a member as not invalidating a vote. The Charter prescribed that the Security Council should be so organised that "each member shall be represented at all times on such an organisation." That made it clear it was not intended that the activities of the Council should be impeded by the absence of a member.

It justified the conclusion that the Charter did not permit a permanent member, by deliberate absence, to impose a blanket veto on the proceedings of the Security Council. It was also suggested that the State of China was not validly represented. Under the rule, the right of an individual to take part in the proceedings of the Security Council was a matter of credential and had to be decided by examination of credentials. It was clearly a matter of procedure and by practice had been treated as such—that was, the validity of a member's credentials was a matter to be decided by a simple majority of seven members. When Dr. Tsiang was originally appointed as representative of China there was no dispute as to validity. His right to continue to represent China had been challenged and subjected to a vote. His right to represent China and the right of the Nationalist Government to appoint a representative had been approved by a majority of the Security Council. Therefore, Dr. Tsiang was entitled to occupy China's seat and Russia had no right to impose its view of Chinese representation on every member of the Council.

In view of the sudden aggression and great disparity between the forces of North and South Korea there was great danger in delay, which might well have meant that the United Nations would have been faced with a fait accompli. "Past experience has shown that is the favourite technique of the aggressor. I think the world is indebted to the Government of the United States for its prompt action—(cheers)—and with equal promptitude his Majesty's Government decided to support this action. (Hear, hear.) I believe the Government was justified in taking this action on behalf of the Charter." He thought no one could have any doubt whatever that here was a case of naked aggression. "Surely with the history of the last twenty years fresh in our minds no one can doubt it is vitally important that aggressors should be halted

at the outset. (Cheers.) If the United Nations is not to go the way of the League of Nations, the members must be prepared to act when need arises. If the peoples wish to avoid another world war they must support their Governments in asserting the rule of law.

A Great Solidarity

"I do not conceal from the House there are dangers in the situation, but the question is: 'Is it dangerous to take action or to fail to take action?' The danger of war would be increased were action not taken in this case. (Hear, hear.) Forty-three States have intimated their approval of the action taken in this matter. There is a great solidarity among all the free and democratic countries of the world. This act is one of open aggression, but it is only one manifestation of Communist pressure all over the world. We are resisting its attack in Malaya. We have to be on our guard in other parts of the world, and we are taking all the steps possible to try to build up conditions in the world which will not be fruitful soil for Communist propaganda.

"The main matter that concerns all of us is the preservation of peace. I have no doubt at all that this matter has to be carried through and settled to show that aggression does not pay. I hope it will be realised by all the people in all the free countries that to preserve peace the rule of law must be upheld, that we are in this and you cannot leave it to someone else to do it. It concerns us all. We have pledged ourselves to the support of the United Nations. We have taken action with others and I confidently ask the House and the country for its unanimous support.

The Manchester Guardian

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A WORLD-WIDE CONSPIRACY

Premier's Warning

COMMUNIST THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

Mr. Attlee, in his broadcast on defence and the international situation last night, said we all had vivid memories of what war meant, and many indeed remembered the two world wars. After each of them had been won, the nations got together to seek a way to prevent wars, for each realised that the only way to ensure peace was to stop aggression in its early stages.

Between the two wars aggression started with an attack on China by Japan. It was not checked, and aggression succeeded. That attack led to other acts of violence in other parts of the world, and eventually the second world war started. That should have taught us the lesson that failure to take up a disagreeable but necessary duty only postponed the evil day and brought greater troubles.

"Aggression has started again in the Far East," he said. "The attack by the armed forces of North Korea on South Korea has been denounced as an act of aggression by the United Nations. No excuses, no propaganda by Communists, no introduction of other questions can get over this fact. If the aggressor gets away with it, aggressors all over the world will be encouraged. The same results which led to the second world war will follow, and another world war may result. This is why what is happening in Korea is of such importance to you. The fire that has been started in distant Korea may burn down your house."

AGGRESSION MUST BE STOPPED

The United States, which on behalf of the United Nations had been in South Korea from the time of the Japanese surrender, went to the help of the South Koreans when they were attacked, and to support the authority of the United Nations. All honour to her and to the brave men who were fighting there. We and our

sister States in the Commonwealth decided at once to support this action, and so did some fifty other member States of the United Nations. The United States forces, heavily outnumbered, were fighting a difficult rearguard action until reinforcements arrived, but aggression must, and they might be sure, would be stopped.

We had to keep forces in various parts of the world, garrisoning key points such as Hong-Kong or the Middle East, forming part of the occupation forces in Germany, Austria, and Trieste, or engaged in actual fighting against aggressive Communist banditry in Malaya. Therefore our military forces were stretched, but we had considered it our duty to send land as well as naval and air forces to help in the struggle, and to share some of the burden which the United States was bearing on behalf of the United Nations. Preparations for sending this force were urgently proceeding, and our friends in Australia and New Zealand were taking similar action.

"This shows how the nations of the British Commonwealth take parallel action when the things for which we all stand—freedom, democracy, and peace—are threatened. For, make no mistake about it, the evil forces which are now attacking South Korea are part of a world-wide conspiracy against the way of life of the free democracies.

RUTHLESS HYPOCRISY

"Communists, whether they make war in Korea or cause disruption in Malaya, India, or Burma, whether they destroy the liberties of the Czechs and the Poles, or try to wreck the economic recovery of Britain, or France or Australia, are all engaged in an attempt to mould the whole world to their pattern of tyranny. They seek to sweep democracy and liberty from the world. They are ready to destroy our lives if we do not agree with them. They talk of freedom while they murder it. They talk of peace while they support aggression. They are ruthless and unscrupulous hypocrites who pretend to virtues which their philosophy rejects."

Quite a lot of well-meaning people were taken in by the Communists' shabby peace propaganda. What was happening in Korea should open their eyes. The Communists found their opportunity wherever poverty and evil conditions existed. We were fighting the Communist menace by seeking to remove the conditions on which it thrived. We had given full freedom to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma. We were extending self-government in the Colonial empire and, with other Commonwealth countries, were promoting schemes for raising the standard of life of peoples in the least developed parts of the world. The United States, in accordance with what was called President Truman's fourth point, which was his determination to help the development of backward areas, were taking part in this tremendous task. It was tragic that we should now have

to divert resources from this constructive work to strengthen our defence, but until Communists had changed their hearts, we have no option to do otherwise.

THE RUSSIAN VETO

"We have earnestly striven to secure the co-operation of the U.S.S.R. in this work, but there has been continual obstruction by them. There are those who tell you that offers have been made by the Russians at the United Nations which would have made possible the disarmament we all so much desire. This is quite untrue. When it came to the point, the Russians have invariably envisaged the Security Council as the controlling authority of any scheme suggested. This means that the Russian veto would operate, and that, in practice, there would be no control.

"This Power, that has so continually sought to frustrate every effort at U.N.O., talks peace but has immense forces under arms, which cast the shadow of fear over all other peoples. In these circumstances we have joined with other democratic nations in building up, in Western Union and the Atlantic Pact, a system of collective security—not for aggression, but for mutual defence. We are joined with the United States, with Canada and the Western democracies, and in the Pacific area we are co-operating closely with Australia and New Zealand.

These arrangements threatened no one. We did not seek to interfere with the internal policies of other peoples, but we were resolved to preserve our liberties. It was our earnest hope that the U.S.S.R. would change its policy and join with the rest of the world in the great tasks of preserving peace and promoting the happiness of all peoples.

But because of the growth of evil forces in the world, we had now no option but to increase our defences. This new effort would mean sacrifices, and he asked all to do their part. Our standard of life depended on the sum of the goods and services we

produced. If we have to make more armaments, and to divert to Service men and women who might be helping to provide peace requirements, there would be fewer goods for providing our standard of life. The Government was making a careful survey to see where the necessary adjustments could best be made.

We had to increase production wherever possible, and he asked all in the industry, employer and employed, to give earnest consideration to what could be done. He also appealed to all who could do so to give personal service. It was well worth while to make some sacrifice of leisure now to prevent war.

As for the armed forces, we needed more Regulars and skilled men in all the three Services, and more men and women were required for the Territorial and other auxiliary services.

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There was, too, Civil Defence. Many thousands were needed in the Civil Defence Corps, the Auxiliary Fire Service, the National Hospital Service, and the Special Constabulary. He asked men and women to volunteer now so that, should an emergency come, they would be fully trained.

APPEAL TO WORKERS

Finally, he urged all to be on their guard against "the enemy within." There were those who would stop at nothing to injure our economy and our defence. The price of liberty was still eternal vigilance. He knew what a fine part trade unionists had played in our recovery effort. When they were asked to take unofficial action, which might hurt this country, let them consider carefully whether the motives of those who asked them to strike were really concerned with the interests of the workers.

There had been recent cases of sabotage such as the outrage at Portsmouth. He did not yet know who was responsible, but clearly they were prepared to murder many innocent people to gain their ends.

All should keep ever in mind the value of the things for which we stood, —freedom, democracy, justice, and the supremacy of the moral law. All over the world we were face to face with fanatics who believed in their creed. "I think it is an evil creed," he said, "but there is no doubt that there are those who find it an inspiration just as did the Nazis and Fascists in their creed. All of them deny the whole moral basis on which civilisation has been built up. In Britain and the Commonwealth and in the democracies there are diverse creeds, but their adherents all believe in the supremacy of a moral law. Let us then arm ourselves against evil with an equal enthusiasm to preserve and protect the higher creeds in which we believe."

The Times (London)
N^o 51757MR. ATTLEE'S CALL TO THE
NATION"LET US ARM OURSELVES AGAINST
EVIL"

The PRIME MINISTER, in a broadcast last night, said that in the present world situation, with the growth of evil forces, we had no option but to increase our defences. This new effort, he said, would mean sacrifices, and he appealed for increased production, personal service, and a close watch on the enemy within.

Mr. Attlee said:—

I want to talk to you to-night about the world situation. I am sure that if I were to ask each one of you to tell me what you most desired, the preservation of peace would stand high in your list. We all have vivid memories of what war means. Many of us, indeed, remember two world wars. After each of them had been won, the nations of the world came together to seek a way to prevent wars from breaking out again, for each time those nations realized that the only way to ensure peace is to stop aggression in its early stages.

Between the two wars aggression first started with an attack on China by Japan. It was not checked and aggression succeeded. That attack led to other acts of violence in other parts of the world, and eventually the second world war started. That should have taught us the lesson that failure to take up a disagreeable but necessary duty only postpones the evil day and brings greater troubles upon us.

Aggression has started again in the Far East. The attack by the armed forces of North Korea on South Korea has been denounced as an act of aggression by the United Nations. No excuses, no propaganda by Communists, no introduction of other questions can get over this fact. Here is a case of aggression. If the aggressor gets away with it, aggressors all over the world will be encouraged. The same results which led to the second world war will follow; and another world war may result. This is why what is happening in Korea is of such importance to you. The fire that has been started in distant Korea may burn down your house.

INITIAL ADVANTAGE

The United States, which, until recently, had on behalf of the United Nations been in South Korea from the time of the Japanese surrender, came to the help of the South Koreans when they were attacked, and to the support of the authority of the United Nations. All honour to her and to the brave men who are fighting there. We and our sister States in the Commonwealth decided at once to support this action, and so did some 50 other member States of the United Nations. Naval and air forces from British Commonwealth countries are already alongside the Americans, under the

The aggressor can always pick his time. He has an initial advantage over his victim, just as the armed burglar has over the peaceful householder. The United States forces, heavily outnumbered, are fighting a difficult rearguard action until reinforcements can arrive, but aggression must and, you may be sure, will be stopped.

We ourselves have to keep forces in various parts of the world, garrisoning key points such as Hongkong or the Middle East, forming part of the occupation forces in Germany, Austria, and Trieste, or engaged in actual fighting against aggressive Communist banditry in Malaya.

Therefore our military forces are stretched, but we have considered it our duty to send land as well as naval and air forces to help in the struggle and to share some of the burden which the United States is bearing on behalf of the United Nations. The preparations for sending this force are proceeding urgently. Our friends in Australia and New Zealand are taking similar action.

PATTERN OF TYRANNY

This shows how the nations of the British Commonwealth take parallel action when the things for which we all stand—freedom, democracy, and peace—are threatened. For, make no mistake about it, the evil forces which are now attacking South Korea are part of a world-wide conspiracy against the way of life of the free democracies. Communists, whether they make war in Korea or cause disruption in Malaya, India, or Burma, whether they destroy the liberties of the Czechs and the Poles or try to wreck the economic recovery of Britain or France or Australia, are all engaged in an attempt to mould the whole world to their pattern of tyranny.

They seek to sweep democracy and liberty from the world. They are ready to destroy our lives if we do not agree with them. They talk of freedom while they murder it. They talk of peace while they support aggression. They are ruthless and unscrupulous hypocrites who pretend to virtues which their philosophy rejects.

The trouble is that quite a lot of well-meaning people are taken in by the Communists and their sham peace propaganda. What is happening in Korea should open their eyes. The Communists are skilful at exploiting grievances. They find their opportunity wherever poverty and evil conditions exist. We are fighting the Communist menace by seeking to remove the conditions on which it thrives. We have given full freedom to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma. We are extending self-government in the colonial Empire and, with other Commonwealth countries, we are promoting schemes for raising the standard of life of peoples in the less-developed parts of the world.

The United States, too, in accordance with what is called President Truman's fourth point, which is his determination to help the development of backward areas, are taking part in this tremendous task. It is tragic that we should now have to divert resources from this constructive work so that we may strengthen our defence, but until Communists have changed their hearts we have no option and no right to do otherwise.

CONTINUAL OBSTRUCTION

It was our hope to build up the strength of the United Nations so as to remove the fear of war from all peoples. We have earnestly striven to secure the cooperation of the U.S.S.R. in this work, but there has been continual obstruction by them. There are those who tell you that offers have been made by the Russians at the United Nations which would have made possible the disarmament we all so much desire. This is quite untrue. When it came to the point, the Russians have invariably envisaged the Security Council as the controlling authority of any scheme suggested. This means that the Russian veto would operate and that, in practice, there would be no control. This power, which has so continually sought to frustrate every effort at United Nations, talks peace but has immense forces under arms, which cast the shadow of fear over all other peoples.

In these circumstances we have joined with other democratic nations in building up, in Western Union and the Atlantic Pact, a system of collective security—not for aggression, but for mutual defence. We are joined with the United States, with Canada, and the western democracies; and in the Pacific area we are cooperating closely with Australia and New Zealand.

These arrangements threaten no one. We do not seek to interfere with the internal policies of other peoples, but we are resolved to preserve our own liberties. It is our earnest hope that the U.S.S.R. will change its policy and will join wholeheartedly with the rest of the world in the great tasks of preserving peace and promoting the happiness of all peoples. But because of the growth of evil forces in the world we now have no option but to increase our defences.

We here in Britain have had a hard task during these five years building up our economic position that was shattered by our

war-time exertions in the cause of freedom. The great majority of our people have cooperated finely. Life was becoming a little easier as a result of all this hard work. I am sorry that we now have to devote more of our resources to building up our naval, military, and air defences. I should not ask the nation to do this if I did not know it to be essential. This new effort will mean sacrifices. I ask all of you to do your part.

Let us see what this means. Our standard of life depends on our production, on the sum of the goods and services we produce. If we have to make more armaments, if we have to divert to military service men and women who might be helping to provide our peace requirements, there will be fewer goods available for providing for our standard of life. I cannot tell you to-night just how that will affect you. The Government are making a careful survey to see where the necessary adjustments can best be made, but I can tell you how you can help.

First, we must try to increase production wherever possible to make up for the resources we must devote to defence. Much has been done during these post-war years, but there is still room for improvement. I ask all in industry, employer and employed, to give earnest consideration to what can be done.

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Secondly, I ask every one who can do so to give personal service. I know that if, which God forbid, war should break out, every one of you would be ready for any kind of service. It is well worth while to make some sacrifice of leisure now to prevent war.

SERVING THE COUNTRY

There are the armed forces. We need more Regulars. We need skilled men in all three Services. I shall hope to have something more to say to my Service listeners in the near future. We require more men and women to join the Territorial and other auxiliary services. I am certain that there is no better way of serving the country in these difficult times than this.

There is, too, civil defence. We all hope that it will not be required, but it is right to be prepared. Many thousands are needed in the Civil Defence Corps, the Auxiliary Fire Service, the National Hospital Service, and the Special Constabulary. I would ask men and women to volunteer now so that, should an emergency come, they will be fully trained. The experience of former members of these forces will be especially useful in building up efficient organizations.

Thirdly, I would ask you all to be on your guard against the enemy within. There are those who would stop at nothing to injure our economy and our defence. The price of liberty is still eternal vigilance. I know what a fine part the trade unionists of this country have played in our recovery effort. When they are asked to take unofficial action, which may hurt this country, let them just consider carefully whether the motives of those who ask them to strike are really concerned with the interests of the workers. Again, there have been recent cases of sabotage, such as the outrage at Portsmouth. I do not yet know who was responsible, but clearly they were prepared to murder many innocent people to gain their ends.

AN EVIL CREED

Finally, I would ask you all to keep ever in mind the value of the things for which we stand—freedom, democracy, justice, and the supremacy of the moral law. All over the world we are face to face with fanatics who believe in their creed. I think it is an evil creed, but there is no doubt that there are those who find in it an inspiration just as did the Nazis and Fascists in their creed. All of them deny the whole moral basis on which civilization has been built up.

Our fight is not only against physical but against spiritual forces. In Britain and the Commonwealth and in the democracies there are diverse creeds, but their adherents all believe in the supremacy of a moral law. Let us, then, arm ourselves against evil with an equal enthusiasm to preserve and protect the higher creeds in which we believe.

At Taunton on Saturday, addressing a Labour rally, Mr. ATTLEE said that if the United Nations was not to go the way of the League of Nations it was absolutely and imperatively necessary that a halt should be called to aggression.

Britain and more than 50 other countries were backing up America in her action in Korea. "I know this means risks and dangers," continued Mr. Attlee. "Any other course would also mean risks and dangers. I am sure that if we want to see the authority in the world that is greater than the will of the aggressor we have got to say here and now that aggression shall not succeed."

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Nr 209

Appell Attlees an die englische Nation

Telephonischer Bericht unseres Korrespondenten

eg. London, 31. Juli

Premierminister Attlee hat am Sonntagabend in seiner Radioansprache an das britische Volk wie noch selten zuvor trotz seiner trockenen Redeweise zur rechten Zeit das rechte Wort gefunden. Er hat gestern Abend nicht als Labourpolitiker, sondern als Premierminister einer großen Nation gesprochen, einer Nation, die noch nie vor der nackten Wahrheit zurückgeschreckt ist, sondern sich noch immer würdig und einer ernsten Lage gewachsen erwiesen hat, wenn es um ihre höchsten Güter der Freiheit, der Demokratie und des Friedens ging.

Attlee sprach von der neuen Gefährdung dieser Güter und von der Notwendigkeit ihrer bewaffneten Verteidigung mit dem gleichen untheatralischen Bedauern und mit der Bitterkeit dem neuen Friedensstörer gegenüber, die von jedem Mann und jeder Frau des englischen Volkes unzweifelhaft empfunden wird.

Es war nicht so, daß der Premier seine Nation aus ahnungslosen Illusionen aufzuwecken hatte, sondern er verlieh vielmehr ihren eigenen Enttäuschungen, Besorgnissen und ihrer Entschlossenheit, zum Rechten zu sehen, erlösenden Ausdruck. Er hatte nicht so sehr der Nation die Gefahren klarzumachen, die ihr wie der ganzen übrigen freien Welt drohen, sondern vielmehr seinen besorgten Zuhörern die beruhigende Gewißheit zu geben, daß die Regierung sich dieser Gefahren bewußt ist und vor den Konsequenzen nicht zurückscheut, auch wenn sie von allen schwere Opfer fordern sollten.

Die einzige Kritik, die man heute in der Tagespresse lesen und in Gesprächen hören kann, ist die, daß Attlee nicht klar genug sagte, welche Opfer zu bringen sind und was ein jeder zu tun hat. Niemand ist überzeugt, daß die von Shinwell in der Wehrdebatte angekündigten ersten Notbeschlüsse genügen werden, und Attlee hatte nichts hinzuzufügen, das den Eindruck erweckte, daß weitere dringliche Schritte erwogen werden, wie informierte Kreise zu wissen glauben. Der Premier ließ die Frage nach dem Umfang und der Art der neuen Opfer offen, versicherte aber, daß die Regierung sorgfältig erwäge, wo und wie die erforderlichen Umstellungen am besten gemacht werden könnten. Vorsichtig vermied es Attlee auch, irgendwelche Voraussagen zu machen oder auch nur die Shinwellsche Kostenschätzung der bisher ins Auge gefaßten Sondermaßnahmen von 100 Mill. Pfund im laufenden Finanzjahr zu wiederholen. Dieser Betrag ist zwar wahrscheinlich das Maximum dessen, was in den acht Monaten bis Ende März noch geleistet werden kann; aber er ist doch zu bescheiden, als daß er als Kriegsanstrengung großen Eindruck machen könnte.

Notwendige Abstriche

werden könnten, wenn jeder an seinem Platz intensiver arbeite. So beachtenswert die bisherigen Leistungen seien, es sei doch noch die Möglichkeit vor Verbesserungen vorhanden, so stellte der Labourpremier mit aller wünschenswerten Entschiedenheit fest, unbekümmert darum, daß ihm diese Bemerkung in gewissen Gewerkschaftskreisen sicher übel angekreidet werden wird. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die arbeitende Bevölkerung Englands dank der zunehmenden Modernisierung und Mechanisierung der Industrien ohne Ueberanstrengung noch erhebliches mehr als bisher leisten könnte.

Deutliche Charakteristik Moskaus

Unumwunden und treffend wie noch nie zuvor charakterisierte dann der britische Premier die Aggression in Korea als ein Teilstück „einer weltweiten Verschwörung gegen die freie demokratische Welt“. Als „skrupellose Hypokriten“ sprechen die Kommunisten überall von Frieden, erklärte Attlee, wo sie Aggression unterstützen, von Freiheit, wo sie sie durch Tyrannei zu ersetzen trachten. Die Sowjetunion selbst beteuere friedliche Absichten, suche aber konstant die einzige Friedensorganisation, die Vereinigten Nationen, zu lähmen und unterhalte „gewaltige Kriegskräfte, die den Schatten der Furcht über alle Völker ausbreiten“. „Das neue Wachstum der Gewalt des Bösen“ lasse den friedliebenden Nationen keine andere Wahl mehr offen, als sich von neuem zur Verteidigung der Freiheit zu rüsten. Doch sei äußerster Wachsamkeit auch nach innen geboten, wo gewisse Elemente vor nichts zurückschreckten, um die Wirtschaft und Wehrhaftigkeit des eigenen Landes zu schwächen. Gegen all diese Kräfte müsse sich die demokratische Welt mit mindestens ebenbürtiger Hingebung zur Erhaltung ihrer höheren Lebensauffassungen wehren.

Obschon Attlee nichts sagte, dessen sich die britische Öffentlichkeit nicht schon lange bewußt war, war es doch gut, die scharfe und unmißverständlich an die Adresse Moskaus gerichtete Verurteilung der Tätigkeit der Kommunisten in der ganzen Welt aus dem Mund des Chefs der Labourregierung zu hören. Am linken Flügel der Labourbewegung und unter den in allen Volksschichten und in gewissen kirchlichen Kreisen noch ziemlich stark vertretenen „Pazifisten um jeden Preis“ mag es doch noch manche gegeben haben, denen vielleicht ein Licht aufging. Auch die Unbelerbaren sind wenigstens noch einmal aus dem Mund des höchsten Labourführers mit aller Deutlichkeit gewarnt worden.

Es bleibt abzuwarten, wie energisch England, insbesondere die Regierung selbst, sich ins Zeug legt, um sich gegen die drohenden Gefahren ausreichend zu rüsten und bereit zu stehen, wenn der Ruf der kollektiven Wehrpflicht ertönen sollte. Kein aufmerksamer Be-

Appell Attlees an die englische Nation

Telephonischer Bericht unseres Korrespondenten

eg. London, 31. Juli

Premierminister Attlee hat am Sonntagabend in seiner Radioansprache an das britische Volk wie noch selten zuvor trotz seiner trockenen Redeweise zur rechten Zeit das rechte Wort gefunden. Er hat gestern Abend nicht als Labourpolitiker, sondern als Premierminister einer großen Nation gesprochen, einer Nation, die noch nie vor der nackten Wahrheit zurückgeschreckt ist, sondern sich noch immer würdig und einer ernsten Lage gewachsen erwiesen hat, wenn es um ihre höchsten Güter der Freiheit, der Demokratie und des Friedens ging.

Attlee sprach von der neuen Gefährdung dieser Güter und von der Notwendigkeit ihrer bewaffneten Verteidigung mit dem gleichen untheatralischen Bedauern und mit der Bitterkeit dem neuen Friedensstörer gegenüber, die von jedem Mann und jeder Frau des englischen Volkes unzweifelhaft empfunden wird.

Es war nicht so, daß der Premier seine Nation aus ahnungslosen Illusionen aufzuwecken hatte, sondern er verlieh vielmehr ihren eigenen Enttäuschungen, Besorgnissen und ihrer Entschlossenheit, zum Rechten zu sehen, erlösenden Ausdruck. Er hatte nicht so sehr der Nation die Gefahren klarzumachen, die ihr wie der ganzen übrigen freien Welt drohen, sondern vielmehr seinen besorgten Zuhörern die beruhigende Gewißheit zu geben, daß die Regierung sich dieser Gefahren bewußt ist und vor den Konsequenzen nicht zurückscheut, auch wenn sie von allen schwere Opfer fordern sollten.

Die einzige Kritik, die man heute in der Tagespresse lesen und in Gesprächen hören kann, ist die, daß Attlee nicht klar genug sagte, welche Opfer zu bringen sind und was ein jeder zu tun hat. Niemand ist überzeugt, daß die von Shinwell in der Wehrdebatte angekündigten ersten Notbeschlüsse genügen werden, und Attlee hatte nichts hinzuzufügen, das den Eindruck erweckte, daß weitere dringliche Schritte erwogen werden, wie informierte Kreise zu wissen glauben. Der Premier ließ die Frage nach dem Umfang und der Art der neuen Opfer offen, versicherte aber, daß die Regierung sorgfältig erwäge, wo und wie die erforderlichen Umstellungen am besten gemacht werden könnten. Vorsichtig vermied es Attlee auch, irgendwelche Voraussagen zu machen oder auch nur die Shinwellsche Kostenschätzung der bisher ins Auge gefaßten Sondermaßnahmen von 100 Mill. Pfund im laufenden Finanzjahr zu wiederholen. Dieser Betrag ist zwar wahrscheinlich das Maximum dessen, was in den acht Monaten bis Ende März noch geleistet werden kann; aber er ist doch zu bescheiden, als daß er als Kriegsanstrengung großen Eindruck machen könnte.

Notwendige Abstriche

Neue Einschränkungen der Versorgung Englands mit Konsumgütern hat Attlee als unvermeidliche Folge der Produktionsumstellung auf den Rüstungsbedarf und des Einsatzes vermehrter Kräfte für den Militärdienst hingestellt und auch angedeutet, daß die Anstrengungen für die Entwicklung rückständiger Kolonialgebiete im Interesse der Kriegsrüstung zu leiden haben dürften. Doch wies der Premierminister auch darauf hin, daß diese Opfer auf ein Minimum eingeschränkt

werden könnten, wenn jeder an seinem Platz intensiver arbeite. So beachtenswert die bisherigen Leistungen seien, es sei doch noch die Möglichkeit vor Verbesserungen vorhanden, so stellte der Labourpremier mit aller wünschenswerten Entschiedenheit fest, unbekümmert darum, daß ihm diese Bemerkung in gewissen Gewerkschaftskreisen sicher übel angekreidet werden wird. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die arbeitende Bevölkerung Englands dank der zunehmenden Modernisierung und Mechanisierung der Industrien ohne Ueberanstrengung noch erhebliches mehr als bisher leisten könnte.

Deutliche Charakteristik Moskaus

Unumwunden und treffend wie noch nie zuvor charakterisierte dann der britische Premier die Aggression in Korea als ein Teilstück „einer weltweiten Verschwörung gegen die freie demokratische Welt“. Als „skrupellose Hypokriten“ sprechen die Kommunisten überall von Frieden, erklärte Attlee, wo sie Aggression unterstützen, von Freiheit, wo sie sie durch Tyrannei zu ersetzen trachten. Die Sowjetunion selbst beteuere friedliche Absichten, suche aber konstant die einzige Friedensorganisation, die Vereinigten Nationen, zu lähmen und unterhalte „gewaltige Kriegskräfte, die den Schatten der Furcht über alle Völker ausbreiten“. „Das neue Wachstum der Gewalt des Bösen“ lasse den friedliebenden Nationen keine andere Wahl mehr offen, als sich von neuem zur Verteidigung der Freiheit zu rüsten. Doch sei äußerste Wachsamkeit auch nach innen geboten, wo gewisse Elemente vor nichts zurückschreckten, um die Wirtschaft und Wehrhaftigkeit des eigenen Landes zu schwächen. Gegen all diese Kräfte müsse sich die demokratische Welt mit mindestens ebenbürtiger Hingebung zur Erhaltung ihrer höheren Lebensauffassungen wehren.

Obschon Attlee nichts sagte, dessen sich die britische Öffentlichkeit nicht schon lange bewußt war, war es doch gut, die scharfe und unmißverständlich an die Adresse Moskaus gerichtete Verurteilung der Tätigkeit der Kommunisten in der ganzen Welt aus dem Mund des Chefs der Labourregierung zu hören. Am linken Flügel der Labourbewegung und unter den in allen Volksschichten und in gewissen kirchlichen Kreisen noch ziemlich stark vertretenen „Pazifisten um jeden Preis“ mag es doch noch manche gegeben haben, denen vielleicht ein Licht aufging. Auch die Unbelerbaren sind wenigstens noch einmal aus dem Mund des höchsten Labourführers mit aller Deutlichkeit gewarnt worden.

Es bleibt abzuwarten, wie energisch England, insbesondere die Regierung selbst, sich ins Zeug legt, um sich gegen die drohenden Gefahren ausreichend zu rüsten und bereitzustellen, wenn der Ruf der kollektiven Wehrpflicht ertönen sollte. Kein aufmerksamer Beobachter der Entwicklung der Stimmung im Vereinigten Königreich kann daran zweifeln, daß England seinen Mann zu stellen bereit ist, wie hart und bitter es diesem Volk, das sich nach nichts so sehr wie nach dem Frieden sehnt, auch fallen muß. Die Regierung braucht nur selbst unerschrocken alles Notwendige für die neue Selbsterhaltungsprobe der britischen Nation vorzunehmen. Tut sie es nicht, so dürfte sie sehr bald hinweggefegt oder dazu gezwungen werden, zur Bildung einer aktionsfähigen „Notkoalition“ die Hand zu bieten.

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The Manchester Guardian

No 32402

PREMIER CALLS FOR REARMAMENT

Support from T.U.C.

From our Labour Correspondent

LONDON, WEDNESDAY.

Mr. Attlee attended two important meetings at Transport House to-day. First, he addressed the National Council of Labour on the international situation, and then he took part in a meeting of the Labour party's National Executive Committee. At both meetings he is said to have stressed that the Labour movement must be prepared to face the realities of rearmament, and to understand the necessity of increasing the armed forces as a deterrent to aggression.

After the meeting of the National Council of Labour there was a meeting of the General Council of the T.U.C. Sir Vincent Tewson, the secretary of the T.U.C., and other trade union leaders who had heard the Prime Minister, reported what he had said to their colleagues. The General Council adopted a special report on the need for rearmament which will be presented to the Trades Union Congress at Brighton next month.

The Council also drew up a long declaration on defence which the Congress will be asked to adopt. This expresses the conviction that the United Nations can only succeed in its task if it is endowed with both moral authority and adequate forces to deter potential aggressors, and continues:

"Congress in its support of the United Nations strongly condemns all subversive activities which seek to hinder the United Nations' efforts to carry out its great responsibility. In this connection Congress believes that the so-called 'peace campaign' is exposed as a disgraceful and hollow sham. . . . Congress recognises that the acceptance by this country of its obligations under the United Nations Charter will bring further burdens on the British people, and that there will inevitably be some diversion of the country's limited resources from the task of rebuilding the national economy. . . . Congress believes that the British people will spare no effort and shrink from no sacrifice which may be necessary to enable the United Nations to combat aggression."

00740 0216 BEC

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No 32411

MR. ATTLEE

There was much in the Prime Minister's spirited criticism of Mr. Churchill that was deserved. Yet, for all the justice of its thrusts, one cannot help feeling that the tone of the broadcast was at this moment a mistake. It was only in the last four of his twenty minutes that the Prime Minister came to deal with the large questions of international policy that really concern this country and on which the voice of the Government has been much too restrained, if not almost silent. It is not enough for the Prime Minister to laud his colleague the Foreign Secretary; that is no substitute for an exposition of our foreign policy, either from the Foreign Secretary or the Prime Minister. Mr. Bevin's perfection is no longer taken for granted. As a student of political history Mr. Attlee should realise that there has not been in the last hundred years a crisis in which the public has been left by the Government so uninstructed in detail in what the British Government's policy is. We have rarely had a more inarticulate Foreign Secretary, and the Prime Minister does little to remedy the deficiency. The consequence is that it is left to President Truman and Mr. Acheson and Mr. Churchill to do the talking for the Free World. It is curious that Mr. Attlee does not see how much he loses by letting Mr. Churchill become, in the eyes of the outside world, the embodiment of Britain—because he is articulate and arresting. At the lowest it is bad showmanship on the Government's part; on a higher level it is lack of understanding of the public mind. The Prime Minister is in error if he thinks that there is no task of public education to be done and that people will take everything on trust.

One can sympathise with the Prime Minister's irritation with Mr. Churchill's methods. After all, he is a prima donna, and has become even more set in a prima donna's ways with his two electoral defeats. It

is true that he flits in and out of the Commons, disturbs his hard-working colleagues on the front Opposition bench by his uncertain flights, and leads his own party—as well as the Government—a pretty dance. It is true also that he never seems quite certain whether he is making party scores or enunciating some broad compelling principles of national unity. Most of the debating points in his broadcast of Saturday week were irrelevant or overmagnified, and he weakens his own influence by his bad shots. There was a case for the earlier recall of Parliament, but it was put better by the Liberal leader than by Mr. Churchill, who did act impulsively and a trifle dictatorially. He made it difficult for the Government to make the concession, even of a few days, which would have justified the intervention. The raking up of the old story of the sale of jet aeroplanes to Egypt and Argentina was feeble, and on the sale of machine tools to Russia he had not taken the trouble to go into the background. (This is not to say that the Prime Minister's explanation went far enough. He did not meet the point, which Mr. Churchill did not put clearly but that has emerged since, whether the time has not come to review the deliveries to Russia that were not covered by the decision on strategic priorities of eighteen months ago.) Mr. Churchill had a point in the chopping and changing over our expeditionary force for Korea, but he saddled the Government with more odium than it deserved. The Government is not absolved, however, for if it had had enough imagination it would have seen that time was of the essence of our support, and a token battalion at once would have been worth almost as much as a brigade in three months in its effects on world opinion.

In the end it all comes down to a question of confidence, and the wisest thing for the Government to do now is build up confidence in itself, not to harp on party differences—even if Mr. Churchill sometimes sets a bad

example. When Parliament meets the Government may have to depend on Conservative and Liberal votes to put through the lengthened conscription period. It is some of its own nominal supporters who are uncertain. There is human satisfaction to be got in "ticking off." Mr. Churchill for his irritating and grandiose methods, but that is more suitable for a debate in Parliament, where these things are the normal form of entertainment, than for a broadcast. On the things that matter Mr. Churchill is eminently sound; he has an influence abroad greater than that of any Minister; and, if the worst comes to the worst, any Administration must be glad of his help. The Government is wrong to appear complacent, all-sufficient, and all-clever. Our defence situation is terribly weak. The foundations of public confidence in our Korean policy are being nibbled away at the edges by Communist dishonesty in appealing to the very forces that ought to be supporting the Government. (Mr. Attlee should study carefully the resolutions from local Labour parties on the agenda for the Margate conference of his party.) The Parliamentary balance is insecure and no one can look forward with comfort to an autumn election which would, as things stand at the moment, almost certainly be fought largely on foreign affairs and issues of war or peace. The example of the United States, where the Republicans are using Korea and Formosa as party counters, should fill any British politician with alarm. We do not want that kind of thing here, but we may get it if Government and Opposition are not careful.

00740 0217 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32411

MR. ATTLEE ON DEFENCE PLAN

Charges Repudiated

EXPORT OF TOOLS TO RUSSIA

From our London Staff

FLEET STREET, SUNDAY.

The Prime Minister's broadcast last night was in several passages more of a party demonstration than Mr. Churchill's a week ago, though in some other ways it was more prudent. Mr. Attlee is not the sort of man who can express anger or scorn in phrases as memorable as Mr. Churchill's—his temper, when it shows at all, is more to be seen in his face and hands than heard in his voice or in the words he uses.

But in leading up to his reply on Mr. Churchill's strictures the Prime Minister made some telling points which must have gone home to his listeners. One of these was on the question of troops for Korea. We were working on a plan to send a balanced force, and the sudden dispatch of infantry from Hong-Kong was in fulfilment of a later request. "There was no muddle or hesitation. Mr. Churchill knows this quite well, but apparently it is not much good giving him information. The same old phrases come out time after time."

MACHINE-TOOL EXPORTS

The passage on trade with Russia was less effective. Mr. Churchill is not the only one who is likely to be dissatisfied with the statement—made without any sign of deep conviction—that trade with Russia is mutually beneficial, that we have received feeding stuffs and timber in return for our machinery, that "they have carried out their side of the bargain and we are carrying out ours."

The real answer to the considerable public uneasiness on the question of machine-tool exports was contained in a passage which might well have been expanded and given more emphasis. "Eighteen months ago we took steps to ensure that equipment and tools which are regarded as of key importance for strategic purposes should not be exported except in the case of contracts already concluded before that date, and this was announced by the President of the Board of Trade in February, 1949."

It would have been a more effective reply, both for home and foreign consumption, if the Prime Minister had been able to persuade himself, and therefore his listeners, that—except in the sense that all machine-tools are valuable for armament manufacture—Russia is not now receiving machinery of strategic importance. On the sanctity of contracts and two-way trade perhaps, it is not necessary to give Russia better treatment than Canada, but that, of course, was not part of the case Mr. Attlee was replying to.

AN ASSURANCE

Perhaps we have now heard the last of the notorious inspectors at the works of Craven Brothers. It was always clear to people with any knowledge of engineering that they were performing a normal function of the trade, and that there was never any need for them to see more than they were meant to see. On the other side of the machine-tool question, Mr. Attlee gave an assurance, which was badly needed, that "we shall not allow such exports to damage essential defence needs."

[Mr. Attlee's speech on page 2]

00740 0218 BEC

The Manchester Guardian

No 32413

THE PRIME MINISTER AT BRIGHTON



Mr. Attlee addressing the Trades Union Congress.

00740 0219 BEC

Die Welt (Hamburg)

№ 208

Attlee kündigt Senkung des Lebensstandards an

pcz. London — Großbritanniens Ministerpräsident Attlee hat vor dem britischen Gewerkschaftskongreß in Brighton Einschränkungen des Lebensstandards auf Grund der verstärkten Rüstungen angekündigt und die Arbeiter aufgefordert, die Änderung ihrer Arbeitsbedingungen als ihren Beitrag zur Sicherheit des Landes anzusehen. Er versprach, daß die Regierung ihr Möglichstes tun werde, um die zu erwartenden Opfer gleichmäßig zu verteilen. „Die Umstellung von friedlicher Produktion auf die Rüstung muß einen nachteiligen Einfluß auf die Anzahl der Güter haben, die der Gemeinschaft zur Verfügung stehen“, erklärte Attlee, „aber wie ernst diese Auswirkungen sein werden, wird zu einem gewissen Teil unserer eigenen Kontrolle unterliegen. Gesteigerte Produktion und bessere Nutzung unserer Anlagen können die ungünstigen Einflüsse ausgleichen.“

00740 0220 BEC

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Nº 251

Attlee gegen die kommunistische Infiltration

London, 10. Sept. ag (Reuter) Premierminister Attlee hielt am Samstag in einer Versammlung der Labourpartei in seinem Wahlkreis Walthamstow (Ostlondon) eine Ansprache, in welcher er den „Feind im Innern“ brandmarkte und davor warnte, daß die Kommunisten die Gewerkschaften beherrschen, die Konsumgenossenschaften erobern und die Labourpartei zerstören könnten. Alles dies werde von einer sehr aktiven kleinen Minderheit versucht. Die Kommunisten verfügten über einen großen Verbündeten, die „Gleichgültigkeit und Schaffheit der Mehrheit“.

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The Manchester Guardian

No 3 2 4 6 2

THE WOLVES AND THE SHEEP

Sheffield Congress

MR ATTLEE ON ITS "BOGUS" AIMS

Mr Attlee, addressing the Foreign Press Association in London last night, said that no one should be so simple as to be deceived by the bogus peace congress to be held at Sheffield this month.

The aim, he said, was to paralyse the efforts of the democracies to arm themselves. It was like "an appeal by wolves to the sheep to demonstrate against the use of shepherds and sheepdogs."

He referred to "misguided" people who provided the "sheep's clothing," and said that most of the organisers of the congress were Communists or fellow-travellers.

POWER OF UNITED NATIONS

Mr Attlee, whose speech was broadcast, said:

"When a Prime Minister addresses the representatives of the foreign press he has in mind that they are, in a sense, his colleagues in the work of strengthening all the forces which make for peace.

"I am addressing you at a fortunate time. The great organisation for preserving the peace, the United Nations, ... has during these past months demonstrated not only its will but its power to act vigorously and successfully against an aggressor. How much more fortunate am I than my predecessor, Mr. Chamberlain, who addressed you in 1938 when the failure of the League of Nations so to act was bringing its inevitable consequences.

"At this very time in New York steps are being taken to strengthen the machinery for prompt action should occasion arise in the future. The Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted, by fifty votes to five, with only three abstentions, a resolution designed for this purpose.

"Last week, throughout this country, meetings and demonstrations organised by the United Nations Association have been held. They expressed not merely the desire for peace of the people of this country but their faith in the method by which war can be banished. The desire for peace among our citizens is profound and unanimous. So obvious is this that we do not find it necessary to ask them to affirm it by signing Stockholm or any other petitions.

"The support for the action of the United Nations in countering aggression in Korea has been world-wide. The only exception has been the adherents of the Cominform. Yet these are the people who are now promoting a so-called peace conference which is to be held in Sheffield this month.

THE SHEEP'S CLOTHING

"It is a common device of disturbers of the peace to profess peaceful sentiments and to proclaim loudly that they themselves are in danger of attack. Hitler and Goebbels were adepts at this. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that adherents of the Cominform, whose activities are causing bloodshed and disturbance all over the world, should proclaim themselves peace-makers, should promote peace petitions and should call a bogus peace conference.

"Of course, the Communists say that this conference is not organised by them. Communist activities generally are camouflaged; in this country they can usually get a few respectable but misguided people to provide the sheep's clothing. But a denial by a Communist does not carry much weight. It is part of their doctrine that lying is perfectly legitimate to further their cause.

"There is an illuminating incident recalled by the former Communist Signor Silone. He was present at a Comintern meeting in Moscow. They were discussing an ultimatum issued by the central committee of the British trade unions ordering its local branches not to support the Communist-led 'minority movement' under pain of expulsion.

"After an explanation by a British Communist of the situation, the Russian delegate put forward what seemed to him the obvious suggestion: 'The branches should declare that they submit to the discipline demanded and then, in practice, should do the exact contrary.' The British Communist interrupted, 'But that would be a lie.' Loud and prolonged laughter greeted this ingenuous remark.

"The Englishman's entertaining and incredible reply was telephoned at once to all the most important offices of state, provoking new waves of mirth everywhere. The effect of the reception given to this ingenuous interjection opened Signor Silone's eyes.

FELLOW-TRAVELLERS

"It is, therefore, worth looking at the organisation of this congress. Its chairman is a Mr J. G. Crowther. If not a Communist, he is a very good example of a fellow-traveller. His committee is an

off-shoot from the World Peace Movement, an instrument of the Politburo. More than 90 per cent of the members of its permanent committee are known to be Communists or fellow-travellers.

"What are their aims? They are very simple. They are to try to paralyse the efforts of the democracies to arm themselves. They seek to persuade the workers of the democracies to refuse to manufacture arms. At the very same time they urge the workers of the totalitarian states to increase their efforts in munition production.

"One of the duties of the Peace Movement, as stated in a Cominform directive on September 22 of this year, is 'to encourage evasion of military service by the youth of the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, and Yugoslavia.' Even the most woolly minded pacifist can hardly be deceived into thinking that this injunction is due to a conscientious objection to taking part in military activities.

"We are, of course, told that this peace congress is democratic. Its delegates are to be 'elected.' It was announced in a Viennese paper that the Austrian delegates would be elected at a meeting to be held on October 21. Sounds all right, doesn't it? However, as early as October 5 application was made for visas for sixteen named delegates. The results of the 'election' were known sixteen days before. Some election.

"The obvious fact is that the whole thing is bogus and no one ought to be so simple as to be deceived. All this elaborate make-believe is an attempt to trick decent, honest people. It's an appeal by the wolves to get the sheep to demonstrate against the use of shepherds and sheepdogs.

WHY IN SHEFFIELD?

"But someone will ask, 'Why is this conference to be held in Britain, why in Sheffield of all places?' Well, I can't tell you the reasons of the Cominform. It may be that they think that they can help the British Communist party. The utter failure of that party to disrupt the Labour movement in this country must be annoying to the high priests of Marxism, for, according to their theories, the conditions in a highly industrialised country such as Britain should be most favourable.

"It may be that they wanted to suggest by the importation of these delegates from abroad that the Communist movement in Britain was of some importance. It may be they thought that they could impress the hard-headed Yorkshire workers.

"But the second question which you may well wish to ask is, 'Why do you allow the congress to be held in Britain?' The answer is that we have no power to prevent such a congress being held. Ours is a free society and provided the law is not broken all people enjoy the right of free assembly and free speech no matter how misguided they are.

"This is the measure not of our weakness but of our strength. Totalitarian

wenden

Government dare not allow heretical opinions to be ventilated. We have such faith in our own way of life that we let everyone blow off steam.

NO MARTYRDOM

"There must, however, be a reasonable limit to our toleration of those who try by misrepresentation to undermine the liberties of free countries. We shall not deny admission to people who, in good faith, may wish to attend this conference, but we are not willing to throw wide our doors to those who seek to come here to subvert our institutions, to seduce our fellow-citizens from their natural allegiance and their daily duties, and to make propaganda for those who call us cannibals and warmongers.

"We must, as all householders must, reserve the right to refuse admittance to those whom we have no desire to entertain. Assuredly, it is usual to refuse admittance to those whose intention one knows is to burn the house down. Like all householders we do not propose to publish a list of those who will not be welcome. It will be time enough to tell them when they knock at the door or, it may be, try to gate-crash by a side entrance.

"As far as our own Communists are concerned, they enjoy the same freedom as the rest of us. They enjoy much the same repute as they do in other countries. We do not believe in giving them the pleasure and prestige of martyrdom.

"How much liberty should be given by society to those who seek to destroy the freedoms from which they benefit is a matter to be decided by each country in accordance with its circumstances. We allow this freedom. We feel that we are strong enough to take the risk.

THE PEACE APPEAL

"One word about the precious Stockholm peace appeal. It is, of course, artfully worded to appeal to the ordinary person who fears atomic warfare and does not appreciate the implications of what he is asked to sign. The Cominform dislikes atomic warfare, not from any humanitarian ideas, but because it feels that, at present, the countries in which the Cominform has power are not yet as strong as others.

"That is why the first article of the Stockholm appeal demands the banning of the atomic weapon. Just so the armed robber baron of the end of the Middle Ages had the strongest objection to cannons and gunpowder in the hands of the Government.

"I respect, although I do not agree with, our pacifist friends, but I wonder if they realise what the Communists think of them. The Moscow dictionary of foreign words describes pacifists as those who

mendaciously mask themselves with the slogan of pacifism. They are reactionaries whose policy promotes imperialist, aggressive, and unjust wars.

"The second article advocates a system of control which would operate only in free countries, but would be no restraint on the totalitarian States. The third condemns, not the aggressor Government, but the one which uses atomic power, even in self-defence. It is as if the law allowed the rough to use a knife or a cosh but condemned the police for using their truncheons.

"I do not think that the people of this country and the peoples of the democracies will be deceived by these transparent manoeuvres. The history of the last five years shows quite conclusively who are the real disturbers and who are the real preservers of the peace.

THE ONLY ANSWER

"Of all such proposals for disarmament, I would say again what I have said before: 'You cannot humanise war, you cannot draw up a set of 'Queensberry rules' which will rid it of its horrors. The only answer is to root out war itself, war and the causes which make for it.

"So long as fear, suspicion, and jealousy persist, agreements to reduce armaments or to abstain from the use of certain methods of war will achieve nothing. What we must have is the desire for peace and the will to agree. Given those, then questions of the place, the method, and the persons through whom agreement is to be reached would raise no difficulty.

"We must never abandon hope of such ultimate agreement, and I know that the United Nations are constantly working to achieve it. But we must not let our hopes deceive us so that we neglect the strength on which the only real prospect of agreement depends."

DANGER IN APATHY

Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, M.P., told the association that they must break through the "miasma of disillusionment" and recapture for the United Nations Organisation the public interest which undoubtedly existed after the first world war in the League of Nations. The consequences of lack of interest could not be more cataclysmic.

A problem was the creation of the common background of the democratic peoples, religion, aristocracy, and political creeds had failed to provide the mental solidarity needed in Europe. They must try again. The essentials—kindliness and tolerance, the right to think for yourself, and even-handed justice between the humblest citizen and the most powerful official—could be the recognised badges of Western life.

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№ 32469

MR ATTLEE ON DANGERS OF THE WORLD SITUATION

Needs of the Defence Services

Reference to the potential dangers of the world situation and Britain's obligations under the Atlantic Treaty were made by the Prime Minister (Mr Attlee) when he replied to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers" at the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London last night.

At the outset, speaking of the heavy strain of official life, he said that in these days the bodily health of his colleagues, and particularly of those who sat in the House of Commons, was a matter of close concern to him—a concern which was shared by the Chief Whip. "I look at his strength return and casualty-list every day," he said, "with as much anxious scrutiny as I used to give to the company sergeant-major's in the first world war, when we were in the line and a bit thin on the ground."

He was glad to say that the Foreign Secretary (Mr Bevin), after a long and painful indisposition, was much more "like his old self." He paid a tribute to Sir Stafford Cripps, remarking that none of Sir Stafford's predecessors had shown a greater devotion to duty, a devotion which overstrained his strength. It was a loss to the country that it should be deprived of his outstanding abilities, and it was hoped that he would return in full vigour to public life before the end of 1951.

PERIPATETIC MINISTERS

It had been customary at this banquet, said Mr. Attlee, for the Prime Minister to say something of foreign affairs. In former times, when foreign affairs were seldom discussed in Parliament and when meetings of Foreign Ministers occurred only rarely at times of high tension the Prime Minister's task was comparatively easy. There was seldom more than one critical issue in existence at any one time.

It was very different to-day. There were, alas, a great many difficult situations in various parts of the world.

Formerly a Foreign Secretary seldom left the country. Nowadays he was constantly having to travel to conferences of Ministers, and to meetings of international organisations. In spite of the help of three junior Ministers, he was continually overworked.

Furthermore, foreign affairs in these days had become inextricably connected with economic matters. Chancellors of the Exchequer and Presidents of the Board of Trade also had to be peripatetic. In fact, a Prime Minister to-day was fortunate if he had all his colleagues at home at the same time. It was part of the price which had to be paid for the closer integration of the world. It was a prime object of our policy to extend as far as possible the area of good relations and to work for enduring peace, and to this end personal contacts were of the utmost value.

He spoke of the state visit by the French President and Madame Auriol earlier in the year, of the visit this month of the Queen of the Netherlands and Prince Bernhard, and of those visits of the Prime Ministers and other Ministers of the Commonwealth and said they were hoping to receive a great many other guests for the 1951 Festival. All these things made for good relations between peoples and supplemented the continual exertions of Governments. "But, as we all know," he added, "there are dark clouds on the horizon. There are men who are prepared to resort to violence, and those who seek peace must be prepared to withstand the evildoer."

The North Atlantic Treaty, he said, was essentially defensive. Hard work on the planning of the military, production, and financial aspects of giving effect to the pact was going forward. There were difficulties in arriving at full agreement, in particular on such a thorny subject as the participation of Germany in the defence of Western Europe, but their policy had been made clear. "We are in favour of setting up a supreme command and an effective integrated force for the defence of Western Europe with as little delay as possible. We have also accepted that, under adequate safeguards, there should

be a contribution by Germany to this force."

Turning to Korea Mr Attlee paid tribute to the United States forces, which had "borne the main burden of this arduous campaign," and to the honourable part played by our own naval, military, and air contingents. "We all desire," he said, "that this conflict should be localised and brought to a successful end as soon as possible. The task then will be the promotion of a unified, democratic, and independent Korea."

Recalling Britain's support of the actions of the United Nations, he said: "I am certain that in all this the Government have had the support of the whole country, except for that small and insignificant minority that is obedient to the will of an alien authority. Recognition of the potential dangers of the world situation and the full acceptance of our obligations under the Atlantic Treaty has made it necessary for us to devote an increased proportion of our wealth and strength to defence." We were in close consultation with other members of the British Commonwealth on defence problems, and visits by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff had done much to promote co-operation, a practical example of which was the Commonwealth contribution to the forces in Korea.

He then showed the need for recruits for the Regular services. Much had been done to enhance pay, amenities, and prospects, but the main incentive, he said, must always be the desire to serve the country and the cause of civilisation. More volunteers were also needed in the Territorial Army and civil defence. Much had been done in recent years in extending the rights of the citizen and rights implied duties.

Turning to the Lord Mayor, he said: "I join with you in asserting the right of the Briton to say what he thinks about his Government. That is part of our way of life. We are free to disagree and to express our disagreement with vigour. But if anyone imagines that our grumbles and criticisms denote disunity on the fundamentals of our Western civilisation they are making the mistake of their lives. We seek for peace untiringly, but if we have to fight in defence of our freedoms we are, like Cromwell's soldiers, men who know what we fight for and love what we know."

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Of the economic position, the Prime Minister said it would be to Britain's eternal credit that instead of cherishing vain hopes of a return to the past when lend-lease ended, it set itself resolutely to face the future. In the first three-quarters of this year some 8 per cent more goods flowed from our industries than in the previous year. Our exports were now running at well over one and a half times their 1947 volume, and one-eighth of that was going to dollar countries. At the same time imports for which dollars must be paid had been reduced from one-third to one-sixth. As a result, our dollar deficit,

which was £574 millions in 1947, had been reduced to less than one-tenth and, owing particularly to the efforts of the United Kingdom, the dollar deficit of the sterling area as a whole had become a dollar surplus.

This had been done by the good work of the citizens. There had been a realisation of the essentials of our economic position, only possible in an educated democracy. There had been fine leadership on both sides in industry. There had been displayed a great willingness to adopt new methods and to seek new markets. Britain had, indeed, made a fine recovery.

Mr Attlee acknowledged the generous help of the United States and Canada, and said: "That is the bright side of the picture: there are of course shadows. There is the cost of rearmament which has been forced upon us. There is the world rise in prices, which tends to hit an importing nation such as ours particularly hard. There is the rise in the cost of living—less than in many countries, but still disturbing. There is the danger of inflation which has been held at bay through these years.

"I am not one to speak smooth things to you. There are difficult times ahead. It is hard that the need for rearmament should have come just when the prospects of restoring our economy were so hopeful. We shall meet these troubles as we have met so many others—with a stiff upper lip. I have no doubt that we shall overcome them, provided that we all, whether as producers or consumers, continue to play our part, having in mind the interests of the nation."

More than 840 guests attended the banquet. The toast list, which in pre-war days included a dozen or more speakers, was confined to the loyal toast, "His Majesty's Ministers," proposed by the Lord Mayor (Mr Denys Lowson), and "the late Lord Mayor," proposed by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Jowitt) and responded to by Sir Frederick Rowland.

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Deutsche Zeitung 'Stuttgart'

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Attlee fliegt hinter dem Frieden her

Das angelsächsische Zwiegespräch in Washington

Die Äußerungen des amerikanischen Präsidenten über die Atombombe und die Möglichkeit ihrer Verwendung im koreanischen Krieg haben nicht nur das britische Unterhaus und die englische Regierung aufgeschreckt. Der Schreck über Trumans Erklärung ist überall in Europa den Menschen, selbst den abgebrühten Berufspolitikern, in die Glieder gefahren, wenn man im allgemeinen auch verstand, nach außen hin die Fassung zu bewahren. Viele meinten, die Amerikaner in diesem Augenblick, in welchem ihre Truppen in Korea eine überaus schwere Niederlage einstecken müssen, schon mit der Atomwaffe sozusagen herumfuchtelten zu sehen.

Dabei hat der amerikanische Präsident im Grunde nichts Neues und nichts Sensationelles gesagt. Er hat bestätigt, was man schon vordem gewußt hat, daß nämlich seit dem Beginn der Feindseligkeiten bis auf den heutigen Tag Ueberlegungen über den Gebrauch der Atomwaffe angestellt worden seien, daß aber er, der Präsident, diese „furchtbare Waffe“ nicht anzuwenden wünsche. Jedoch hat er sich auch nicht darauf festlegen lassen, daß die Atombombe auf keinen Fall in Korea angewandt werde. Nachträglich ist vom Weißen Haus noch in allgemeinen Redewendungen darauf hingewiesen worden, daß Ueberlegungen über die Verwendung einer Waffe immer mit deren Besitz verbunden seien, so auch im Fall der Atombombe. Im Grunde sind das, wie gesagt, keine neuen Eröffnungen gewesen. Wenn es sich um einen harmloseren, nicht so heftige und begreifliche Furcht erweckenden Gegenstand handeln würde, könnte man fast von verklausulierten Allgemeinplätzen sprechen, wie sie amerikanische Präsidenten nicht selten in Pressekonferenzen auf zudringliche Fragen von Journalisten zur Antwort zu geben pflegen. Aber es geht eben um die Atombombe, und das in einem Augenblick, in welchem schon jedes unbedachte Wort die Gefahr des Krieges, eines über Korea weit hinausgreifenden Krieges vergrößern kann, ehe man es sich versehen hat. Deshalb haben die Erklärungen Trumans so explosiv gewirkt.

Das Bewußtsein einer ungewöhnlichen Gefahr ist es, die den englischen Premierminister Attlee alarmiert hat und ihn den ungewöhnlichen Entschluß hat fassen lassen, ohne das sonst übliche diplomatische Vorspiel, sofort einen Besuch in Washington zu machen, sich dort selbst einzuladen und davon öffentlich zu sprechen, ehe noch die Antwort aus Washington eingetroffen war. Das ist beinahe „sensationeller“ als die Bomben-Erklärung Trumans und der Dramatik nach wohl nur mit den Reisen Neville Chamberlains zu Hitler zu vergleichen. Attlees Flug führt zwar nicht nach Osten zu dem Mann, mit dem der Ausgleich gefunden werden müßte; doch mit seiner Mission ist ebenso wie mit den Reisen Chamberlains der Eindruck hervorgerufen worden, es gelte, in letzter Stunde den Frieden zu bewahren.

Wenn man das Protokoll der außenpolitischen Debatte des englischen Unterhauses, die Attlee mit der Ankündigung seines Reiseplans abschloß, nachliest, spürt man deutlich, daß die Besorgnis in England keineswegs allein von der Truman-Erklärung über die Atombombe ausgelöst worden ist; diese hat noch das Pünktchen auf das „i“ gesetzt. Der fast demonstrativ anmutende Besuch des französischen Ministerpräsidenten und seines Außenministers in London hat deutlich werden lassen, daß die Franzosen hinsichtlich Koreas und Chinas mit den Engländern gemeinsame Sache machen. Beide Regierungen kommen ihrem großen Verbündeten mit dem gleichen dringlichen Wunsch: den Konflikt mit dem roten China nicht auf die Spitze zu treiben, sondern ihn mit politischen Mitteln einzudämmen, um schließlich einen Modus vivendi auf der Grundlage gegenseitiger Konzessionen zu finden. England und Frankreich erheben durch den Mund Attlees ihre Stimmen, um zu sagen, was Churchill in der Unterhaus-Debatte in die Worte zusammengefaßt hat: „In Europa wird der Welten Lauf entschieden“. Das soll zugleich besagen, der Westen und vor allem Amerika müsse sich hüten, sich in Ostasien weiß zu bluten.

Wahrscheinlich wird Attlee in Washington keinen leichten Stand haben. Aus verschiedenen Gründen: Er selbst hat sich betont für die denkbar engste Zusammenarbeit mit den angelsächsischen Vettern ausgesprochen. Doch einige seiner Minister haben zu seiner Reise eine Begleitmusik gespielt, die dem Selbstbewußtsein der Engländer Ehre antut. Aber ob diese Musik ganz mit der Tatsache im Einklang steht, daß der Labour-Wohlfahrtsstaat auch auf dem Fundament von einigen Milliarden Dollar amerikanischer Anleihen und Zuwendungen errichtet worden ist, darüber mag Attlee in den USA verschiedene, nicht durchweg schmeichelhafte Meinungen hören können. Daß die englischen Sozialisten jetzt nach dem Skalp MacArthurs schreien, macht sie zudem den amerikanischen Republikanern nicht sympathischer, und diese haben nun in der amerikanischen Politik ein höchst wichtiges Wort mitzureden. Am Ende könnte das gar deren Außenminister Acheson, der im Grunde nicht anders als Attlee einen vernünftigen Ausgleich mit dem Regime Mao Tse-tungs anstrebt, der aber deswegen einigen Führern der Republikanischen Partei verdächtig ist und von ihnen unverblümt der Intrige gegen MacArthur beschuldigt wird — es könnte Acheson endgültig seine Stellung kosten. In diesen Auseinandersetzungen ist Achesons Position sowieso nicht übermäßig stark. Denn ihm, der sich entschieden für die atlantische Orientierung der amerikanischen Außenpolitik und gegen ein zu starkes Engagement im Fernen Osten eingesetzt hat, haben seine europäischen Kollegen bisher bei der gemeinsamen Politik und beim Aufbau eines atlantischen Verteidigungssystems mehr mit Worten als mit Taten beigeplottet. Das rächt sich — diese Politik nach dem Grundsatz: Nehmen ist seliger als Geben, nämlich Dollars nehmen ist seliger, als eigene Anstrengungen zu machen.

Auch die Siege der chinesischen Interventionsarmee erleichtern die Mission Attlees nicht. Als Attlee von seiner Reiseabsicht sprach, schien ihm und seinen Ratgebern noch vorzuschweben, eine neutrale Pufferzone zwischen der chinesisch-koreanischen Grenze und der sogenannten „Wespentaille“ Koreas, etwa fünfzig Kilo-

wenden

meter nördlich von Pyongyang, zur Grundlage von Verhandlungen mit der Regierung von Peking vorzuschlagen. Als Attlee am Sonntagabend nach Washington abreiste, war Pyongyang bereits mit einiger Ueberstürzung geräumt und waren große Teile der Armee MacArthurs in wenig hoffnungsvoller Lage eingekreist und vom Gros abgeschnitten. Die Lage auf dem Kriegsschauplatz ist offensichtlich nicht so, daß sich der Sieger gern mit einem Verhandlungsvorschlag, der ihm weniger geben würde, als er zu haben meint, in den Arm fallen ließe. Die chinesische Armee ist auf dem Vormarsch. Die zersplitterten und angeschlagenen Divisionen MacArthurs sind auf einem Rückzug, von dem man noch nicht sieht, wo er zum Halten gebracht werden könnte. Sie sind — man sagt damit kaum zuviel — in einer größeren Gefahr, als sie jemals in dem koreanischen Feldzug waren.

Einem Sieger ist es noch nie leicht gefallen, Mäßigung zu zeigen; die roten Chinesen verlangen jetzt als Mindestbedingung für Verhandlungen die Wiederherstellung des 38. Breitengrades als Zonenbarriere innerhalb Koreas. Ob es dabei bleibt, hängt mehr vom weiteren militärischen Verlauf als von Attlees Bemühungen um eine Vermittlung ab. In dem Gespräch zwischen dem amerikanischen Präsidenten und dem englischen Ministerpräsidenten mag sich eine viel ernstere Frage als die nach den Chancen einer Verhandlung mit Peking stellen: die Frage, ob die Konsequenz der schweren Niederlage der UN-Armee die resolute Liquidierung der Korea-Affäre, also der Rückzug, oder aber neue, tief eingreifende Anstrengungen zur Stabilisierung der Fronten in Korea zu sein hat. In einem Augenblick, in der die Marineinfanterie, die Elite der amerikanischen Armee, sich in einem Kessel in den Bergen Nordkoreas verblutet, mag man in Washington mit mäßigendem Zureden allein wenig anzufangen wissen. Es wird kaum ausbleiben, daß die Amerikaner ihrerseits überdies an Attlee als Wortführer der europäischen Regierungen die Frage stellen: Und was habt Ihr seit dem 25. Juni zur Abwendung der Gefahren, außer Worten, beigetragen? Und was wollt Ihr jetzt beitragen? J. T.

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MR ATTLEE'S EXPLANATION TO AMERICANS

Recognition of Peking Defended

DESIRE TO BE GOOD NEIGHBOURS OF EASTERN COUNTRIES

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 6.

Speaking at the National Press Club here Mr Attlee said to-day that with the grave military position in Korea the present was no time for criticism. He declared Britain's intention to stand side by side with the United States. He made his speech between two sessions of his third conference with President Truman. Mr Attlee praised the generalship of General MacArthur. Speaking from a prepared text he said:

"You may be certain that in fair or foul weather where the Stars and Stripes fly in Korea the British flag will fly beside them. We stand by our duty. We stand by our friends. The times are critical. "It would be idle to deny that the forces of the United Nations have suffered a serious setback. This is not the time for criticism. We must seek to find how best to help those who are bearing the burden."

He described as a "notable achievement" what General MacArthur had done in Korea. "The fact that, faced with overwhelming odds, the United Nations forces are now in difficulties should not obscure what was done under General MacArthur's skilful and resolute leadership. Owing to the intervention of the Chinese, the military situation has gravely deteriorated in the last few days."

NO APPEASEMENT

Dealing with his talks with President Truman, he said that although there were bound to be differences of emphasis between Britain and the United States, he could say that the talks were "already enabling us to understand each other's point of view."

He said: "There has been some talk of what is called appeasement—a word of ill-omen. We have not come here for appeasement. We know from bitter experience that appeasement never pays."

Mr Attlee recalled his visit here in 1941, a few weeks before the United States entered the second world war. He said he had been in office almost continuously since that time and he knew very well the comradeship of the British

and American peoples in war and in peace.

"It has been my object, whether as Deputy Prime Minister or Prime Minister, always to do my utmost to promote that full understanding and co-operation that we now have. During the war we had one great common objective—victory. Since the war the United States and Britain have striven for one aim—the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom and prosperity throughout the world."

Mr Attlee said the British and American Governments were well served by their respective Ambassadors on both sides of the Atlantic, and there was a close, friendly relationship between the two nations. "There was never a time when our co-operation was closer or more friendly," he said.

FORMING A COMMON POLICY

Recalling that he had said his talks with President Truman would be of great value, the Prime Minister said: "I wanted to have with him the broadest possible survey of world affairs and the frankest interchange of views. The objectives of our two countries are the same. It is evident that with our different geographical positions and different responsibilities there should be some difference of emphasis."

The Prime Minister said the talks enabled an understanding of each other's viewpoints. "That is the first and most necessary step in the forming of a common policy, for the ends we seek are not in dispute—they are not in doubt," he said.

Mr Attlee said that the United States and Britain were loyal members of the United Nations who, by their actions in Korea, were asserting the rule of law. "Our forces are fighting alongside yours and you may be certain that in fair or foul weather the British flag will fly beside yours. We stand by our duty and stand by our friends."

Turning to the Korean military campaign, Mr Attlee said this was no time for criticism. "We must find out how best to help those who are bearing the burden. The campaign of General MacArthur and his troops will go down in history as most notable. With slender forces he defended South Korea obstinately and then, passing to the offensive in a brilliantly conceived campaign routed the North Korean army. Now he is faced with overwhelming odds."

GOOD NEIGHBOURS WANTED

Mr Attlee said that everyone had to recognise that the overall situation had deteriorated in the last few days. "It is

our task here to review the world situation in the light of these talks with President Truman and consider carefully our further course of action. We must always beware of taking short views dictated by emotion. We must always recall that military objectives are means to an end and not ends in themselves."

Mr Attlee said the purpose of the military operations by the United Nations in the Far East was to halt aggression and establish lasting conditions of peace. "We must always bear in mind that the peoples of the Far East have, some time or other, to live as neighbours, and we want them to be good neighbours."

"Our long-term object always is to get rid of the causes of war. That does not mean we have any intention of indulging in what is called appeasement, a word of ill omen. I am told there are people who believe that that is why I have come here. That is not true. We all know from our own bitter experience that appeasement does not pay. But we in Britain are deeply concerned with all that goes on in Asia."

Mr Attlee said that Britain had had a long association with the peoples of Asia. India, Pakistan, and Ceylon had in the last few years become free and equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Burmese, people with whom Britain had a long history of friendship, had elected to be quite independent. The people of Malaya were in the process of working towards self-government.

Mr Attlee added: "We have, too, very close relations with the peoples of the Middle East." Mr Attlee then repeated Britain's vital concern with the "great land mass of Asia."

RECOGNITION OF PEKING

Turning to Britain's recognition of Communist China, Mr Attlee said:

"We are asked how we can have diplomatic relations with the Government of China when its policies have clashed with United Nations objectives in Korea. My answer is quite straightforward. The Chinese People's Government has control of all the mainland territory of China. They command the obedience of some four hundred million Chinese. These are stubborn facts and it is no good shutting one's eyes to them. How can we refuse to recognise these facts? Are we to cut off contact with one-sixth of the inhabitants of the world? Our recognition of the Chinese People's Government was the recognition of obvious facts."

Mr Attlee then dealt with the Commonwealth's Colombo plan for South-east Asia. He said that the subsidiary title for the plan—"New Horizons in the East"—expressed the hope which all members of the Commonwealth had in the plan. He said it was necessary not only to have a political and military policy for the area—there must also be an economic and social policy. "Our aim is to try to get rid of those terrible extremes of poverty in that part of the world. All kinds of dangerous movements grow from this poverty."

Mr Attlee said the meeting he had called for January with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers would be particularly valuable because of his refreshing talks this week with President Truman.

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BRITAIN'S THREE LINKS

Mr Attlee said that there were three links on which Britain rested—one link with the United States, one with the Commonwealth, and one with the rest of the world, especially Europe. "Two world wars have shown how strong these links can be, how closely the defence of freedom and democracy depends on strong action between the United States and the United Kingdom."

Mr Attlee said that the forces of the democracies stationed on the continent of Europe were growing in size "to defend the Atlantic community if anyone wished to attack it. I am confident that those who have pledged themselves to defend freedom will do so successfully."

"We are seeking to build up the strength of the West not for aggression but as a bulwark of peace. We are resolved to defend our way of life against any who may seek to attack it. But for this purpose, we need the utmost co-ordination not only in defence but also in economic matters. A sound economic position is the necessary base for defence."

"In Britain we have embarked on a large rearmament programme. This has strained our resources. We are only just emerging from the difficulties caused by the strain of the last war. It is incredible to us to see that we have again to turn our energies towards defence preparations."

Mr Attlee said that Britain and the United States drew their inspiration from the same spiritual sources. "We have the same belief in freedom and democracy, the same value for the common welfare, the same desire for peace. I am certain that our talks here will make for full understanding and increased co-operation in the great causes that we all have at heart."

—Reuter.

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Radioansprache Attlees an das canadische Volk

Ottawa, 11. Dez. ag (Reuter) Der britische Premierminister, Clement Attlee, richtete am Sonntagabend eine Radioansprache an das canadische Volk. Er führte aus:

„Bevor ich Canada verlasse, möchte ich die Gelegenheit benützen, um einige Worte an das canadische Volk zu richten. Ihr werdet das *Communiqué* kennen, das nach den Besprechungen zwischen Präsident Truman und mir in Washington veröffentlicht wurde. Ich möchte jetzt nicht viel darüber sprechen, weil meine erste Pflicht darin besteht, meinen Kollegen in der Regierung und dem Unterhaus Bericht zu erstatten. Eines möchte ich aber sagen: Zwischen uns und den Amerikanern besteht *volle Uebereinstimmung* über die Ziele, die wir zu erreichen suchen. Es ist sehr leicht, diese Ziele zu umschreiben: Friede und die Freiheit für alle Leute, ihr Leben glücklich und auf ihre eigene Art zu führen. Wir sind auch übereingekommen, daß diese Ziele mit Hilfe der Vereinigten Nationen erreicht werden müssen. Wie der canadische Außenminister Lester Pearson bereits in einer Radioansprache erklärte, gibt es keinen andern Weg, diese Ziele zu erreichen.

Wir, Mitglieder des Britischen Commonwealth, haben lange Erfahrungen in den Fragen der Freiheit und der Demokratie. Wir sind daran gewöhnt, unter uns auf der Grundlage der vollen Gleichberechtigung zusammenzuarbeiten. Wir verstehen das Bedürfnis nach Duldsamkeit und Verständnis in bezug auf die Ansichten anderer Völker. Wir müssen daher viel dazu beitragen, um die Ideale zu fördern, für welche die Vereinigten Nationen ein-

treten. Wenn wir die Vereinigten Nationen so stärken können, daß ihre Mitglieder genau so zusammenarbeiten, wie die Mitglieder des Commonwealth das in den Stunden der Gefahr getan haben, so braucht sich die Welt vor einer Aggression nicht zu fürchten.

Jetzt, da die *freie Welt bedroht* ist, seid ihr wieder daran, beim Aufbau der Verteidigung der Welt mitzuhelfen. Canada und Großbritannien sind Mitglieder der Organisation des *Nordatlantikpakts*. Präsident Truman und ich haben letzte Woche über diese Organisation gesprochen, und ich habe die Hoffnung, daß wir bald in der Lage sein werden, die Ernennung eines *Oberbefehlshabers* bekanntzugeben. Die Organisation des Nordatlantikpaktes bedroht niemanden. Die Errichtung dieser Organisation ist uns von den Leuten aufgezwungen worden, welche unsere Lebensart mißbilligen und sich vor ihr fürchten. Der Zweck der Organisation besteht darin, unsere Lebensart zu verteidigen und den Frieden zu schützen.

Die Gefahr des *kommunistischen Imperialismus* ist das größte aller unserer Probleme. Ich glaube nicht, daß die Welt sich bewußt ist, wie groß die Beanspruchung unserer Hilfsquellen und unserer Leute in diesem Kampf gegen die kommunistischen Anstrengungen ist, in *Malaya* die Macht zu ergreifen.

Zum Schluß möchte ich sagen, daß ich mit den Ergebnissen meiner Besuche in Washington und Ottawa sehr zufrieden bin. Es freut mich, feststellen zu können, daß die Wünsche und die Ansichten Canadas mit denen Großbritanniens identisch sind.“

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Ottawa, 11. Dez. ag (AFP) Nach seinen Besprechungen mit Attlee erklärte der canadische Premierminister Saint-Laurent, die Truppen der Vereinigten Nationen würden aus Korea nicht vertrieben werden. Man habe der canadischen Regierung mitgeteilt, daß die Truppen der Vereinigten Nationen in Korea in der Lage seien, eine starke Verteidigungslinie zu errichten, und daß es möglich sein werde, durch Verhandlungen einen Frieden herbeizuführen.

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MR ATTLEE'S ASSURANCE ON THE ATOMIC BOMB

"No Light or Wanton Use"

An assurance about the use of the atomic bomb was given by the Prime Minister when he broadcast from Chequers on Saturday night on his visit to President Truman. Mr Attlee said: "I know there is a great deal of anxiety about the atomic bomb. Let me say at once that there is no ground whatever for any apprehension that this weapon would be used lightly or wantonly. But the fact that this weapon exists, and that all know the terrible consequences which would result from its use, is a powerful deterrent to those who might think of breaking the peace of the world.

"I am certain that the heavy responsibility of a decision as to its use rests, so far as the free peoples are concerned, in the hands of men who share to the full the humane feelings which have been expressed in so many messages to me from men and women on both sides of the Atlantic."

BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Giving the reasons for his visit to the United States Mr Attlee said: "I didn't expect any spectacular results. What I wanted, and what I think I got, was a better understanding between Britain and the United States of each other's outlook. I know I found, as I had expected, a great measure of agreement. President Truman and I are just like the general run of people, anxious to do our utmost to preserve peace in a dangerous world. We are really very representative of ordinary people.

"We want to get on with our peaceful work. We want to raise the standard of

life of the people. We want men and women to live happily with a sense of security. We are, however, forced to recognise that there are Governments who are resolved to seek by force a realisation of their ambitions. This is no new thing. History gives us many instances. It was a realisation of this that led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation, the express purposes of which are to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

"Nobody who is not a slave to Communist propaganda doubts that aggression by North Korea took place. This was so found and condemned by an overwhelming majority of the countries represented in the United Nations. The United States, who already had forces in the Far East, have borne the brunt of that challenge, and our own men are fighting side by side with them.

"The forces of the United Nations which defeated the North Korean aggressors have now met with a setback, owing to the intervention of Chinese troops. This has made a dangerous situation, more dangerous because if aggressors are allowed to get away with it those who believe in the use of force will be encouraged, and we know from experience what that means. We must therefore stand firm against appeasement when that word means an abject surrender to lawless force.

"On the other hand, the Korean conflict must not spread into world war. We must seek a settlement which, while preserving the authority of the United Nations, will remove the causes of friction. I make it perfectly clear that Britain stands by the United Nations and will fight alongside our American friends in that cause. It was equally clear that, sooner or later, and

the sooner the better, there must be negotiation.

"As you know, there are certain points on which our American friends and ourselves differ. The President and I discussed these quite freely. They won't prevent us from acting together. For my part, I am hopeful that a way will be found to settle the difficult matters in the Far East. I don't believe the Chinese people want war. We want to see them getting on with the immense task of raising the standard of life of the millions of people in their own country.

"It's for them to choose their own form of Government. We only ask that they should concede to other peoples, such as the Koreans, the Indo-Chinese, the Tibetans, and the rest, the same rights which they claim for themselves. We have gone all the way in recognising to the full the rights of the people of Asia to manage their own affairs. We proved our faith by our actions. As a result, throughout all this difficult time, we have been aided by the advice by our Asiatic fellow-members of the Commonwealth. We don't wish to see the peoples of Asia fall under the tyranny of a Russian dictatorship.

"The President and I also discussed very fully the defence of what we call the Atlantic Community. We are members of that community and we and other peoples on both sides of the Atlantic with a common cultural heritage and a common belief in freedom and democracy ask no more than the right to preserve our own way of life.

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"We don't mind how Communists in Russia choose to govern themselves, but we are not prepared to have communism forced on us here. For that reason we have joined together with the democracies on both sides of the Atlantic to build up forces strong enough to deter anyone from attacking us. That is all we want. We have no thought of aggression. We are hoping that there will soon be meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers to try to reach agreement with the Soviet Union. We all hope that such meetings may be successful, but meanwhile we have no option but to build up our strength. President Truman and I were in complete agreement on this and action is proceeding.

"Unfortunately, as we all know, increased defence means that less resources will be available for civilian use. More armaments mean less commodities are available for our everyday needs. We discussed this problem, especially the question of the availability of raw materials. We agreed that we should try to increase their supply and to set up machinery to ensure their fair distribution. Without this prices would rise and there might be unemployment and a dislocation of our rearmament programme.

"We agreed that defence measures must not be allowed to destroy the economic position of our countries. I found in America a very full recognition of the great work the British people have done in increasing production and obtaining economic stability.

"The coming year is not going to be easy. The unsettled state of the world is bound to mean that we shall have to put up with disagreeable things and to postpone improvements in our standard of life. We cannot afford to relax our efforts. We must continue to work hard and to exercise restraint as we have been doing. But I am confident that if we continue to act with the same spirit with which we have met our post-war difficulties we can overcome those that lie ahead."