

**Papers of Hugh Dalton:**  
**Original Manuscript Diary**

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2.1.45.

Back to London and spend the rest of the day in the office dealing with arrears. How quickly these mount up!

3.1.45.

R.I. Committee on encouragement of manufacture of watches and clocks and other things in this country, which, owing to the hesitations and inefficiencies of private enterprise we did not make before the war.

The officials all advise me to reduce the clothing ration for the next period and, indeed, the position is not good, particularly as regards cotton, though leather is better than it was. I am inclined to say, when Parliament meets, that I am keeping the ration at 24 for the next period, but to add that this period may have to last for seven months instead of six and that people should plan accordingly. This, I think, is the least upsetting way to do it.

Collecting material for my visit to the constituency to-morrow.

4.1.45. (Thursday)

To Bishop Auckland, thus arriving a day earlier than usual. Dine at Darlington with Kalsteins.

5.1.45.

Call on Ruddock in his new office at Cockton House, Cockton Hill. I find S. Forster also inside awaiting me. We make a round of visits together with Will Davis :

(i) To the Town Hall, where Blythe is now

installed as Clerk in succession to Proud; just a little wooden, but should do as well as most clerks of U.D.C's.

(ii) To Alligator Works in temporary buildings in the Town, where I rather spoil their complaints by saying how nice and light the hall is, though clearly it is rather stuffy and not suitable, except for this rather protracted emergency; I am sorry to hear that they have got into trouble over Purchase Tax and have been fined a considerable sum; they are much the least satisfactory of our three Jewish firms, and I do not unduly encourage their hopes to be reinstated, with high priority, in their old factory.

(iii) To the new standard factory now going up at St. Helen's; I am pleased with the siting of this, well away from Lewin's, with a substantial gap sufficient to house four or five other factories in between; completion is promised by June and thereafter I hope that Reyrolles will take it; I walk about on the site and advised that they should buy a new bit at the eastern end suitable for a sports field, in addition to the ten or twelve acres at the western end which could house several new factories beyond Alligator's own building.

(iv) To the site of the new Housing Estate on the opposite side of the road where the Council have now got agreement of M.T.C.P., who originally wanted them to build at South Church - a most stupid idea - to put up 360 houses here; this will be a very good beginning and will be expanded later on, but I press on them the need to set aside a good space for tennis, bowles, children's playground etc., and this, I understand, they are proposing to do in their latest plan; Dalton Avenue will be extended up the hill.

(v) To Ernest & Henry's for lunch and to hear the usual tale about their need for an extension, which I hope will soon be able to be undertaken.

(vi) To see Hymers with S.F. and Ruddock, who

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told us that he had only 300 people on his book, most of whom were impossible to place owing to physical disability etc.

(vii) To Davis's house with him, S. Forster and Ruddock for a talk on the problems of the area; I am very glad to find what a large number of new firms are showing an interest in various parts of the region and I impress on them the importance of having only gentile firms henceforth at St. Helen's and of making a beginning at Shildon on the Dabbleduck site, even if at the start there is only one factory there; I also urge on Ruddock the importance of doing something for Crook, where at least one good factory should be steered. We discuss also, at considerable length the future of the N.E. Trading Estates Co. and S. Forster shows uneasiness with regard both to Ridley and Methuen. It is clear that we must reinforce the Board by bringing in at least one representative from each of the areas where there is, or is soon to be, a trading estate, and probably someone also from Middlesbrough; S.F. would like to be ex-officio Vice-Chairman of the Board, feeling that otherwise he will not have ready access to the facts, e.g. about the rents being charged for different factories, which he suspects are arbitrary and inequitable, showing great variations both at Team Valley itself and as between T. V. and the other Estates; I tell him that before anything is settled he must come to London and have a talk with me, Warter and Jay.

(viii) To the Eldon Institute where the Jewish firm of Morris have got temporary premises; some two dozen juveniles, mostly girls, are being trained here by a rather clean and pleasant looking Jew named Rosenberg, who has so far burnt his boats as to buy a house at Darlington. We are all, including S.F., well impressed with what we see and we had determined, on the road, to urge this firm to go to Dabbleduck, which we find they are already half inclined to do, the only question being how soon we can put up a building for them there.

(ix) To Shildon, where we meet the Council and their officials in the Council Chamber; we are quite a



formidable invasion, myself, S. Forster, Ruddock, Davis and Mascall, who has motored us out this afternoon; I and my two officials address the meeting and there seems general satisfaction at what is going on, except for some rather silly carping by George Gibson, who is really jealous of Maurice Mason on whom both W.D. and I are tending principally to rely in all matters relating to Shildon. I tell them all to keep in close touch with Ruddock and, if they can, to find him a nice house in Shildon to which he can move from Durham City.

(x) S.F. and Ruddock having been packed off by an earlier car, back to Mascall's for supper, he being very delighted at being so much in the picture. A very useful and pleasant day.

6.1.45. (Saturday)

Sleep in and later discuss possibilities of getting a new Hotel, small but comfortable, put up by the West Auckland Brewery Co. somewhere close to the Trading Estate. They should have seven or eight bedrooms and serve good meals. It must not be just a beer house. With W.D. after lunch to the Lightfoot Institute, where I see first a deputation from the Approved Societies who are most anxious to retain what they call their "Home Service" in connection with the new Social Security Scheme, as to which I promise to consider carefully any memorandum they may send me and, next, a large number of constituents with cases. Then to tea with Proud who says he is very glad to be free of the responsibility of the U.D.C. Then to a meeting in the large upstairs room at the Lightfoot, very cold, and we all keep our coats on, even though there are two fires one at each end of the room. To this meeting have been invited not only delegates but their friends from all parts of the Division, and I give them a full report of the proceedings at the Labour Party Conference, with a few comments on the importance of beginning to get the local Labour Parties all over the constituency re-equipped with Chairmen and Secretaries. No serious criticisms are made and there is a good mood in the meeting. Dine with Lewins, who says that old

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Vogel is always telling stories about my visit to the Lakes!

7.1.45.

In the morning to Evenwood, where I address a very comfortable gathering in the bar of the Workman's Club - before 12 o'clock. To them I talk about plans for development and employment after the war, mentioning the possibility of something new coming to Evenwood. A good crowd, always looking rather more agricultural out here, as indeed they are, than at Bishop Auckland or Shildon.

In the afternoon a useful conference with W.D. and Lewcock, with special reference to the appointment of an Agent for the next election. In the past this has generally been left to the last minute and sometimes most unsuitable people have been chosen. W.D. and I both think that M. Mason would be the best this time, if it can be arranged with the Railway Company. They will pursue this, and, if he is willing, try to get this accepted by the Management Committee. There are no signs as yet of any Conservative or Liberal activity in this or in several of the other County Divisions, but Lewcock thinks that the Liberals will probably put up a Candidate against me, though possibly the Tories, who have always been very weak here, will not. At this next election I shall prefer a Liberal to a Tory opponent, if I am to have only one, since the Liberal will not be able to play the Churchill card, which the Tory can. W.D. says that a number of tradesmen in the town are saying that they will vote for me anyhow because I have done so much for the district, but we must not leave too much to faith! Dine with the Wallach's and Major Morrison of the Nuffield Trust who is staying with them. He is keen and intelligent and has many contacts in various Development Areas.

8.1.45.

Get up earlier than usual to catch the 8.50 from

Darlington. Freezing and snowing hard. Am driven to the station by Mascall's clerk, an intelligent young man whose name I miss.

The train is late but I get back just in time to have a quick lunch and go to a Reconstruction Committee, where I press Leathers on some details of road development in the D.A's. It is left that I shall have some talks with him about this.

Conference with C.W., and others, including lawyers, on the first draft by Parliamentary Counsel of the Distribution of Industry Bill. Still a certain number of tricky points to be settled.

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9.1.45.

Give tea to the C.P.R.C. and try to persuade them that we should now amalgamate staff. They are rather sticky and conscious of their own independence, but I arrange for Bussé to talk to H.G.

War Cabinet. A rather vague, but not unhelpful, paper on "Strategic Aspects of Industrial Location" is accepted.

Street to dine. He still thinks he is "bringing people along".

10.1.45.

National Executive, after which I bring H.J.L. back to lunch. Much talk this morning on Greece, on which A. Bevan makes a long speech - but it is much less easy to be vehement when there are only a small number of listeners and several of these not very sympathetic. He claimed to have special knowledge of what the P.M. said to the Greek King and to the Archbishop of Athens. And, in particular, he knows that the P.M. has offered ten Divisions (what a thought!) for the complete conquest of Greece. He refuses to divulge his source of information. Shinwell moves a Resolution for publication, declaring that we demand that E.A.M. be brought into the Government and that otherwise we withdraw our troops from Greece at once. He pretends that this is in line with the Conference Resolution, but fortunately I have this in my hand and am able to refute him. I move, as an Amendment, that, as the Chairman had already suggested, we should send a deputation to the P.M. for general discussion. This Amendment, rejecting any resolution, is carried by 11 to 6 and the deputation is then unanimously agreed. (It is to consist of Greenwood, Griffiths, Laski and Bevan. They saw the P.M. on the following Monday. The talk was surprisingly successful. The P.M. afterwards said in the Cabinet "I went in determined to be stern and unbending, but I couldn't keep

Went back  
Carrington  
Calkin  
Calkin  
Lansdowne

it up:")

At lunch I discuss Chairs and Sub-Committees with H.J.L. He is much in favour of my taking the Chair at the International and says that he will make all necessary arrangements for this. He asked whether I was quite sure that I wanted to hand over the Policy Chair to H.M. I said "Yes", and I had already told the latter so. H.J.L. thought he would like to succeed to the Chair of the Dallas Committee and I raise no objection. This will be of rapidly decreasing importance, now that France and Belgium, and others soon we hope, will be freed. We then discuss Gillies and agree that, though he should be treated generously as regards salary, pension etc., that this is the right time to part with him. I mention John Price as a possible successor. H.J.L. likes this suggestion. I say that I would also like to see a young Assistant in this Department, preferably a young University ex-Serviceman with some knowledge of languages and foreign countries.

Berthoud, of whom I have always thought highly, comes to see me. He is to be a key man in the occupation of Austria. He wants to go to Manchester to try to discover some suitable economic staff.

11.1.45.

Confer with O.L., E.B., and A.D. on cotton. Ministers this morning show a tendency to rush ahead and take quick decisions; which frightens some of my poor officials when they hear about them afterwards! The general idea is that a number of mills, say half a dozen, must be re-opened; that any finance necessary to prevent these running at a loss when their labour force is very small must be found by the Treasury; that cotton should be regarded as not less important than munitions of war; and that the B. of T. should set up a "Production Department" for cotton, with a technical



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engineer in charge; and that two working parties, one in London and one in Manchester, should work out a lot of details about labour supply. I am to discuss with A.D. the next steps. E.B. looks on all this, and particularly the six mills to be opened, as a means of improving the whole standard of the industry as regards amenities of all kinds and also hampering Trade Union Regulations.

*on 12/1/45*  
In the afternoon to Birmingham, with B.G. and G.P., to dine at the Midland Hotel with Sir Miles Thomas and a bunch of Birmingham business men. These are not a very impressive lot, nor are the arrangements made for us very good. (Next morning we only just succeed, through G.P.'s enterprise, in getting a taxi to take us to the station, Heckle, my Regional Controller having quite failed to fix this or himself to turn up to make sure.) But the business men seem to like my remarks and those of B.G.

12.1.45.

A further muddle at Paddington about the car which has been sent to Euston by mistake. While waiting at the Station Hotel, B.G. and I are beset by Lewis Jones, the rather displeasing Parliamentary representative of Timplat. He works round, of course, to Redundancy.

Meet my Design Council this afternoon, with Barlow in the Chair and Leslie, now appointed Director, at his side. They don't look a bad body.

Leave with Piercy for Shipton and reach Paddington in good time, but, half an hour before the train is due to leave, an American soldier in our carriage fidgeting about with the luggage on the rack causes a large and heavy metal implement to fall on W.P.'s bare head. The window into the corridor is cracked and W.P. is cut and begins to bleed. I take him along to the First Aid Post where they patch him up and tell him that he will probably have a bad headache this evening.

Met at Shipton by Mary Piercy, whom I had not seen

for many years and drive in the dark to Burford, where they live in "The Great House", but, though the house is a fair size, it is rather a misleading name.

Here I spend, till the morning of 15th January, a very pleasant and peaceful week-end.

I find Penelope, the eldest Piero's daughter, particularly interesting and full of character. She has been for some years knocking about China, whither she first went as a missionary but chucked this because she did not think much of their ways of doing things. Later she used to drive a car along the Burma road and later still did "economic intelligence" at Chungking and afterwards at Delhi. She told terrible stories of the lack of hygiene in China and how, when you go out to dine in a private house, you always take your own small saucepan with you and ask to have it filled with boiling water, in which you disinfect, before you start to eat, the chopsticks provided by your host. Vast numbers of Chinese, she says, and in some districts practically all, suffer continually from intestinal worms and even Westerners who are careful in their habits are very liable to catch this and must take vigorous purgative methods to avoid it. She could not go, as she would have liked, to the so-called "Communist" provinces, of which she heard good accounts. The Chungking lot would penalize the families of any Chinese who tried to visit these provinces. They had concentration camps for all such cases, not much better than the German. The corruption at Chungking was great.

So their food  
is very nutritious  
the worms  
don't harm.

In India she formed a very poor view of the politicians, especially of Congress, though Jinnah, she thought, was only a shade less of a disaster for India than Gandhi. She had gone out with strong Left Wing views but, though she thought she retained these in domestic affairs, as regards the East she had become so conscious of British superiority that she had turned quite Imperialist. She was sure that, if we left India immediately, civil war and general repine and chaos would follow. I said that I thought we ought, at least, when Japan was defeated, to tell them that we intended to go and to name an early date. Then, if they

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came to ask us to stay - she was sure they would - we could re-discuss our relations. She doesn't think much of the India Office, where everyone - and the same is true of the high-ups at Delhi - are terrified of Parliamentary Questions put by people with no knowledge of India whatever. They often said "Oh you can't do that" to some quite simple and sensible thing "because someone would certainly ask a Question in Parliament." The result was the most frightful timidity in all fields of policy.

W.P. is in the running for the Candidature at West Middlesbrough, in succession to Joad. He is one of six or seven. He is going up next week. I like him and I also like Mary, with whom I had a long and interesting conversation about everything under the sun after he had gone. She is still very definitely a Socialist and thinks that he has been slow to come thus far. She looks rather tired with the years and anxieties of war - their son Nicholas is in the Fleet Air Arm, now, for the moment, in South Africa.

*to whom she is very grateful for a letter in 1922. This may save*

Sir W. Rootes this afternoon to see me about an opening Speke, which he wants to be turned over to Dunlops for *one day* post-war work. This would be a very good arrangement and I hope will soon be brought about. Beharrell Junior also comes to-day and we discuss details.

Mike Williams Thompson, just returned from Italy, to dine with me to-night. He thinks now he may be over here for some months (a few days later it seems he is likely to be sent out sooner than this to India). He has been working for S.O.E. I would like, and so would he, to get him fixed up for a constituency before he goes and I urge him to get again in touch with Transport House.

16.1.45.

Get my Export Credits Bill through the Legislation Committee. It can be introduced quite soon. It will be amusing to have a Bill of my own.

P.Q.'s. to-day include an answer on the clothing ration. I tell them they are to have 24 fresh coupons on February 1st, but that these may have to last, for grown-ups though not for children, until September 1st, i.e. for seven months instead of six. This is equivalent to a threatened cut in the ration and I was quite prepared for general gloom, but I do not think many understood exactly what my answer implied, though its wording was quite clear and Sturton and Beaumont both thank me for my sympathetic reply. Next day in the Press only the "Daily Mail", as might be expected, attacked me and that not very viciously.

J.W. to lunch. I had not seen him for some time. He is enjoying the Ministry of Supply and travelling about a good deal looking at R.O.F.'s. He had an interesting lunch yesterday, of which he told me. He is going on for a bit longer at Diss though living there has not much point and is not very convenient. He thinks he gets on very well with A.D.

From lunch to International Sub, where Laski, taking the Chair at the opening, proposes that I should be Chairman. No other name is suggested, though Shinwell, who obviously had hopes that he would get the Chair himself, says he objects on principle to a member of the Government being Chairman of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Sub-Committee of the Executive, but no one else supports him. On taking the Chair and thanking my colleagues, I say that, no doubt, the distinction between those who accepted and those who refused invitations to join the Government in May 1940 will soon become much blurred. We then have a report from Laski and Griffiths of their deputation to the P.M. yesterday. It is quite clear, though they don't admit it, that he captivated and, to a considerable extent, persuaded them. Laski then proposes that Gillies should leave the room, and we then discuss whether there should be a re-arrangement in the International Department, to give us a new Secretary. This is unanimously felt to be desirable, and it should be noted that those present included, in addition to those named already, C.R.A., H.M., Phil Baker, Jermie Adamson and Tom Williamson. The latter showed a certain tendency to delay decision but I said we had better first settle the

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merits, and then go on to procedure. On the merits, or the demerits, of Gillies we were unanimous. It was then decided that we should recommend to the N.E. that he should be retired - he is just over 60 - but that he should be treated generously, not only as to pension, but by receiving a lump sum of salary paid in advance. It was further decided that I, with H.J.L., T.W., and Morgan Phillips should receive him, the others having left, and break this to him. This we did. It was a little difficult since he was obviously so totally unprepared. I began in a deliberately circuitious and muffled fashion, from which he inferred that I thought the strain of war had been bad for his health, and hastened to reassure me that he was really very fit. Whereupon both H.J.L. and T.W. broke in with much greater directness and told him that the Committee had unanimously decided that we should have a new Secretary, and that the best course would be for him to resign. They added that we wished to treat him well financially. He asked that he should have time to think this over, to which we agreed, and I suggested that he might like to make some written communication to M.P. before the next Executive. I am sure we have done the right thing and I hope that we may get John Price as a successor, and at a later date, a suitable assistant.

Duncan Sandys to see me, at my request, on our joint programme for Furniture and Houses. He begins by suggesting that I should make a cut for his benefit in my plywood allocation. I propose, on the other hand, that we should jointly make a programme and fight for an increase in the total available. We duly send in a Joint Paper a few days later.

With H.G. to dine with Rank and three of his associates. Nothing very definite ever emerges from these parties, but I get the impression that they are not unhopeful of good export arrangements.

17.1.45.

B.G. and I to lunch with Maginness and other



engineers. We make speeches, seated, which are fairly well received.

In the afternoon see A.D. about cotton. My officials, meeting earlier in the day, had been terrified that he was going to try to plant the whole Cotton Control on to me, but he suggests nothing of the sort. He says that Platt is soon going from the Control and that he thinks we ought to have some joint arrangement between the B. of T. and M. of S., similar to the Footwear Board and the Leather Controller. This would pave the way for transfer later on. I said I rather liked this approach and we agreed that A.O. and B.G. should meet Sir William Douglas and probably Sir C. Weir to make a plan.

G.J. to dine. I have not seen him for months, and he told me of various formulae he had been making to try to bridge the gap at Dumbarton Oaks between the Russians on the one hand and ourselves and the Americans on the other regarding the rule about Great Powers. The Russians say all these must be unanimous before any action can be taken by the Security Council. We and the U.S. say that a party to a dispute, Great Power or Small, should have no vote. G.J. had suggested that the Anglo-American view should be adopted for the earlier stages of any dispute, i.e. that a Great Power should not have the right to prevent examination of the question by the Council, or by any other method, but that the Russian view should prevail at the last stage, i.e. that after examination no action should be recommended by the Council except with the Great Powers unanimous. This had, however, been objected to on high levels, both in the U.S. and here as going too far in the Russian direction and had also been rejected by Stalin as not going far enough! But he still thought that something of this kind might be devised. In fact, if the Great Powers fell out, there would either be another war or the whole international organisation would collapse or both. If, however, the Russian view was fully accepted there was a danger that a large number of non-Great Powers, including, perhaps, Canada, would refuse to join the show at all and it would thus become a mere alliance of Great Powers and not an

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at ad. (I had seen R 9.  
- she was looking  
well, but, he thought  
rather worried -

international organisation. Shortly after this, and while he was describing a luncheon given by Massigli at which he had been present, he suddenly said that he felt very sick and went out of the restaurant. He then was indeed very sick, and fell down, losing consciousness for some moments and groaning most unhappily, also cutting his head behind the ear. The admirable Josef produces various First Aids, including bismuth to be sipped and a rag soaked in vinegar to be rubbed on his face and I then got him, still half unconscious, into the car and took him back to his flat. His wife and family were away and there was no one there except a housekeeper lady in the basement. I got him up in the lift and put him to bed and then started to try to get a Doctor. This was a considerable business and took over an hour, involving a telephone call to Horder who gave me three names, but the one I went for proved to have left his residence, as recorded in the telephone book, three years before. I was finally guided to a Maxwell Chance living in 5, Culcross Street, and brought him back in my car, but he declared that G. had had a very severe attack of ptomaine poisoning, but having been so violently sick had probably got rid of the poison now, but it had left him rather weak. It is amazing how quickly such a thing can get one right down. I have never seen such a case before. Clearly the damage had been done early in the day, probably at a lunch at the Argentine Embassy - probably they were trying to poison all their guests! - for he said he had felt funny in the afternoon. Next day I went to see him in the afternoon and he was out of bed and apparently much better, though he was staying at home and reading F.O. papers there. Such an incident makes one feel rather cautious about one's food. I confess this is a new sense of insecurity for me!

18.1.45.

Deputation from Liverpool City Council about Speke and other war factories. I think they leave feeling

10.

quite satisfied.

*Says he*  
Dine alone with Lever at his invitation. He is a little shy and slow to start, but we soon come on to Timplat problems, both modernization and Redundancy. On the latter he doesn't quite understand my point of view. I therefore repeat it, trying to make it quite clear for the hundredth time. Then I press him on modernization and he says that they have practically decided to put a new works at Port Talbot. I say that, if he can make this quite definite before I go to South Wales, the week-end after next, it will be a very good thing for everyone. He says he will try his best. I say that I don't think much of some of his colleagues, and that MacDairmid's letters, in particular, are rude and unhelpful. This man is a solicitor, relatively young and keen to do well. He is, of course, very much a profit maker, but it may be possible to do some useful business with him.

19.1.45.

Several engagements cancelled through other people being ill. Spend the afternoon at the House hearing last stages of Greek Debate and a winding up speech by A.E. Only seven vote against the Government.

20.1.45.

21.1.45.

At W.L. Sun outside and sleep within.

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22.1.45.

Ministerial Housing Squad. We are all rather taken with Cripps' aluminium house. This is to be pursued.

Mr. Macauley of Cossors on his return from the U.S.A. tells me that he can get millions of dollars from Americans who want to invest in some of our concerns, though it will be necessary to prevent them from getting majority control. I say that I am broadly sympathetic, though it will need careful watching.

Write to Colonel Chapman, saying that I hope before long to have a talk with him about the position of the North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd. He has made the most absurd suggestions for new members, all designed to make a nice little tea party for Lord Ridley. For S.W. Durham he proposes some colliery manager's official from Willington! This won't do. I am clear that the best nomination from S.W. Durham would be Mascall; an employer and a Conservative in politics he could not be objected to by outside critics and it would be useful to have a builder on the Board. I write

*← will Davis think this will be an good an having him on the one,*  
 Dine with G. Wansbrough to meet Miles who is in Iron and Steel. He is almost a Communist, very pro-Soviet, against paying any compensation to capitalists in this country when their concerns are taken over and, on the other hand, very hard-boiled on Location. He thinks that probably there should be no more modern timplate plants in South Wales, but that the industry should be moved to our own iron ore deposits in the Midlands. I ask him to send me a note. I find that G.W. has now gone off the B.A. standard factory. He is a bit like this!

23.1.45.

A lot of P.Q's, but the weather being bad, most are missed.

Lebus has had to go into hospital, with some kind of

eye poisoning. He is in any case resigning his post as Adviser to me on U.F., since his firm is likely soon to be designated.

Meeting of Policy Sub. E.W. takes the Chair at the start and I move that H.M. should be Chairman. This is accepted without dissent and I am thanked for my services in recent years.

E.B. tackles me in the corridor of the House about Gillies. He asks "Is it due to Schiff?" I say "Certainly not, but W.G. has been becoming odder and odder for sometime past and is now over 60. We are quite prepared to treat him generously as to pension etc." E.B. says "I have sacked more people than anybody else and I could probably give you some advice as to how to deal with him." I say I shall be much obliged.

24.1.45.

I ask John Price to see me and tell him, in confidence, that Gillies' job will soon be vacant and that I myself regard J.P. as much the best successor. He says he is being pressed to join the staff of the I.L.O., to take charge of the new commissions for particular industries. This would mean living in Montreal. The salary would be better than the Labour Party could offer, but he is obviously attracted by the new alternative, which would enable him to keep his wife and child in this country. He also attaches, as I do, great value to new developments, in this new post-émigré era in our international relations. He will communicate with me again in a few days.

Consider, with C.W. and a swarm of officials, including Sir G. Ram's deputy (he being ill for the second time when he has a date with me!), the second draft of the D. of I. Bill They promise me the final draft to-morrow



D I A R Y.

week.

Dine with Platt, who thinks I ought now to take over the Cotton Control, after the raw cotton stage, and appoint Lacey to succeed himself when he goes at the end of March. He thinks this is what Duncan means, though he failed to make this clear to me, the other day. Platt can open six more mills at once, being sure that E.B. will do his best to help with labour. There will be no need for Government finance. They can draw on the Concentration Fund for six months, if necessary. He hints that, if a Labour Government came in, he could help a lot and that our ideas would be the same on the future of the cotton industry.

25.1.45.

Weekly meeting. Frightful delay over re-opening six cotton mills. (B.G. goes by car, in icy weather, to Manchester on Friday to see Grundy and Mather and urge them to get a move on.)

Hugh Roberts calls, at his own request, and makes a very bad impression. He speaks ill of all my principal officials and says that B.G. only knows about big business. This is not the way to get anything here for himself, which is really what he wants. I tell him that I know he has inspired Gen. Swinton to write to the P.M. attacking the Board of Trade. I have this letter in front of me. The P.M. passed it on to me. He says that this is nothing personal towards me but only to the Board of Trade as a whole. I say I shall have been here three years next month and that I take the responsibility, whether credit or discredit, for what the B. of T. is and does. He then said something about the importance of changing the name to Ministry of Industry and Commerce. He says many business people think that this would increase the importance of the Department. I say that this is the most utter tomy-rot and anyone who attaches importance to such a change of name doesn't know what he's

talking about. The only change of name worth consideration would be to upgrade the title to a Secretaryship of State for Trade, but anyhow names matter practically nothing. I make it fairly clear that I have no intention of having anything to do with Mr. Roberts. I say that, perhaps, as he is interested in the finance of small business, he would like to ask Lord Catto whether there will be anything for him in connection with the new Industrial Corporation to assist small businesses.

Make a brief speech, less than twelve M.P.'s. being present, on the Adjournment in reply to Captain Duncan on Lend-Lease. (There has been a frightful commotion, beginning two days ago, among officials at the Treasury and Ministry of Production over this; they had wanted steps taken to postpone the rate; it might be so embarrassing from the point of view of the Americans; Master Kahn had even suggested that I should prepare a draft of what I would like to say and send it over to the M. of Production for him to correct!) *It all goes we will perfect same, embarrassing to come.*

*deb/* M. Williams Thompson to dine with me. He is now to go, in about a month's time, to India. It would be an excellent thing if he could be fixed up in a constituency before he leaves. He had seen Shepherd and Windle and had been very well received - last time he had found Shepherd rather cold. They had told him various possible constituencies and he asked me to put them in some kind of order. In London there are several good ones, but there is no chance, Daines had told him, for an outsider. Outside London the best are Bilston and Peterborough where "the row is over" and Capron has apparently been finally dislodged. Next I would put Watford and Wolverhampton East. He is prepared to do a lot of running about during the next few weeks and they will put him on to key people in these constituencies. *Richard/*

I tell him I have read his Palestinian book. The style is very loose and would want a lot of tightening up before it could be published. It would also make an impression of

DIARY.

being pro-Arab and anti-Zionist and, in my view, is a bit tilted in this direction, but, if he thinks that this is the truth, he should say so, though he should make his case against the Zionists a bit more precise. He frequently says that he finds them and their movement "unpleasant", but doesn't explain why.

X  
26.1.45.

*Charles*

Lever to see me at his own request. He says he has been doing his best to meet my wishes and ~~even~~ securing agreement of the various parties concerned to my making a public announcement in S. Wales this week-end. He hands me some notes, the most important points of which are :-

- (i) that the four major firms want to put a new hot strip mill at Port Talbot, and
- (ii) that, unless some frightful difficulty intervenes, they want to put a new cold reduction plant "in the Llanelly area".

He adds that they will probably put a second cold reduction plant somewhere in Monmouthshire. I tell him I am very pleased about this and that the siting seems to me to be right. Port Talbot is on the water and just in West Wales. It is really, I think, a much better site than Ebbw Vale, which is away from the water and up a valley. But, as Sir C. B.G. says, when I tell him about this on the Monday following "the merger has opened the door for Port Talbot", the works there belong to Baldwins and Sir W. Firth, operating on R.T.'s. property, had to take the best he could find, which was Ebbw Vale, the site of an old steel works, with coal mines nearby. Lever says that he has worked as quickly as he could on this and I say that he has indeed done very much better than anyone else. He then asks whether we can now talk again about redundancy. I say yes, and I am sure the problem will have been changed by the merger. He says he would much sooner discuss it tête-à-tête

with me, and I say that this also would be my preference.

I then ring up Cove and Jim Griffiths to tell them where we are. The former was very delighted and the latter non-committal. *(later he made a bit of a fuss!)*

Receive with B.G. and P.L., the leaders of the Heavy Electrical Industry - Sir George Nelson, Sir Harry Railing, Sporborg, Gibbs (of Parsons) and Watlington, the elderly and rather argumentative Secretary of their Association. On the whole they take quite a hopeful view of the long term prospects and it seems clear that this particular industry, which only exported 15% of its output before the war, and has more than doubled its output since the war, could increase exports by at least 100% in volume.

Lunch with Iranian Ambassador. A typical diplomatic luncheon!

Although my visit to South Wales is to be cancelled, I go over the ground with D.J. and P.W. We are really doing pretty well in S. Wales, better, they think, than in Scotland, though this made a quicker start. *owing to deep snow,*

Captain Raymond Blackburn to dine with me. I had been trying to collect him ever since Chris Mayhew asked me to do so and reported the most astounding conversation at the week of the Labour Party Conference. R.B. is a bit shy. He calls me "Sir" rather a lot, which is very unnecessary, and is a bit too prone to flatter and too quick to agree. But he is under 30, quick, able, active and ambitious, though I wouldn't trust him very far. He seems to have done quite well as a Solicitor. I don't mention C.M. *R.A.C. in the*

27.1.45.

28.1.45.

My visit to South Wales is cancelled, at the request of Jenkins and others who, telephoning from down there, say all roads are blocked by snow, so that my tour will be impossible

DIARY.

and nobody would be able to get in to the agreed points to meet me. I, therefore, issue my statement to the Press on Timplat - Lever was most anxious that, even though my visit is cancelled, the announcement should not be delayed - and send, when I am sure that he is away for the week-end, a letter to Duncan. (Copies of both attached).

I then pass a lazy, sleepy weekend, not leaving the building.



Not for publication, broadcast or use on Club Tapes before  
23.10 B.S.T. on January 28th 1945.

The following statement has been issued by the President of the Board of Trade, who had intended to make this announcement in South Wales, but to his great regret, has had to postpone his visit.

"I have for some time past been in close touch with representatives of the Welsh Tinsplate Industry regarding their plans for the future and, as I informed the House of Commons on October 17th last during the Debate on Welsh Affairs, have been urging upon them the need to select the sites for the new modern plants which everyone agrees are necessary if the industry is to make its proper contribution to the economic life of South Wales and our post-war export trade.

I am very glad to say that Mr. W.B. Lever now informs me that Messrs. Balfours, Guest Keen Nettleolds, Briton Ferry and The Ilanelli Steel Company are collaborating with a view to the erection of a Hot Strip Mill for Tinsplates and Sheets at Port Talbot, and that it is hoped that other firms may also see their way to participate.

Mr. Lever assures me that, though there are certain problems - technical, financial and administrative - still to be solved, this project is being energetically pursued.

He further informs me that the question of cold reduction plants is receiving very active consideration. Modern trends in the United States have led to an increase in the size of the smallest economic cold reduction unit, especially for Tinsplates. The conversion of this trade, therefore, to modern methods will almost inevitably involve some further grouping of existing firms and this is being closely studied. One of the new cold reduction plants will, unless some insuperable technical or economic difficulties are encountered, be located in the Ilanelli area".

"I am very glad", Mr. Dalton went on, "to be able to make this announcement, and I shall continue to keep in close touch with Mr. Lever and his colleagues on further developments. Port Talbot and Ilanelli are, in my view, excellent sites for these new plants, which will fit very well into the pattern, which we are now working out, of post-war industry in South Wales and How Southshire. It is determined to do everything in my power to secure a balanced distribution of industry throughout this area and to prevent any return to the bad old days of trade depression and mass unemployment. Much is being done, and still more is being planned, for bringing new industries into this area, but it is equally important to ensure the efficiency and prosperity of the pre-war basic industries of the area, of which Tinsplate is one of the most important. Our workers are the best in the world and they have a right to plant and machinery which are second to none. I shall use all my influence to see they get it."

Board of Trade,  
Millbank, S.W.1.

28th January, 1945.

[Xerox copy - 1965]  
Dallon P 82. (126)

27th January, 1945.

My dear Andrew

As you know, I have for a long time been pressing the Tingle people to make up their minds about the sites of their new plants in South Wales and I have recently had several conversations with Lever on this point. Yesterday he came to see me and said that he was quite willing that I should make an announcement naming Port Talbot for the new Hot Strip Mill and the Idwalley area for one of the new Cold Reduction Plants. Our intention was that I should make this statement to the Press at Newport this evening, but, owing to the heavy snow drifts in South Wales I have postponed the tour which I had planned for this week-end. Lever was anxious, none-the-less, that the statement should now be made public and I enclose a copy of what, after my conversation with him, I have given to the press.

I think that this degree of progress is satisfactory and I am sure that the announcement will do much to encourage the people in South Wales.

I feel that this result justifies the line which I have so far taken that I will not consider the industry's Redundancy proposals in isolation, and in advance of assurances about the siting of their new plants. If I had given way to them on Redundancy earlier I doubt if I should have got this announcement now. I have, however, told Lever that I shall now be glad to go into the question of Redundancy with him and to see how the original proposals are affected by new conditions which have arisen since they were first put forward and, in particular, by the Richard Thomas - Baldwins merger.

I will keep you informed of further talks I have with Lever and I should much prefer to handle this business direct with him, rather than with some of the other people who have

The Rt. Hon. Sir Andrew Duncan, C.B.E., M.P., /taken  
Ministry of Supply,

taken a less helpful and constructive line in previous discussions which I have had.

Yours ever

(EDD.) HUGH DALTON

D I A R Y.

29.1.45.

Reconstruction Committee. A vast gathering of Ministers, dozens of them, large and small, are assembled to consider some hypothetical allocations of man-power for various future periods. We all say we haven't got enough and E.B. says the whole thing is paper work anyhow and means nothing.

*W H R K 3*

Then a discussion, in a rather smaller meeting, as to what our officials may say to Mr. ~~Hopkins~~ about International Cartels. It is suggested by Eady and others, including P.L., that they should say, though purely on the official plane and without committing Ministers, that we have been thinking that it might be useful for the International Organisation which might hereafter be set up in connection with Commercial Policy to be a place where any Government which is aggrieved by any particular Cartel can say so. Then other Governments concerned might themselves enquire into the matter in their own territories. But there would be nothing binding on anyone and no one would be entitled to do anything. We agree that it would do no harm if our officials thus spoke, though I venture the opinion that Mr. ~~Hopkins~~ might find this rather thin gruel.

*W H R K 3*

I have a chill in the tummy.

30.1.45.

Still suffering from internal instability, which is a frightful bore, but I have got a good drug from Horder. Stay in, cancelling engagements, including P.Q.'s. which are answered by C.W., and prepare some remarks for to-morrow's Debate on Export Credits.

31.1.45.

Export Credit Guarantees Bill read a second time

without a division. But a most rotten Debate, sinking to depths of irrelevance and economic ignorance which are a real disgrace to the House of Commons. Further, I am still feeling rather ill and it is a great discomfort to have to sit about all day listening to such stuff. I only make a very short, though I hope clear, speech in moving the second reading and H.J. winds up. He has never done such a thing before in his life but I must say that he achieves a certain come-back - and he needed to - showing knowledge of the subject and a reasonably keen sense of humour.

1.2.45.

Further Conference with C.W., officials, lawyers etc. including Say from the Parliamentary Counsel's Office, on the D. of I. Bill. We have before us draft No. 3 and I say that I am approaching this in a most conservative spirit, prepared to resist all change unless this can be shown to be really essential. To-night, I say, I must make a draft paper for the War Cab. so that I can meet the demand from the Legislation Committee, which has come in most opportunely, for more Bills within the next ten days, and for this Bill in particular on February 13th. This unexpected call, for which C.R.A. is partly, and helpfully, responsible, makes quite a difference in the prospects of getting this Bill passed this session, even though it should not last very long. It is as though dark clouds had suddenly split open and the sun broken through.

This afternoon to A.P.W. Committee where J.A. is defeated, and serve him jolly well right, (In a proposal that, in discussions with the Americans and Russians, we should press the claims of British pre-war creditors of Germany in priority to reparation claims. I strongly oppose this and am still more strongly supported by A.V.A. and A.S., while C.R.A., in the Chair, blandly suggests that perhaps we might put a spongethrough all these private claims, so as to prevent other countries from raising theirs.

DIARY.

J.A.'s. only support is from O.L. and, very faintly, from Law. His proposal is going back on the recommendations of the Malkin Committee which offered three alternative solutions, all of which, however, gave priority to reparations over pre-war claims during the reparation period. There was some discussion as to the character of these pre-war claims. A.V.A. said that they were people in the Cities who had only been too delighted to lend money to Germany though they had violently opposed any loans to Russia. J.A. and O.L. were both much concerned to prove that they were good chaps, who might have got out in 1931, but left their money in Germany, under the Standstill Agreement, at the request of the British P.M. of that time. A.S., making a very good point, asked what this money was worth when Hitler came in, if, by then, it had become impossible to withdraw it. Surely very little? Now, therefore, these people were expecting to reap an unearned increment and to cash in on the war effort of the United Nations. I argued that reparations in kind, especially timber - I said that I wanted to see the Germans cut down a considerable part of the Black Forest and send it over here to repair our bomb damage - differ from reparations in money in that, in the former case we decide what the Germans should hand over and in the latter case they decide. Hence the trouble after the last war, when such reparation payments as they made were largely in forms most harmful to our own export trade - woollen and cotton textiles, engineering products, chemicals and coal, owing to the most tiresome similarity of their national economy to ours. Quite apart, therefore, from moral and political issues, it would be much better that we should receive reparations in kind rather than pre-war creditors should receive loose money to spend as they chose. J.A., and O.L., to my surprise, at a certain point indicated that they would be prepared, though very unwillingly, to accept a compromise, reparations to take precedence of pre-war claims for five years (O.L. had suggested "2 or 3", but I said this wasn't enough) and thereafter pre-war claims to begin to rank along with reparation claims (O.L. had wanted pre-war claims after this period to take precedence of reparations, but I resist this). On this we settle, they two being, I think, rather afraid of what C.R.A., A.V.A. and A.S. might do to them if they rejected my more moderate approach.

Chalk

It is left that no decision should be taken till the end of the year as to relative priorities  
Chalk



Rather a notable victory over the darker forces, I thought.

It was then agreed that an official committee, with a Treasury Chairman, should be set up to make a list of just what goods it would suit us to take from Germany either in reparations or at cheap rates. I again emphasize the importance of taking raw materials rather than consumer goods.

Sir William Webb, Chief Justice of Queensland, with Reg McAllister and his wife, dine with me at the Acropolis. Quite a successful evening. They say Frank Hooper, the Premier of Q., is coming next month and I should very much like to meet him. Webb reminded me of a reply that I had made at Brisbane, when lecturing on International Affairs, to a lady who had demanded, very persistently, whether there were not still some secret Treaties. I had replied "If they're secret, we wouldn't know would we?" He had thought this very good.

2.2.45.

Weekly meeting. We are still stuck on the six mills, which Platt now refuses to re-open pending further undertakings by the Ministry of Labour to extract cotton operatives from M.A.P.

Lunch alone with Irene N.B. who is soon going to Greece. Their house on Euboea was burnt down by the Italians. She thinks Phil ought to resign, but not on any particular issue - not even the Greek issue - but in order to have time to become Chairman of the League of Nations Union and speak freely in the House of Commons and decide about the Peace Settlement. I said I didn't think this would do at all. If you resign from the War Cab. it can only be on a real issue. The L.N.U. would make a very unconvincing story. There is not much longer to go before the Government would break up and an election take place, the result of which it would be rash to prophesy. She shrilled a good deal against C.R.A., but I said that, in any Labour Government, Phil would certainly

DIARY.

have an important office. I also quoted A.H.'s. old warning "Never fix your mind on one particular office; it only brings disappointment." It is odd how she - and a lot of other people - don't understand that being in the Cabinet - in any office - gives much insight and influence, the amount of which depends much less upon the actual office held than on personal relationships within the Cabinet. Similarly, it is difficult, without revealing to outsiders the position and procedure of Cabinet Committees (e.g. the A.P.W. Committee under C.R.A.), to make the extent to which foreign affairs are discussed and foreign policy influences by Ministers other than the P.M. and the Foreign Secretary.

See C.R.A. later this evening and urge him to get my D. of I. Bill through the War Cab. next week, so that I can get it, as desired by him, before the Legislation Committee on February 13th. He says he will certainly get it through. He adds "It would be a good thing to get it through when the old man's away". Everything seems now at last to be working together for good.

I tell him that A.V.A. said yesterday, when I asked his expert opinion, that he couldn't see how the German war could go on more than about two months longer. C.R.A. said "I'm inclined to agree with him, but I don't say so to anybody." He seemed very cheerful and enjoying this, perhaps, last patch of Deputy Prime Ministership before the kaleidoscope begins to turn. And where will everybody tumble to then?

Compose a long letter to T.J., giving reasons why his two Highland places can't be put into the Development Areas. (Copy attached). I hope he won't take this badly, but if he does he has no remedy (apart from a quack in the Cabinet) except to oppose the Bill.

3.2.45.

I hear that T.J. got my letter just as he was

catching the night train to Scotland. This is better than that he should have had it only after he had seen my paper.

I send off this morning letters to E.B., O.L., W., and J.A., each adjusted, to the best of my powers, to the character and outlook of the recipients, seeking to mobilize their support for the Bill. It really begins to look now as though I may just get it through, before the Government breaks up - an Alleluia Chorus rather than a Resignation Philippic. It would be a terrible bore to fall silently between these two stools!

OK

[Xerox copy - 1965]

Dalton E 32

15a

2nd February, 1945.

I am circulating, over this week-end, a draft of my Distribution of Industry Bill with a short covering note for the War Cabinet. Atlee, as Chairman of the Legislation Committee, has, as you know, made a strong appeal to Ministers to produce, with the least possible delay, certain Bills, including this one, which are on the Priority List and, unless we can move very quickly, and get it through the War Cabinet next week and to the Legislation Committee at their meeting on the 13th, I am afraid there will be practically no chance of passing it this session. This, I know you will agree, would be a first-class disaster for all our people in the old Distressed Areas. Such a good chance of doing something effective to prevent a relapse into the old conditions might not come again for many years. As you know, I care more about this Bill, and the personal contribution I can make to this particular cause, than about anything else in my Department.

In my long drawn out battle on this issue - against a variety of blatant opponents, plausible obstructionists and mere innocents - I have always found Ernest Bevin a tower of strength and a wise counsellor and I have had a further discussion with him on this latest phase of the campaign. He advised very strongly that in the First Schedule to the Bill, defining the Development Areas, we should stick to the areas already approved by the Ministerial Distribution of Industry Committee last October. If we either take away from or add to this list at this stage we shall, he is convinced, run grave risks of upsetting some members of the Cabinet and having a demand to refer the whole thing back to the Distribution of Industry Committee for further consideration. If this were done, we should miss the bus at the meeting of the Legislation Committee and seriously imperil the prospects of ever getting the Bill before Parliament. I must say that

The Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P.,

/s/

I find his argument on this point quite convincing.

Further, Kevin strongly takes the view that, if we add any other areas, particularly other areas geographically detached from the main areas, it will be impossible to resist a clamour for inclusion from dozens of other areas in England, including Lancashire (or special parts of Lancashire such as Merseyside), the Potteries, Hull, Grimsby, the Burnley area, Cornwall etc. And once we begin to let these places in, we shall so diffuse our effort that it will really become quite ineffectual in those places, such as Leicestershire, where it is most important to concentrate it.

On the other hand we can put up a strong defence for the four Development Areas on which we are now working, on the ground that they are extensions of the old Special Areas. In the case of the Scottish Development Area, as defined by the Distribution of Industry Committee and indicated in my note to the Cabinet, I find that the extension is more than doubled the population affected. The old Special Area which, as you know, excluded Glasgow and Dundee, had a total population of 1,160,000 and an insured population (excluding agriculture) of 335,000. The present Development Area, which includes Glasgow and Dundee has a total population of 2,500,000 and a total insured population of 860,000. This, I think you will agree, is a tremendous advance. But, unless we can get this Bill, with its post-war powers, this advance will be lost and we shall be left with nothing on the Statute Book except the old Special Areas Acts.

The procedure in Clause 6 of the Bill for amending the Development Special Areas, either by addition or subtraction, is now very flexible. It can be done by Order at any time - and not merely

as in my original proposals, only after a lapse of three years. It will, therefore, be possible, once this Bill is passed, to bring forward any Highland area, including the two of which you speak to me, as suitable for inclusion in such an Order. But Evin and I both feel quite sure that, following our latest conversation, and in view of the present state of the time-table, to attempt to include them in the First Schedule of the Bill would be most unwise and would involve the risk of losing everything, including the very solid benefits which we both anticipate the Bill will bring to Industrial Scotland.

I hope that you will agree with the practical conclusions of this argument. Either Evin or I would be very glad, if you so wish, to have a further word with you next week. We three have worked very steadily together as colleagues in this Government and can claim, I think, that working as a team, we have done a good deal already for the benefit of the working people of Scotland. It would be a great gain for them to get this Bill passed soon; to lose it would be to lose a tremendous opportunity. We must not do that.

*Yours faithfully*  
R. W. Hornum  
Thomson Johnston M.P.

Scottish Office,  
10, Great College Street,  
LONDON, S.W. 1.



DIARY.

4.2.45.

Speak in the afternoon at Shoreditch Town Hall with Thurtle, Chater and Percy Holman. About 300 people. All this area has been badly blitzed and it is the first time they have held an indoor meeting for three or four years. It is rather a noisy meeting, many of those present trying, as always used to be the old London way before the war, to make the speakers' speeches for them. There is a lot of shouting and cross talk in the Hall. Some of them seem to be more excited against the sending of A.T.S. compulsorily overseas than about anything else. There are also the inevitable few Communists.

Chater is still going on at the next election, though he is now quite an old man. Holman, whom I had not seen for some time, isn't very effective. But, perhaps, he would be better as an M.P.

I shan't like talking at Public Meetings until I am unmuzzled.

5.2.45.

Housing Squad. S.C. on Aluminium Houses. I back him. There is some reluctance about price. I raise, at the end, with A.D. the question of a Ministerial reply by him and E.B. to the joint paper sent to them by Sandys and myself on our requirements for a balanced programme for fitments and furniture. I say that this is now on Ministerial level and we can't have officials, and in particular Sir G. Cunningham, taking "decisions" without reference to us. A.D. bridles a little and says afterwards that Cunningham hopes to be able to satisfy both our requirements. I agree that, in that case, there will be no need for Ministerial discussion and we shall all be satisfied. but that, if he can't meet us both, there must be Ministerial discussion on the allocation and we must try to get something more away from the Services.

Reconstruction Committee in the afternoon on Restrictive Practices. The S.G's. latest version is finally accepted, subject to drafting amendments, and is now to go to the War Cab. A.D. and Llewelin are both against the whole thing, but they are in the minority. O.L. and A.D. say that when this goes through something must also be said about Trade Union practices. E.B. grunts opposition to this and I think the whole thing will probably break on this condition. I say that the Board of Trade should be quite free to publish or not, in whole or in part, any report made to them by the Tribunal. In the draft it is laid down that the "findings" shall be published, unless the B. of T. sees objection in the public interest, but that the report shall only be published if the B. of T. is satisfied that to publish is in the public interest.

*(HM. some days later, with me 2 CKA says he would like me to get the Bible and have large G.D. objects, we must make a concession on this. Let*

6.2.45.

A.O. and Somervell to discuss arrangements for Economic Control of Germany. The B. of T. seem to have been very much on one side in all this and I ask ~~him~~ *S.* who is as inert and uninitiating as ever, to put us more in the picture. He seems to be terrified of Sir Percy Mills, ex Machine Tool Controller, who has been given the job of running the show.

*left*

*Tribunal also says with added TV. N. K. S. Silly. C. anti-Edy. L. Van. in an hour of TV. similarity? on else. Kangis. in K. at the. which I don't want*

Dine with H.G. at the Churchill Club in Westminster, with Mrs. Randolph Churchill and others and take the Chair for Van, whom I had not seen for a very long time. He addresses an audience of American, Dominion and British troops on "The Problem of Germany". His plan is to invite questions and answer them at length. On the whole the questions are pretty sensible, but his answers are rather too general and too long. There is, however, I feel, some evidence in this meeting, as elsewhere, of a certain solidifying of sensible opinion about Germany - not hatred nor hysteria, but rational precautions against a third try.

DIARY.

6-2-45

U.F.

A fresh flurry about my D. of I. Bill. I circulated a draft of this, with a short covering note and particulars of the D.A's. over the week-end and have been counting on it being taken at the War Cab. this week, so as to get it to the Legislation Committee next week. G.P. had been gently prodding the Cab. Offices about this and it seemed as though everything was all ready for to-morrow. Then, this morning on the Bench, C.R.A. says to me that he thinks it would be better to postpone it till the P.M. comes back in view of the opposition. I say "I suppose that damned Bracken has been intriguing again." He says "No, it is the advice of the Secretariat." I say "This is a most serious matter. I must speak to you about it." I then ask him when he will be free. He is rather evasive and says not much before lunch. I say that I take this most seriously and must insist on having a talk. I then leave the Bench and pick him up later on in the Smoke Room with Jack Lawson who is just back from Greece with shocking stories from our own troops about the atrocities. I then catch C.R.A. and say that this is a matter on which I feel most strongly and deeply and that, if my Bill is not taken this week, I shall have to consider some very serious decisions. He says, rather feebly, "Would you go and ask Anderson what he thinks about it?" I do so and catch J.A. just before lunch. He is very friendly and definitely of the opinion that the Bill should be taken this week. He has not heard of any opposition to it and thinks I have met all critics fairly. I then find C.R.A. in the Dining Room and briefly report this to him. He says "All right, I will deal with the matter."

After lunch - at Drapers' Hall where I attend Queen Mary College Governors - I dictate a very firm letter, (copy attached) to C.R.A. in which, more definitely than ever before, I threaten to resign if I don't get my Bill. Already before this letter goes off, the Cabinet Agenda much delayed, comes round with my Bill No. 1 for to-morrow's meeting. But I think it just as well to send the letter.

7.2.45.

R.I. Committee on future of Light Alloys. S.C. wants to sell off everything to private firms, and although he states in his paper that there was a very tight pricing before the war, originally proposed nothing to stop this. I had written to him, saying that he and his people knew more about it than I did, but that I found it difficult to justify the selling of public assets - £14,000,000 out of £19,000,000 written down value of new plant being Government owned and some of the most modern being now public property - at a knocked down price. Should not, at least, one or two of these plants be kept and run as State enterprises? He had thought this quite impossible. But to-day, during the discussion, A.D. suggests that we should have at least one R.O.F., e.g. at Rogerstone. E.B. and I support this and the paper is taken back to be rewritten. S.C. had also proposed that the State should buy up and itself put out of action most of the old pre-war plant. But this is not smiled on by my colleagues either. In response to my suggestions he had added a proposal that those taking the new Government plants should be required to furnish particulars, from time to time, to the Board of Trade and M.A.P. of their output and prices, so that we might deduce whether they were pursuing an expansionist or restrictionist policy. A.D. objects to this, saying that he thinks that such enquiries are restraint of trade! He insists that the Law Officers should be asked their opinion.

Visit Horder; about three months since my last visit. His dope has obviously been very effective. He says that the tablets contain Vitamin B1. and the pills a little strychnine. He is quite pleased with me and with my health. It appears that I have put on 8 lbs. in the last three months! I now weigh just 14 stone. I tell him I am eating, as far as possible, a non-starch diet and he thinks this is quite all right, though there is no sign of sugar in the wrong place.

*W. H. Horder*

## DIARY.

and only one Lord of attempt  
 made, but by an officer now was  
 reduced to the number 6 in position.

Lunch with Lie and a Norwegian party, including King Haakon, "a sensible and straight forward" sort of man, to quote an ancient description!

behaving  
 HX

very well in N. Norway. No interference with local Govts. That's all he has to say on my Bill.

To see C.R.A. at his request at 4, the War Cab. being at 5.30. Following my strong letter of yesterday, he seems a little shy and very conciliatory. I tell him I have just been talking to O.L. on the telephone and that he and I have reached complete agreement. C.R.A. has been well briefed by Gorell Barnes and Piercy on my Bill. He seems anxious to help to get it through. I say that, if I can't get the Bill, it will bring great discredit on all Labour Ministers. He says he quite agrees.

Entering the War Cabinet room, O.L. comes up to me and says he has been working very hard on M. and B. He thinks he has fixed M. but isn't quite sure about B. M., who looks rather pale and ill, sits absolutely silent throughout a discussion of my Bill lasting for one and three-quarter hours. B. only intervenes once or twice and that not too aggressively. Indeed he goes out of his way on one point to accept, quite quietly, a compromise which I suggest. So there is really no opposition. I had told O.L., as we were going away from the R.I. Committee, that I should take a very serious view of the failure to get my Bill this week and that, relatively speaking, I wasn't much interested in Restrictive Practices. I judge that my intention to resign, unless I get the Bill, has been put round and I think that he will have mentioned it to M. and B. and that this largely accounts for their conduct to-night. I think all these three are sharp enough to see that it would do the non-Labour elements in the Government no good if I were to resign on this issue and make a series of speeches about it in Parliament and the country. Anyhow, I get my Bill through the War Cab. without any serious trouble. J.A., gives steady support and several others butt in helpfully on particular points. But on Section 9, providing for restricted areas, there is the most frightful muddle by E.B. and W. both of whom are against "having any areas at all", and in favour of giving some vague power to the B. of T. to ban any particular factory anywhere. I say that this is

absolutely incapable of administration.

So to-night I feel very triumphant. There are still hurdles to be surmounted, but I think that I have got over the worst of them now.

8.2.45.

Begin the day by setting all those concerned here ~~to~~ preparing the redraft of the D. of I. Bill for next Tuesday's Legislation Committee.

Then see John Brown, who is quite satisfied about Timplat developments, except that he fears that, unless special steps are taken to control the labour supply, there will be serious unemployment when the cold reduction plants finally go up a few years hence.

Committee and Report stage and third reading of my Export Credits Bill go through to-day. I and H.J. each make a few short speeches. There is no opposition, but a good deal of repetitive talk.

Returning to the office in the afternoon, I hear that Parliamentary Counsel are making difficulties about completing their job on the D. of I. Bill by next Tuesday. I, therefore, send for Sir Granville Ram and have a conference with him and the others principally concerned. I finally consent - and I think it would be wise to do so, though it would have been a great mistake to do so without summoning Ram and hearing what he had to say - to the postponement of the appearance of the Bill till Tuesday week, thus giving time for making a good job of it and letting the A.G. have it some days in advance. Ram promises that, if I do this, it will be ready to be printed and presented the day after the L.C., whereas, if I press on for next week, there will be ragged edges and I shall probably gain no time in the end. I, therefore, write to C.R.A. to explain this and formally seek his concurrence.



DIARY.

*A new cold reduction plant  
in Monmouthshire with  
some later.*

Lever to see me. He thinks he will soon be able to say definitely that there will be one cold reduction plant near Llanelly and a second between Swansea and Port Talbot. This will be quite good for West Wales. He then goes on to Redundancy and isn't really, I think, very keen about it, though he asks that he may have a definite reply by February 27th when his Tinsplate Association is meeting. I say that I must consult my colleagues, some of whom take a strong view and others another. He says that he will send me by Monday next some suggestions as to how the scheme might be amended so as to give little, if anything, to the big firms and more to the small firms. He says he would rather have a straight "No." than an indefinite answer by the 27th. I don't think he would really mind a straight "No." very much.

*one way*

Dine with Alexandrowicz, meeting Mikolajczyk. He thinks it possible that the Big Three may succeed in getting an Agreement whereby a new Polish Government shall be formed in Poland, which he might lead, to contain representatives both of the London Poles and the Beirut Government, and of other non-Communist Poles in Poland. He thinks that the London Poles, except Arciszewski and Kwapinski who are under the thumb of the President, who plays upon old Pilsinski memories, would go back. He is himself in favour of the Oder line, because the Russians will have taken the Niemen and this will leave the Vistula as the only Polish river. The Germans must be moved out of the territory taken over by Poland, but many will go anyhow and provided that they stick to the Neisse, as the boundary at Oppeln and Silesia, and don't go after the other Neisse which adjoins the Oder just south of Frankfort and thus runs west of Breslau (and this other Neisse is now being claimed by some as the future frontier), the number of Germans concerned will not be excessive. He thinks that both Churchill and Roosevelt will try for a good solution and is inclined to be not unhopeful, though it is terrible to see how time has been wasted through indecision and disputes in the Polish camp.

A.

[Xerox copy - 1965]  
Dalton E 32 (19a)

SECRET AND PERSONAL.

6th February, 1945.

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY BILL.

As I reported to you in the Dining Room to-day, John Anderson, whom I had then just left, was quite definitely of the opinion that my Bill should be taken this week. He said that he would himself support it. He had not heard of any opposition to it. He thought that I had met the points which were raised when my proposals were before the War Cabinet. He added that the whole question had been for a long time under consideration and had been carefully studied at the Distribution of Industry Committee, in addition to having been brought before the War Cabinet.

I, therefore, press most strongly that, as you yourself proposed when I saw you last week, this Bill should be no longer delayed. At the meeting of the Legislation Committee, over which you presided, on January 30th you yourself specifically requested that "the drafting" of this Bill, among others, "should be expedited" so that it should be "taken by the Legislation Committee at its meeting on the 13th February and introduced immediately thereafter". I gladly made haste to accede to this request, and was much helped by the speed and skill displayed by Parliamentary Counsel and by the Treasury.

The sands are fast running out and I judge that, unless I am able to meet your request and bring the Bill to the Legislation Committee on February 13th, its chances of passing this session will be reduced almost to zero. As you know, I regard the passage of this Bill into law, before this Government breaks up, as one of my most important duties. The day when it becomes clear that I have little or no hope of performing this duty I shall

The Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, M.P.,

11, Downing Street,  
S.W. 1.

A

Dalton I, 32 (196)

24th February 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

shall reconsider, most seriously and most coldly, my personal position in the Government. I have been struggling and arguing with my colleagues on this subject since May, 1943 and I have always had, in the front of my mind during all this time, the pre-war plight of our people in Scotland, South Wales and the North-East. Without this Bill, there will be a relapse in these regions into mass unemployment soon after the end of this war. On the other hand, this Bill can stop all that.

If, after all my efforts, this Bill goes down the drain, I think the only right and honest course will be for me to cease to be a member of a Government which will have betrayed, through its procrastination and internal divisions, the populations of the Development Areas, including some of our best and bravest fighting men.

I have twice recently written very clearly to the Prime Minister on this subject and, when the Bill was last before the Cabinet, he, far from opposing it, gave it his general support and, in spite of his many other preoccupations, showed considerable understanding of the problem.

I have no doubt that I have little or no hope of participating in the Government of this country if the Bill is not passed before the end of the year. I have no doubt that I have little or no hope of participating in the Government of this country if the Bill is not passed before the end of the year.

The Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, M.P.  
11, Downing Street,  
S.W. 1.

DIARY.

9.2.45.

not  
Lunch given by Bruce and Sir W. Webb to all those who had entertained the former during his visit to London. I sit next Mrs. Pike, wife of the Agent General for Queensland, who was also present and whom I had never met before. Neither he nor she are typical Queenslanders, having lived most of their lives in London. She says that he thinks it is time he got a Knighthood, but she supposes "it's because we're Labour" that he has been passed over. I said I was sure this wasn't so and that his time would come soon. He sent me a few days later a bottle of Queensland rum. It is quite strong and made both Sir A.O. and Miss Wagstaff cough. I must arrange for regular supplies, even if I have to go out of my way to suggest that he should become Sir Leonard.

Discuss with C.R.A., H.M., Phil Baker and Ellen Wilkinson, the attitude of the Party towards a continuance of conscription. C.R.A. and H.M. are both inclined to think that we should come out in favour of it, before the election. Phil is against this, mainly on military grounds, holding that our contribution to collective security should be through a powerful Air Force and Navy rather than a large Army. Ellen is against on political grounds. Why should we let the Tories, she asks, manoeuvre us once more into pulling their chestnuts out of the fire? I doubt whether it is necessary to take a decision, beyond what seems the inevitable decision of continuing the call-up for another two or three years so as to allow the demobilization of large numbers, by age and length of service, in a period when the war against Japan will be continuing and when we shall need a large Army still in Europe.

To W.L. where it is a very wet and cold week-end. I stay in doors most of the time.

DIARY.

Dalton I 32 1. (21)

12.2.45.

Back-in time to lunch with Mrs. P. and Massigli. He says that the economic needs of France are : (i) transport, (ii) clothing and (iii) food, in that order of priority. It becomes more and more clear that the Americans have put too many ships into the Pacific with increasingly serious results on supply to the continent of Europe. Also we should do much more to repair transport within France, e.g. by rebuilding bridges and sending over more road vehicles and locomotives. Normally France is nearly self-sufficient and we should aim at restoring her internal economy as fast as possible, rather than try to feed her through a tube from across the Atlantic.

R.I. Committee takes a sensible view on the future of Regional Organisation. The officials, as usual, want a wretched tidy scheme for the future. But O.L., E.B., and I all agree that we should let the thing develop slowly and not make any important changes yet.

Lever to see me, this time on Redundancy. He asks for a definite reply, either "Yes" or "No", before February 27th when he is meeting the Timplat Association. I don't think he would cry very much if it was "No". He admits that R.T. can't really make a very convincing claim for themselves and suggests various ways by which the scheme might be amended, so as to cost the Treasury less and give little or nothing to the larger concerns. I tell him that I must consult my colleagues, whose views on this subject vary considerably.

Turning to modernization he says they are now practically certain to put a new cold reduction plant close to Llanelly and a second between Swansea and Port Talbot. I say that, as soon as possible, I would like to have more exact particulars of these.

M. Williams-Thompson, now a Colonel, to dine with me at the Acropolis. He has been active, seeing Wickham and Baxter and is well in the running, it seems, for East Wolverhampton, Mander's seat. (A few days later he rings me up, as he is just leaving for India, to say that he has



been to East Wolverhampton and seems to be the only candidate in the field and to have made a good impression.)

13.2.45.

*At*  
Further conference, with lawyers and officials, on D. of I. Bill. In this, as I hope, practically final draft, I have met some points of O.L.'s. regarding Clause 8 and the Bill is now ready to go to the Legislation Committee.

Lunch with Mrs. P., C.R.A. and H.M., to meet Benés. He is going back very soon now, via Moscow. The Russians had pressed him very hard to recognise Lublin and he had done so. None of the Poles in London, not even Sikorski, had ever accepted his claim for the return of Teschen and the surrounding district taken from him by the Poles at the time of Munich. I suspect that another reason why he had hastened to please the Russians on this point was because he was a little apprehensive of their intentions in Podkarpat'ska Rus. Here, when the Red Army first entered, there had arisen a great agitation among this backward and poverty stricken people, who had always returned Communist deputies to the Party at Prague, for union with the Ukraine. This was stimulated by Red Army officers. Benés informed Molotov of the facts and asked for his comments. M. asked whether B. would be prepared to discuss the question. B. said no, not at present, because the Treaty he had signed with Moscow recognised C.S. within her pre-Munich frontiers. He counted on M. to keep this Treaty. M. replied that he would, of course, keep the Treaty and, in view of B's. attitude, he had given orders that all agitation for cession by Soviet citizens must stop. B. then said that a further agitation had broken out in ~~the press~~ which was obviously insubordinate and disappointed at M's. attitude. But this had soon ceased and discipline had been restored.

*Prague*  
*Kiev*

I suspect that this agitation will be started up again later and there is much to be said, in any case, for the union of P.R. with the Soviet Ukraine. Nor do I think that C.S. would lose much, on balance, by this change. B.



D I A R Y.

says that he intends, gradually, to nationalise the coal mines and all heavy industry in C.S. He also intends to transfer, again gradually over a short period, some two million Germans from C.S. to the Reich. He is prepared to cede to Germany Eger and Asch and some other frontier districts predominately inhabited by Germans, to the number of 4,00,000, but to take in exchange from Germany certain mountainous areas ~~and~~ of about equal acreage but with hardly any population. The Germans who remain in C.S. must become Czech citizens, claiming no special privileges.

Dine at Connaught Hotel with C.R.A., Tom Williams, Arthur Jenkins, Sir C. Bartlett of Vauxhalls and C. Lucas, whom I have met before. The usual motor manufacturers' talk by Sir C.B. about the high price of steel and abuse of his fellow manufacturers, in particular, Austins and Miles Thomas of whom he is particularly contemptuous. He wants the motor tax stepped up in such a way that only two types of car will be made. I say that it is a great trouble to Ministers that the manufacturers are so divided and that some, apparently, are so unambitious to export. I ask him to send me a note on these matters.

14.2.45.

Cudlipp to lunch. I had not seen him for some time. I never find him very satisfactory. He is always inclined to complain that he is not given a lead, or told things, by the leaders of the Party, but, even when one does talk to him, one doesn't see much result in the paper. We speak of Michael Foot and he says he will arrange for me to have a talk with him soon. It is odd that I have never met this very able, though in some respects mentally pervers, young man.

Deputation at H. of C. from Wigan and neighbouring parts of Lancashire. I think they are reasonably satisfied by their reception. They talk so long that I don't have to say much.

Then Blackburn brings in, as arranged with me earlier, to the same Committee Room, a party of about a dozen Birmingham Shop Stewards, who are concerned about the future of the factories there. I explain the procedure for dealing with labour which becomes "redundant" and with factories which are declared surplus by the Supply Departments. I emphasize that the factories are to be leased not sold, and that I hope a great deal of labour will soon become redundant from arms production, so that I can have more things made for the civilians. I also talk about "planning" and tried to make them see that you can't just "make a long term plan" and then sit back and let the plan take charge, but that, as the Russians have shown us, there must be constant re-adjustment of the plan in the light of ever changing conditions. What will happen in the next few years will depend, I explained, on the results of the next election and then, looking round the table, I ask "Do any of you come from King's Norton?". One man says "Yes", with a broad grin.

This evening I go to dine with Blackburn who was very delighted by this afternoon's performance. He is very quick and eager and has, I can see, considerable aptitude as an intriguer. One of his guests to-night is a young man named Freeman, whom Blackburn is anxious to get adopted as Labour Candidate at Watford where B. has many contacts resulting from his Commonwealth candidature. Freeman, who is a tall, red haired, rather good looking, rather serious young man, a Major and a Desert Rat, was at Westminster and Brasenose and then went into an advertising business, makes a very good impression on me. He is still under 30 and became a Socialist at Oxford. He should make a good Candidate and a good M.P.

15.2.45.

G.L.G. fussing about Pembroke, his constituency, being left out of the S. Wales Development Area, though it was in the old Special Area. I say that E.B. advised this, but, after a good deal of fuss and fidget he brings it up next day at the Lord President's Committee and we agree to

DIARY.

put Pembroke in the Bill. It's lucky that not many Ministers have constituencies like this.

John Price to see me and to say that he has decided he ought to take the job with the I.L.O. to be in charge of all the Commissions for separate industries and that, therefore, we shouldn't consider him for the International vacancy at Transport House. I am sure he's right and do not press him to reconsider. He will do this other job very well.

Lunch at Drapers' where C.R.A. is the principal guest. He makes a quite good short speech.

Sir P. Norton-Griffiths, Bt., brother of Jack Thorpe's widow and son of that old rascal "Empire Jack" comes to suggest himself as a possible Labour candidate. He is not even a member of the Party and I am not tremendously impressed but pass him on to Shepherd.

Dine with C.B.G., who is very cheerful about factory allocation, thinking that we can almost get a Speke a week, and that this will make a very good impression. We are very nearly clear with one of the Coventry shadow factories, to be leased to Black who will make standard motor cars. Meanwhile, the labour shortage continues to throttle us along the civilian front, but I am now resigned to this continuing to be the case for a few months longer and then beginning to let up fairly fast (by which time, no doubt, I shall no longer be the P.B.T. so that someone else will get the visible credit for providing a few more cotton goods, furniture and pots and pans. But, by that time the public will have become so impatient with the end of the war in Europe that, even if my successor should produce quite a lot of new supplies he will still have a hell of a time and will get no gratitude from anyone.)

16.2.45:

Mary Sutherland to see me at my request. She is

inclined to take a grim view about the attitude of a large part of the Party to the International problem and also about the new General Secretary. On the first point I try to get her to take comfort from the terms of our declaration which indeed she thoroughly agrees with, but she is a little over conscious, I think, of our dissidence. On the Gillies case, I encourage her to talk quite frankly and she says that she feels it has been handled the wrong way and that it has created a sense of insecurity in the office, since all of them now think that, if they take a line contrary to that of the N.E. or some of its influential members, they may find themselves slung out. (I thought, though I don't say so, that that might be quite a good thing for them to feel.) She is one of those who still hanker after the idea of a great political leader to be General Secretary of the Party. I don't myself share this view. But she is a nice creature and a great many of her views are very sensible. I arrange with her for an article in the "Labour Woman" on my D. of I. Bill next month.

Then I receive Kingsley Martin, with whom I talk for 1½ hours. I tell him a bit about the D. of I. Bill, but must warn him whether this publicity can be released next week, which is dependent on the day when I can get the Bill printed. He has hardened up quite a lot about the Germans and the Peace Settlement and is now engaged in repudiating Brailsford's more extreme view. I tell him that I have tried to make an international policy for the Labour Party which :

- (i) will be rational and practical,
- (ii) will not lose votes at the next election,
- and,
- (iii) will unite all important sections of the party and still the shrill squabbles on side issues, of which we have had too many.

I say I think I have succeeded on all three points. He does not violently disagree.

DIARY.

I get the sense that rather few people run "The New Statesman" now. He is very full of stories of terrible starvation in the Dutch cities behind the German lines and of the spread of typhus. I fear there may be only too much ground for this. But the only remedy is military. The Germans have it in their power to feed these people and simply choose to starve them instead. As to supplies for Belgium and France, I emphasize to him that the chief need is ships, and that the Americans have put too many of these in the Pacific. He should keep hammering on this point.

*Don't mention a word of the picnic or signal in his...  
Camping while Retreat from Balkans.*

Dine with Frank Platt, just off to Egypt. He is resigning the Cotton Control at the end of March. I say that I am clear that this is not the moment for me to take it over, in view of my difficulty in getting labour. I stick to my original view that controls should be transferred from the M. of S. to the B. of T. when, but only when, the civilian demand definitely predominates over the military and when this is recognised in the allocations. This means that Platt will have to arrange with A.D. about his successor. He is, and repeats this to-night, very keen it should be Lacey and still more keen that it should not be Streat. He loses, as usual, few opportunities of speaking contemptuously of the latter. He says he hopes that I will see and consult him from time to time, after he has ceased to be Controller, about the industry. He will have greater freedom of expression then. I say that I should like to do this. He says, not for the first time, that he thinks a Labour Government will be needed in order to clean up the cotton industry and that, when that happy day comes, he will be very glad to be their man.

17.2.45.

Through a muddle, very rare in my Private Office, I miss Chris Mayhew to-night. He should have met me at the Lansdowne where I waited for him more than an hour, but he came instead to the B. of T., waited some time for me and went away.

18.2.45.

But I catch him to-day instead and we dine in here together, and then I see him off at Victoria. With the signs that the war is entering its final chapter I hope that he will come through all right and win South Norfolk into the bargain. There are still two Tories in the field and, if only they'd both stick at it, he should pick it up.

D.J. to lunch to discuss D. of I. Bill, following which we walk on the Heath and then go home to tea with Peggy, who is going to have her third baby next month.



DIARY.

19.2.45.

First meeting of Labour Party Campaign Committee this morning. We vote H.M. to the Chair and there is a general discussion. This is a small and useful Committee - C.R.A., H.M. and myself, A.G., T.W., Mrs. Gould and the Secretary. We want to get a fairly free hand from the Executive to deal with things as they arise.

20.2.45.

9.45 Legislation Committee to consider my D. of I. Bill in draft. The place is packed with Ministers, lawyers and other attendants. C.R.A. in the Chair. The Attorney General, who is busy-bodying about the place before the meeting starts, tells me that he doesn't like the Bill at all. I say that all questions of merits have already been settled by the War Cabinet. Then we start and take it clause by clause. The A.G. repeats what he said to me, and, rather peevishly, what I had said to him. He and the Lord Advocate - a wretched legal pedant - both keep raising points and trying to restrict all powers granted by the Bill. I have the War Cabinet Minutes with me and frequently read out sentences, e.g. "The War Cabinet decided that Clause 9 should stand as drafted." These lawyers are most infuriating. Their stuff this morning is all politics rather than law. The A.G., e.g., says once "I think it very undesirable to extend the powers of compulsory purchase of land by giving these to fresh Government Departments." C.R.A. is very good and steady in the Chair and brushes most of this rubbish aside. O. Peake, now Financial Secretary to the Treasury, carefully briefed by Treasury Officials, also raises a lot of difficulties. More than once I have to say to him "But I have already cleared this point with the Chancellor. He is quite satisfied with this draft." O.L., to do him justice, turns up and intervenes several times backing agreements made between himself and me. So finally - can it really be finally? - I get my Bill ready to be printed. It is to be presented to Parliament to-morrow.

LX

Somerville

Reid

Lunch with J.W., Arthur Jenkins, George Hicks and Tresfon. The latter is not a very satisfactory man, though clever. I am sure he likes being on my Industrial Design Council.

Take the Chair at International Sub. Some discussion of the International Meeting to be held the week after next. H.J.L. wants to shift it to Paris and also to invite the German exiles to join the "Laski Committee." The first suggestion is fantastic, a number of acceptances for London already having been received. The second creates great excitement, T.W. in particular bursts with indignation at the thought and H.M. points out it will be bad politics on the eve of an election. Anyhow there is no hurry and we agree to postpone any decision until after the International Meeting, over which, it is agreed, I should preside.

Visited by Saillant, French T.U. and Resistance Leader. A good man, with a clear view of the Peace Settlement. He is one of the Big Six in the World T.U. Conference. He says that there is a certain section in the French Socialist Party who talk about "no Peace of revenge" and so forth. If they persist in this, he says, they will be wiped out at the election and the Communists will destroy them.

21.2.45.

U.F. 9.45-R.I. Committee on Timplat. I put in a paper (copy attached) on the Redundancy Scheme, inclined to advise against my giving a Certificate, but making clear that we would "stand behind the industry in its modernization programme". An animated and confused discussion. E.B. says the Redundancy Scheme is "a ramp" and all the assets were grossly over valued. At this A.D. spluttered with indignation. J.A. said that, whatever might be decided, on the merits, it should be made plain to the manufacturers that they could not get exemption from E.P.T. W. asked

DIARY.

CAF  
whether anyone was really in favour of my giving the certificate. He himself was obviously inclined against. A.D. then started in and made a long speech in favour. He was afraid that, if I now refused, I should be charged with bad faith. As usual, he went into a great mass of technical jargon like a cuttle-fish, clouding the issue. Finally it was left that I should see Lever again, give him the warning desired by J.A. and see how far I could get satisfactory explanations on the various points which had been raised.

At 12 noon, at the end of Questions (I present) the Distribution of Industry Bill. That is to say I nod, seated and silent, when the title is called. The Chief Whip then calls "Second Reading next Tuesday", a formality designed to bring the Bill upon the Order Paper. As we are leaving the Chamber the Chief Whip runs up to me and says the P.M. wants to speak to you. He had been sitting on the Bench. This is his first appearance in the House of Commons after his return yesterday from Yalta and Cairo. He asks me "Have you got authority to introduce your Bill?" I say "Yes. It has been through the War Cabinet and the Legislation Committee." He is obviously rather taken aback by this and grumbles something about "Perhaps we ought to have another look at it." But things have now gone much too far for this. Some of those damned fellows - M. and B. no doubt, - have been putting ideas into his head. But all the formalities have now been completed and the Bill will be printed and distributed to-morrow. To-day it was only in dummy. (The backers of the Bill are C.R.A., J.A., O.L., T.J., W.S.M., and C.W. I mentioned to the P.M. to-day that O.L. and I were now quite agreed about it and it was perhaps, following this remark, that the P.M. must have spoken to O.L., for the latter sent, most tentatively and amicably, along the Private Secretary channel, an enquiry as to whether there was anything he could do to help in preparing the way for the Bill. For the moment there is nothing, later he may be useful with Tory M.P.'s. The P.M. has long regarded me as a slightly dangerous character in this field!)

I see Willie Whiteley and ask him to arrange for me to address a special meeting of the P.L.P. next week and also to see the members of the groups affected separately. I also warn him that attempts may be made now to delay the Second Reading.

Lunch with Ashley and some rayon people about to depart to Australia and New Zealand on a Mission.

D.I. Committee this afternoon. Cripps, who is becoming less and less satisfactory as a Departmental Minister, is trying to shut down all aircraft production at Short Harlands at Belfast and practically all aluminium stampings at Distington. He seems to be entirely in the hands of his officials and never to give anybody notice of anything.

Dine, together with E.B. and Cripps and a quantity of Ambassadors and others, with Thomas De La Rue & Co., Bernard Westall in the Chair. I make a short speech proposing the health of the Company and E.B. replies, later in the evening, to the toast of the Government. This firm is being rather slow at getting out their drawings for their new factory near Tynemouth.

22.2.45.

To-day I have been P. of the B. of T. for three years. This is a good deal longer than most of my predecessors.

Lunch with Bill Street, Holmes and the young Russian from the Trade Delegation whose name I always forget.

My D. of I. Bill is printed to-day, a good official Birthday present. I take two press conferences on it, first the Lobby correspondents at the House, and then the Industrial correspondents at the B. of T. A lot of them seem rather stupid, but I hope they will get it right in their papers.

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Thence with C.B.G. to Cotton Meeting in O.L.'s room. E.B. and O.L. play up very well on getting more ex-cotton operatives out of M.A.P. works back into the cotton mills and E.B. and A.V.A. both agree but Cripps makes frightful obstruction and argues from a brief prepared by his officials that even to withdraw 2% or in another case 4% of the total operatives from one of his factories will mean that "our aircraft won't be able to fly". He is left in a minority of 1. C.B.G. says afterwards "He's no negotiator. There's no give and take about him." It is agreed that we should put this up to the War Cab. It is taking a hell of a time to collect even a hundred ex-cotton operatives from M.A.P.

000/

We go on to a War Cab. where there is a long and good discussion on man-power. Much of it is "Top Secret". But it runs very well for me and the P.M. is to issue a directive following it. The Ministerial Man-Power Committee is to reconsider the allocations and to aim at giving the B. of T. an additional 275,000 workers, as against our original claim for 375,000 and the previous proposal to allow us only 75,000 which everyone agrees is much too little. The P.M. is very responsive to the requirements of the Home Civilian.

23.2.45.

UH

Lever to see me this morning. I am pretty frank with him about the discussion in the Cab. Committee, telling him who the members are and warning him that several of these are very sceptical about his redundancy plan and his figures. He is meeting the Timplat Association this next week and asks me to give him, in a private letter, as an aide-memoire, my various requirements. I send these later in the day, saying that I am prepared to recommend to my colleagues that I should grant him a certificate - but I cannot, of course, prejudge their decision, though I think I can get my recommendation through - subject to the following conditions :

- (i) Levies not to be allowed to count for E.P.T.

- (ii) Justification to be given to me for valuation proposed;
- (iii) Justification to be given to me for the scheme being operated at all, in view of the large proportion of capacity proposed to be sterilized under by R.T.B. and very large liquid assets, said to amount to £6,000,000.
- (iv) If the reply to (iii) is that the scheme is necessary to get the small people to come in, then the proportion of redundancy not to be compensated to be stepped up to 25%, so that R.T.B. would only be compensated for a "token" redundancy of 5%.
- (v) Compensation monies to be ploughed back into new industries to be established in the same areas where mills are closed, after consultation with the Board of Trade, and
- (vi) Part of the compensation money to be set aside for payments to displaced elderly workers in agreement with the Trade Unions concerned.

I also add that it would make my path easier if he were to give more precision to his future plans. He thinks now that a second cold reduction plant will be located in the Swansea area and, later, probably, a third small cold reduction plant in Monmouthshire. He even hints at a third hot strip mill in South Wales, but I don't press him with this.

The P.M. invites all Ministers outside the War Cab. to his room at the House to hear an account of Malta and Yalta. He says it has taken them fourteen months to fix



*I've said  
"Poor Warwick  
Chamberlain  
believed he would  
fight Hitler. He  
was wrong. But I  
don't know I'm  
wrong about  
Stalin."*

DIARY.

this meeting. Nobody had agreed to any of the places suggested. Finally it is fixed that he shall meet Roosevelt at Malta and the two shall then go on to Yalta, whereat he had sent this message to the President :

"With this final decision let nobody palter,  
Nor anyone alter,  
From Malta to Yalta let none of us falter."

"I think", he said, "this may have slightly annoyed the President, who replied rather drily that he had not heard of any intention to make any change in the arrangements."

He gave a vivid picture of Yalta. The Russians had made a tremendous effort to prepare for their reception in two of the old palaces ~~and a view~~ of the ~~old~~ *nobility* ~~valleys~~ of Tzarist ~~times~~. Everywhere all around was destruction. One day a British Officer had asked for a lemon and had been given, with great apologies, an orange. Next day there appeared two lemon trees, each covered with ripe fruit, which were rapidly erected in a flower bed outside the ~~valley~~ where the soldiers were staying. The P.M. spoke very warmly of Stalin. He was sure - and Sir C. Portal had said the same thing to me at the De La Rue dinner last Wednesday - that, as long as Stalin lasted, Anglo-Russian friendship could be maintained. Who would succeed him one didn't know. (Portal had said "Perhaps Molotov. He's pretty wooden and he stammers and a stammer in Russian is not a pretty sound.") Several times, when we had pressed our points hard, Stalin had suddenly said "Yes. I see the strength of your argument. I will withdraw my proposal." This had come quite suddenly, when things had not looked favourable to agreement. This was the right way to deal with the Russians. The Americans did not always recognise this. Sometimes they failed to press their points hard enough. All three were agreed that they must meet alone without the French. The Russians, in particular, were very insistent that France had not earned her right to join the Big Three. Stalin measured everything by the number of troops, ships and aircraft each of the Allies put in the field. On this

*palace*

*5 asked, when someone  
said I'm afraid P. M. L.  
Nuke didn't like something  
"How many things  
could he have  
Nuke felt?"*

*Frank  
D. Murphy*

count France was nowhere. The Americans take the same line. We, of the three, were the most favourable to France and we had secured for her considerable gains - a zone of occupation in Germany, a place on the International Allied Control Commission at Berlin, a place among the inviting powers for the San Francisco Conference. On the Dumbarton Oaks difficulty about voting, the P.M. thought that we had reached a pretty good compromise. (This will soon be fully explained, and re-canvassed by all those interested in international political organisation) The P.M. had finally persuaded Stalin to accept ~~by understanding the case of our position~~ of Hongkong. If the Chinese clamoured ~~that we should be~~ compelled to allow discussion, and permit the Chinese to state their case and others to express their views upon it. We should have no right to stop any of this, or any recommendations made by any Committee which might be appointed to consider it, but if, after all this, we refused to budge, and the Chinese attacked us and tried to turn us out, they would then have become the aggressors. He said that this illustration had made a great impression upon Stalin. There had also been the question of the Russian representation at future conferences of the World Organisation. The Russians had begun by asking for eighteen seats, one for each of their constituent republics. But we had resisted this, though still claiming six seats for the British Empire, which he confessed had struck him, secretly, as rather tall, as against one each for Russia and the U.S.A. Finally we and the Russians agreed that we would keep six and they might have three, including one for the Ukraine and one for White Russia, with a promise never to claim any more. The Americans didn't much like this, but he urged them to try to find some way of having three themselves. Possibly someone from the Senate and someone from the House of Representatives in addition to an official spokesman of the Administration. Roosevelt was going to think this over.

*by illustrating  
the point  
(to have it  
back)*

Poland had been much the most difficult question. On this the Big Three had felt more keenly than on anything else which they discussed. After each had stated their opposition, there had been a silence for two or three minutes.

DIARY.

(J. K. ...)

Finally an agreement had been arrived at. (The details of this also will be so much ~~concerned~~ that I won't insert them here.) Stalin, in the course of the talk on this, had said "We are conscious of our great sins against Poland in the past, through occupation and oppression of that country." The P.M. wasn't sure whether "sins", the actual word used by the translator, had been quite accurate, but in any case he thought this phrase very significant. No one could tell whether the pledge to make a truly free and independent Poland would be honoured by the Russians or not. We and the Americans would do our best to see that it was. If not, we should be free to continue to recognise the London-Polish Government and to refuse approval of the new Polish situation. As regards the taking over of territory previously German, he said that people often spoke of the great difficulties of "transfer of population", but, in fact, most of the Germans in the territories now taken by the Russians had "run away already" and this problem would be much easier in practice than had been supposed. He attached great importance to ~~Baltic~~ *political* meetings of the Foreign Secretaries now agreed to and to the undertaking of the Three Great Powers to act together in Peace as in war. On the way home he had seen, at Cairo, ~~Mr~~ *ibn* Saud who had never before been outside Saudi Arabia and who had made it clear, when invited by Roosevelt to meet him, that he would not come to Cairo unless he was also going to meet the P.M.

Lunch with British Chamber of Commerce in Paris. Several French speeches, rather pathetically dwelling, as is only natural, on all their economic shortages. They cannot talk like military victors and it is hard to insist, though I tried to do so tactfully, that the best way to help them is to win the war quickly, so as to be able to make a big switch from military to civilian effort.

*U8* Sir Montague Barlow to see me at my request. I am anxious to mobilize him for my Bill. I think he will play. He is 77 years old and says that he is no longer a Conservative. "The Times" says this morning that my Bill

is "a triumph for the principles of the Barlow Report." I write this in red ink on a copy of the Bill which I give to him. He is a vain old boy.

Warter has an official reception on the occasion of the opening of our Planning Room, most of which has been brought across from the Ministry of Production. When it is all in order - and this is not quite so yet - it will be very impressive and any industrialist will learn a great deal from coming here.

Thence to vast reception at Soviet Embassy. I go upstairs to join the Ambassador and some forty or fifty of the elect. Gousev, who looked to me to-night rather like a little pig, was saying to A.E. "We have been very patient with Mikolajczyk!" I found Citrine with Sydney Hillman and Kuznetzov, the Russian T.U. Leader, who speaks excellent English and seems less mechanical in his responses than most Russians here. Citrine was complaining that, though the Big Six of the T.U. Conference had to-day met A.E., Gousev and Winant at a specially arranged lunch to discuss T.U. participation at San Francisco, they had got nowhere. A.E. had told him that members of our own Government as well had objected "on principle" to T.U. participation. He added that, "of course it was Bevin" (neither of these two can speak long without an ill word for the other). He then proceeded to say nice things about me, informing Hillman and Kuznetzov that I was the only Labour Party leader who had come out strongly for rearmament in the days before Munich and that in this I had been in complete agreement with him. Some other Labour members of the present Government, he added, probably did not wish to be reminded of the line they used to take then. K., to my regret, is going away to-morrow, otherwise I would have got him to come to our International Conference the week-end after next. I drink a good deal of vodka and not only this, but was also pressed by various of the Russians - who have a most persistent and hospitable trick of forcing food and drink upon one - to taste various Caucasian wines and liquers. Remembering an ancient rule of prudence, I continued to eat between the drinks and conducted myself with complete composure while in the Soviet

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Embassy but arriving back at the Board of Trade I was not able to dictate as much as I had hoped to Miss Wagstaff!

*In fact, I was pretty drunk.*

24.2.45. (Saturday)

*I want to sleep on my feet for 24 hours before seeing my staff!*

Not much the worse for last night's drinks, I catch the 8.55 a.m. train to Newport and spend a most interesting and useful week-end going around Monmouthshire and the eastern part of Glamorgan. I stay with Arthur Jenkins, who is a very civilized person and a good host. He is very pleased because we have got British Nylon Spinners to come to Mamhilad (Welsh for Roman Road) a few miles outside Pontypool. Particulars of this trip and some notes on it are on a separate note.

*UX  
and host*

I made a number of speeches this week-end, including one at a private meeting of the Divisional Labour Parties in Monmouthshire. I also gave the ~~members~~ *press* a statement about British Nylon, Kayser Bondor at Merthyr and Smith's Clocks at Ystragndlais. These three go nicely together. I am very pleased at the progress we are making with the new industrial pattern in South Wales. I hope to go and make a tour of West Wales in April addressing the Annual Meeting of the Welsh Regional Council and staying at Swansea with the Civic Authorities.



NOTE ON VISIT TO SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

24TH - 26TH FEBRUARY, 1945.

Very interesting and, on the whole, very satisfactory.

Brunning is doing very well and, in association with Humphreys, has won general confidence.

Brunning will send me three notes :-

- (i) on the way in which possible industrial sites, including those suggested by Local Authorities, are collected and vetted with other Departments, especially M.T.C.P. and M. of Agriculture; I liked his account of all this very much and hope that something similar is done in other regions;
- (ii) on Blaenavon, where all seem agreed that the one firm on which the town depends for local employment is totally incompetent and that strong measures, including a new management and a financial reconstruction are indispensable and urgent; and
- (iii) on the Board of Trade offices in Cardiff, which I inspected and found quite unsuitable; I was told that all on the Regional Board were agreed that the B. of T. should move into the same building as the M. of P., but that this had been stopped by Kipping on the ground that it was "contrary to the Citrine Report!"

Sir G. Bruce will now devote himself principally to trading estates. I have a very good opinion of him, and so have most others whom I met.

Further trading estates should be established at Swansea, Bridgend and possibly Hirwaun.

Tredegar must have the next Government factory on the site which I inspected belonging to the Tredegar Coal and Iron Company. I gave a pledge to this effect to the Tredegar People. If we build the factory, there will be plenty of applicants.

Everywhere they spoke both of shortage of factory space and of suitable houses for key workers and technicians. This will be a very strong point on Clause 1 of my Bill.

Treorchy. The H.M.V. factory must be finished as soon as possible and no building labour taken away. The Manager, Holliday, was very enthusiastic about his welcome and the possibilities.

Polikoff's should get a high priority for their extension, but no more clothing firms should thereafter come into the Rhondda. In addition to rehousing - and this is not urgent - the small refugee firms at Porth who are making non-essentials, there should be two new factories, one at the Big Rhondda and the other at the Little Rhondda, and this would be about enough.

Merthyr will be pretty well fitted out by our present factory programme, particularly if we can get permanent employment at Hirwaun. We should not steer anything more to Merthyr.

I was very well satisfied with what I saw and heard about the new Nylon factory at Manhilad (which lies just inside the Monmouth Parliamentary Division represented by Pym). I heard that there was some Ministry of Supply obstruction at quite a low level. This must be overcome. Here, and in a large number of other places, a programme for a small number of suitable



houses for key men should be prepared.

Generally future housing by Local Authorities should be related to new factory building. Thus, there should be a new housing estate near Mamhilad, but not new houses at Abertillery. We should aim at reducing substantially the average distances between homes and place of work. These distances are now fantastic for large numbers and the Government is paying nearly all the cost. When this stops, there will be a row.

Treforest is now employing 14,000 workers. I had a quick look at three factories. The amount requisitioned for storage on the whole estate is very small. Bruce agrees with me that there should not be very large extensions here, but that we should disperse our trading estate activities.

Representatives of the Local Authorities, particularly the smaller ones, are rather pathetic. They all think new factories should come into their areas, and nowhere else. It does not enter their minds that a factory within a mile or two across the municipal frontier can be of any benefit to any of their people. It follows that we must be very careful not to give Local Authorities, as such, any important place in our regional arrangements. There should be lots of "contact" and "consultation" - and B. and H. as well as Bruce are doing very well on this - but no formal advisory body should be set up.

I am told that both the Regional Board and the D. of I. Committee work well and smoothly, and that there is no objection by representatives of employers and T.U.'s. to the present arrangements. In particular, the latter realise that it would be inconvenient to inform them, in great detail, of plans affecting individual industrialists.

Another point emphasized by many was the lack in Wales of technical education and of apprenticeship schemes. We should take up this point and try to get the educational people in line. There is also the familiar shortage of draughtsmen.

Brunning thought that we might get a new factory to Pembroke. He was very glad we had put this into the Development Area.

I heard that a new Deputy Controller had been appointed for North Wales, and that he is said to be a good man.

Bruce is concerned about the incompetence and jealousies of the Slate Quarry people in North Wales. He will send me a note about this.

Leeson at Cwmbran made a good impression upon me.

Many employers said that Welsh labour was very adaptable.

Rogerstone. B. thought that he could get some other firms, not connected with aluminium, into some of the spare space here.

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DIARY.

26.2.45.

Back late this evening from Cardiff. Have a look at P.Q's. for to-morrow but these will not be reached.

27.2.45.

Hear first hour, before lunch, of P.M.'s. speech on Yalta. He has a very good case to make. On Poland there is a good deal of critical feeling among the Tories. But he rallies the Labour Party by friendly references to Stalin and Soviet Russia.

Policy Sub this afternoon. H.M., in the Chair, has presented a first draft of a declaration for the Conference. After a good deal of diffuse discussion it is agreed that he shall take it back and redraft.

E.W., H.M., Phil Baker, Morgan Phillips and I then adjourn to tea in Ellen's room at the Home Office to discuss to-morrow's N.E. The question of the financial arrangements with Gillies is likely to prove rather difficult.

Sir B. Brooke and two of his people from N. Ireland. They are getting a good deal of unemployment now and our counter-efforts are not going very far to reduce it.

Then discuss with Warter and D.J. my tour in S. Wales. I must go next to the N.E. and then to Scotland.

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28.2.45.

N.E. The Gillies case is discussed at length. A characteristic motion to defer consideration for a month is defeated only by 11 - 9, but afterwards our main recommendation, to dispense with him, is carried by 15 - 4, and the Finance Committee is to discuss with Deakin that aspect of the case. We are all anxious to treat him well.

~~Barrin~~, Alexander and I are entertained at lunch at Ciro's by Jack Hylton, the object of this being to secure facilities at Blackpool for a man named Hawtin to produce some new device for canning music. It is said there is a good export market in the U.S.A.

Henry Osborne comes to see me and I take him in to the Gallery at the House of Commons to hear part of the Debate on the Polish Amendment supported by twenty-two Tories, mostly Catholics, to the Resolution of Approval of the Yalta Conference. He is much thrilled, particularly at seeing the P.M. in the flesh under attack from the Tory flank for being too pro-Russian.

That evening Kulski brings Novak again to see me. The Polish tragedy is bitter and unending. But the Poles in London keep on missing opportunities. Now there seems to be a faint hope, though only very faint, of getting some tolerably democratic regime in Poland. It is a question of how much Harriman and Clark Kerr can get Molotov to agree to in the talks now taking place in Moscow.

1.3.45.

Special P.L.P. meeting this morning, at which I expound my D. of I. Bill. The reception is pretty good, and I am to meet them again this afternoon.

From P.L.P. to Lever, who comes to tell me that he has put my conditions for the Certificate to the Tin-

plate manufacturers who, though unwillingly, seem prepared to swallow them. I say that I will now put a paper to my colleagues.

A Woman called Alison Barnes is produced by Simmonds, from the Kemsley Press. I talk to her about my Bill and the D.A's. This will be published in the North-East.

After lunch have a further two hours with a large number of Labour M.P's. on my Bill. They are inclined to concentrate on their own constituencies and to ask why these are not in the D.A's. But, on the whole, the reception is satisfactory, though, as one has so often noticed before, they don't seem to realise how much has been achieved in the face of great difficulties in getting thus far. Silkin strikes the only discordant note saying that he thinks this is quite the wrong way to proceed.

Dine with H.M. and E.W. at the Howard Hotel, to meet Michael Foot. I find the latter rather disappointing, ideas a bit superficial and too many signs for a man of his age of nervous strain. But he has a gift of phrase and invective which are worth something.

2.3.45.

Harcourt Johnstone died last night. He had a stroke in his office in the afternoon and never recovered consciousness. They took him in an ambulance to the Westminster Hospital just round the corner. He was a queer man, and not a satisfactory or loyal colleague. But Mullins, who comes to see me to-day, tells me that he had for sometime been suffering from pains in his head and had been taking a lot of drugs for this. I now understand why he was so disinclined to go to the House or to show himself in the Smoking Room. He had no really near relatives. the

D I A R Y.

nearest being Listowel's mother.

Lakin, Tory M.P. for Barry, comes to see me. He is most anxious for new developments in his constituency. I tell him he must back my Bill!

Meet, with C.B.G. and P.L., representatives of the Heavy Electrical Industry. I have to tell them that the New Zealand Government is very much dissatisfied with their tenders for the ~~Maraitai~~ Maraetai Hydro-electric contract. Most of their prices are considerably above those of their Canadian, U.S. and Swedish competitors. Moreover, nine of them have put in identical prices for transformers and two have put in identical prices for waterwheels. This evidence of a price ring has further upset the N.Z. Government. I have succeeded in getting the latter to hold up their decision and now ask the Heavy Electrical people here to reconsider their prices. The interview is not very successful. Nelson and Railing make the best showing, but all protest that their competitors are "cutting" prices. This, however, is a bad beginning by this, as I thought, most promising section of British industry. Ferranti, who is one of the party, misbehaves himself considerably. He shouts out rudely that he is very much dissatisfied at the way this conversation is developing, that of course there is a price ring, that he is proud to belong to it, that he expects the British Government, instead of encouraging "weak selling", would take "a strong line" on their behalf against the New Zealanders, from whom we buy so much dairy produce. When I pick him up on this, he asks excitedly "Have you ever sold anything?" Whereupon I say "I am not going to answer impertinent questions. If you cannot behave yourself properly, I shall ask you to leave the room." ~~Sir~~ George Nelson has shown a far better appreciation of this question than you have." He then shuts up. Sir G. Bailey of Metro-Vic asks whether we could get to know what the Canadian prices are. I say certainly not. After the meeting I hear they are all in a considerable commotion, feeling they had not made a very good impression and cursing



F. Not a good performance at all!

Colonel Chapman to see me this afternoon on personnel of N.E. Trading Estates. They are inclined to be a bit sticky about some of my nominations. I press Mascall strongly upon him. He is still hankering after Greener of Willington, but I tell him that it would be most unsuitable to have someone connected with coal to represent S.W. Durham, which is in the state it is simply because coal has let this district down. He leaves me with some alternative names for some of the others and I undertake to write to him again before March 12th, when his Board hold their next meeting.

Molly Hamilton to dine with me. We speak of constituencies and I ask her whether she would be prepared to go back, if invited, to Blackburn. She thinks she would and, in any case, would rather like a Lancashire cotton seat.

3.3.45. -

5.3.45.

Presiding almost continuously at Transport House over International Socialist Conference. Rather heavy going and too many "declarations" issued to the world. We have Phil Baker, Laski (for one day only), Tom Williamson, Jennie Adamson, Shinwell and Clay as our Delegates. The French bring quite a strong team. André Philip, Auriol, Grumbach, Moch, Dumas and Louis Levy; the Belgians: Buset and Anseffe; the Dutch: Donkers and Sluysser; the Poles: Ciolkosz and Stanczyk; the Polish Bund: Brit and Oler; the Czechs: Belina; Norway: Ording and Finn Moe; Sweden: Myrdal; Spain: Araquistain and Cestrallo; Italy: Nenni, Vismara and a third whom I don't know; Palestine: Locker. ~~The~~ Canadian observer, Bruins, is present for one or two sittings. Three ex-Presidents of the L.S.I. are also here, Huysmans, Albad ~~de~~ and de Brouckere. The French assert themselves a good deal, and are very anxious to have a whole series of declarations, for several of which they bring ready-made drafts, much too long and too detailed, in my view. Most of them, however, are



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reasonably good in substance. We also decide to appoint a Committee of twelve with the three ex-Presidents of the L.S.I. to be presided over by Huysmans and convened by us here in London, to consider the future constitution and functions of the International.

Pickles and his wife both do very well as translators. The absence of Gillies is hardly noticed and lends peace to the scene. M. Phillips is quite competent in organising the arrangements, including a week-end service of typing. This is rather exacting in view of the number and length of the documents and of the last minute changes made in these. The most serious point of controversy arises over the document on the treatment of Germany. Here also the French produced a long text of their own, which was very much better than I had expected. And it is clear that they have thrown over a good many of the ideas of Daniel Mayer, including the needless and electorally highly damaging repudiation of any intention to have a "Peace of Revenge". This new text was very definite in favour of total occupation, total disarmament, control of German industry, special regime for the Rhineland and the Ruhr etc. But it was objected to on two grounds. First the Dutch and the Norwegians were most indignant with the preamble, which dwelt much too heavily, as they thought, on the innocence rather than on the guilt of large numbers of Germans. The atmosphere, they said, was all wrong and would cause great indignation in their countries. In the second place, there was a final paragraph pronouncing against all "dismemberment or division" of Germany. This was strongly objected to by the Poles and the Dutch, both of whom, under this formula, which made no reference to changes of frontier, would have their claims rejected in advance. So we appoint a small Sub-Committee, including Sluysser and Ciolkosz, with Laski and Grumbach, to redraft this. They succeed pretty well with the preamble, which got general acceptance but there was a large row over the final clause and I had to say very firmly that the British Labour Party could not agree to a declaration against German "dismemberment". I quote the proceedings at our last

Conference, and the line I had taken in opposing the resolution moved by Strauss. I also tell how the Labour Party in Parliament had voted unanimously last week in favour of the Yalta decisions, which included "substantial accessions of territory for Poland in the North and West." But the French were exceedingly obstinate and refused, first a formula suggested by Laski and second a further compromise suggested by the Norwegians and Czechs jointly. They said that, while opposed to the division of Germany into several States, this "did not exclude necessary frontier changes", nor "a special regime for the Rhineland and the Ruhr". But the French were very clamant and obstinate and I finally decided to take a roll call of the Delegations. From this it appeared that only the French and the Italians were against the Norwegian-Czech formula. All the rest were in favour, though de Brouckere recorded an individual opposition and Phil Baker was grumbling away on my right, but the rest of the British Delegation then present, Laski, Williamson, and Mrs. A., in addition to myself, took the majority line. I then told them that the majority must prevail and that we must substitute the Norwegian-Czech formula for the objectionable final paragraph. I added, however, that in order to safeguard the opposition of the French, we should publish to the world that this was the view of the majority, that the French and Italians had dissented, desiring to record their opposition to any dismemberment of Germany and to all frontier changes. This was accepted, amid an excited gabble. But, just as I was about to close the Conference, Auriol jumped up and said that he thought there had been some misunderstanding, the French recognized that the majority view must prevail, but they thought it would be a great disaster to admit that, on this issue, the International was divided. They, therefore, did not wish their names to be recorded as having been in opposition. Likewise the Italians! I think, perhaps, it was lucky that I had been in the chair during this period, for we ~~should~~ have had either the forcing through of a most undesirable text or a complete split with no decision at all.

Catter/

22/11/41

D I A R Y.

4.3.45.

Dine this evening with Silkin in his flat at Great Peter Street. His wife, who is a Russian Jewess, is also present and after dinner the Solicitor General and his wife come in. I much prefer the S.G. to the A.G., who is very reactionary and troublesome.

Silkin is an intelligent, though not very prepossessing or attractive, person, and we have quite a useful talk on my Bill, to which the edge of his opposition is now, I hope, somewhat blunted. At the end of the evening, when he and I are alone together, he raises the question of his entering the Government. He says that sometime ago he was asked by Whiteley whether he would be willing to accept a Parliamentary Secretaryship. He then said "No." He asks my advice as to what line he should take now, saying there are four junior offices vacant. I strongly advise him to accept. It would give him valuable experience, even if he only held office for a few short closing months in the life of this Government. It would also raise his political status and make him more likely to hold important office in a future Labour Government. After discussion he says that he agrees with me and asks me whether I would inform W.W. that his view is changed. I say that I will do so and promptly do, writing to W.W. next day (Monday) and confirming this orally with W.W. on Tuesday. I write to S. on Wednesday telling him what I have done, but receive later on the same day a letter from him, which had crossed mine, saying that, after talking it all over again with his wife, he has changed his mind and would prefer me to take no action! It is a great mistake to be both changeable and slow.

5.3.45.

Sir E. Bridges to see me this evening. This is our first official talk since he succeeded Hopkins. Sandys

has asked for Franks to come to the Ministry of Works and to help with housing. I am to be consulted because I have a contingent interest in Franks, who is now running the Raw Materials Control at the M. of S. which will come back in due course to the B. of T. I say that housing is so important that, if Duncan will let Franks go, I won't object, though I should naturally prefer, on my own behalf or that of my successor, that he should come over with the Controls to the B. of T. Bridges is rather against Franks going to Works, thinking he is not quite the man for this job. We then discuss other possibilities relating to the Higher Civil Service, and in particular the top end of the B. of T. both past and present. No immediate change is likely here, but various future shifts, which might be made with the agreement, and indeed the satisfaction, of those concerned are cursorily canvassed.

*I say that, with a private President's plan  
 over, making would be better at the time!*  
 6.3.45. *I advise him to look out for a good & reasonable  
 but to make something else in the course of the day*

Legislation Committee. Simon in the Chair, C.R.A. *John Allen*  
 being in France and Belgium. My Restrictive Practices Bill  
 and also my Assurance Companies Bill are "moved above the  
 line". Parliamentary Counsel have now got their instructions  
 on the former and the later is in draft. If this session  
 lasts long enough, the B. of T. will have done a big lump of  
 legislation.

Good fun at Question time in the House to-day on  
 short socks, laundries - Hogg's attempt to prove that I am  
 guilty of restraint of trade falls rather flat - cotton etc.

Jim Griffiths brings the Mayor, Town Clerk and old  
 Clement, an ancient tinsplate manufacturer from Llanelly. They  
 don't anticipate any serious unemployment in the town for two  
 or three years after the war, i.e. until the new tinsplate works  
 are operating, but I explain to them the objects of my Bill.

DIARY.

Dine with H.G., with Robin Brook and his wife. R.B. is just back from Paris; where he has been having an interesting time. He says that the French are extremely difficult, very hyper-sensitive, not getting on at all well with the Americans and not much better with us. It is difficult to see how, for sometime, this trouble can be cured. He says that the best ~~news~~ *opinion in* Paris is that the German war will end in May.

7.3.45.

R.I. Committee on :

- (i) Light metal industry.
- (ii) Management.

On the former E.B. is proposing a National Corporation and others, including A.D., a predominantly private industry but with one or two R.O.F.'s. Cripps has put in a paper arguing against both of these. I say that I am much struck by this most impressive presentation of the anti-Socialist case. He doesn't think this at all funny! He says "Well you have often done the same thing yourself in the past." E.B. says "Well you have just been taken back into the Labour Party. Do you think you would like to defend this scheme of yours before an Annual Conference?" Finally it is left that O.L., A.D., S.C. and I should meet and work out a plan in greater detail.

On Management I am very luke-warm about the proposal which "on balance" I recommend, namely the setting up of an Institute with some State money to amalgamate the existing bodies. S.C. is very much in favour of this, but the others are all opposed and it is left that I shall talk to the existing Management Associations and the T.U.C. to see whether, without any Government money, they can come together.

Arthur Jenkins to see me on the proposed cold



reduction plant for Mommouthshire. I say I am sure that this is a necessary part of the balanced programme and I will continue to press it on Lever.

Lunch with Neil Beaton and his son-in-law Hugh Steel of S.C.W.S. They are anxious to build more factories. They have many millions of pounds in Gilt-edged securities and would like to get some of them out for this purpose. I promised them building licences for any new ventures in the Highlands. I find they are very sound on Utility Furniture and urge them so to inform T.J., who has been got at by someone, I think Johnstone of Loch Wiltloch, who wants to convert him to the production of cheaper and sub-standard stuff.

A later visit<sup>ed</sup> this afternoon is Lord McGowan. He says that a number of his Directors are out of action through illness; that Melchett will never be fit to work again and that Sir John Nicholson wants a long rest and that Wadsworth can't do anything more for sometime to come. He talks almost as if they had as hard a life as Ministers of the Crown!

8.3.45.

I am summoned to the War Cab. this evening to consider O.L's. paper presented; after much delay, in favour of my obtaining, "without prior substitution" ex-cotton spinners from various M.O.S. and M.A.P. factories in Lancashire, particularly in the Oldham area. This is all becoming very urgent in view of the steady fall in clothing stocks. A.V.A. and I are summoned for this item which is successively put off from 7.15 till 7.40 and after we have sat from 7.40 to 8.15 is finally not to be taken. This is most infuriating. A.V.A. however, had told me while we were waiting that he did not think the German resistance could continue beyond the end of April.

Next day J.A. tells me that "last night we had a most ~~exciting~~ <sup>endless</sup> and ~~work~~ <sup>fruitful</sup> discussion" in which a large number



DIARY.

of old issues were re-opened regarding Civil Aviation. It had been M. and B. again and they had wasted 2½ hours of valuable time re-arguing the case for completely uncontrolled competition in the air. They had finally been overruled and the previous decision had been ~~reformed~~ *reaffirmed*.

Dine with Blackburn, who produces Stuart Campbell editor of the "Sunday Pictorial", who had made a bad impression on me when I had given him lunch long before with Simmonds. He is no better to-night and irritates me a good deal, abusing the Labour Party and its leaders and laying down the law and slithering about from one indefensible proposition to another like an eel. Later, however, he behaves a bit better and says that he intends to urge all readers of the "Sunday Pictorial" to vote against the Tories at the next election. I say that this will be all right and that most who follow his advice will vote Labour even if he doesn't directly tell them to. But I really don't want to meet this bounder again.

9.3.45.

L.P. Committee. Grigg withdraws for the time being a demand, on behalf of the War Office, for 550 million more cigarettes a month, which would have landed us in great difficulties and involved a cut of 10% on home civilian supplies. Grigg says he thinks that the W. O. figure probably is too high. I think what has undermined his case is my proposal, as part of the solution, to cut N.A.F.F.I. home supplies by 10%. No doubt they have made a great shriek about this, and they and the W.O. always base their estimates on the assumption that large numbers of our soldiers are simultaneously at home and overseas and needing cigarettes in both places.

Talk afterwards with J.A. who, in spite of official advice from the Customs and Excise regarding Purchase Tax, is

inclined to leave this alone in his next Budget, which is my strong advice if a political row with the Labour Party is to be avoided - but asks me, on the other hand, not to increase much the range of our Utility products which, by definition, are now free from P.T. He says that he will now be able to offer me an additional 200,000 workers for B. of T. industries "in the first six months" of this year. This is most fanciful paper work, since nearly three of the months are already gone.

Dine with P.J.N.B. He is a most charming person, though sometime a little troublesome and over-pressing and subjective in his views.

DIARY.

12.3.45.

War Cab. At long last O.L.'s. paper is taken, recommending that ex-cotton operatives should be withdrawn from munitions and other work "without prior substitution" and even at the cost of some marginal damage to war production. This is accepted almost without debate; the only query having come from Cripps. The P.M. brushes this aside and says that it is quite clear that we are now so near the end of the war in Europe that some risks can be taken on the aircraft programme. I express thanks, but warn them that I shall have to come back for some more labour soon.

Dine with G.J., whom I had not seen since his return from Yalta. It was only by a close shave that he and others had escaped death in the air crash which killed Peter Loxley and a number of other F.O. and Service people. This party of officials left by two aircraft, G.J. being in the first which made its course safely. But the second got far out of its route on the way to Naples and was signalled over Sardinia, then ordered on to Malta and came down in the sea near Lampedusa. Even so the occupants might have been saved, but immediately after hitting the surface of the water the aircraft struck a sunken wreck and the passengers, though not the crew, were all killed by the concussion.

At Yalta there was a strange contrast between the unlimited quantities of food and drink provided by the Russians and also the constant service of lady barbers, who smothered all who had a hair cut or a shave in very strong scent (Stalin is always very highly and grossly scented), and the very primitive sleeping conditions, seven or eight high officers and officials being packed together on camp beds in a tiny bedroom so small that all the beds are touching and luggage has to be put underneath them, and bugs in large numbers completed the company until Lord Moran appeared and took violent and effective counter measures. Stalin made a very great impression on all of them. He was exceedingly straight forward and sensible about everything, very good humoured and very patient,

with no suggestion anywhere of doctrinaire opinions. He judged everything in terms of contributions to the common pool. He pushed aside the claims of the French to come to Yalta or to be consulted about the war, because, as he pointed out, they had only two or three divisions on the upper Rhine. When someone suggested that we should pay regard to the views of the Pope, - this I think was about Poland - Stalin asked "Why should we? How many Army Corps has the Pope got?" Stalin stood out head and shoulders above all the other Russians. Molotov has his points but is very obstinate and slow and, for these reasons, a troublesome person to negotiate with. Vyshinsky is just a tough, though a clever lawyer. Maisky seems to be coming back a bit into his own again, though he looks very unhappy and under-sized in the uniform which he is now always compelled to wear. He was allowed by Stalin to expound the Soviet Proposals on reparations. While he was doing this, in English, Stalin was overheard to say, by one of the British party who understood a little Russian, "I don't understand a word of English, but it sounds to me as though Maisky has got an African accent". M's. thesis was that we should take away from Germany about 80% of all their machines and a great quantity of their man-power, to work on physical reparation in Russia and thereafter another 80% of their current production of everything that would be useful to the Allies and particularly to Russia. G.J. thought that this was fantastic arithmetic and quite outside the bounds of possibility. The flight of German civilians from East Prussia and Pomerania was on an immense scale. The Russians have literally entered almost empty country. So much for the alleged difficulty of "transfer of population". On the other hand, this vast convulsive movement was leading to the crisis, even more severe than might otherwise have been anticipated, within the shrinking countries of the Reich. These Germans had all been fleeing from lands where more food was grown than eaten, to lands where little food was grown. This must lead soon to a catastrophic famine.

DIARY. 13.3.45.

Darboon 1 32 (40)

Memorial service at St Mary's & Hancock / St Andrew.  
... I don't care much for this sort of service. It is  
quite impersonal. The organ is <sup>quite</sup> too loud, the Procession  
(the Reverend Don) has no personality, and the Ten  
Choirmen looked very dingy. I hate not having given  
much thought to how I would like done after my  
own death, but certainly this sort of performance would  
appeal to me at all.

I still prefer Arthur Pennington's old suggestion <sup>of</sup>  
a policeman from the Heavy Commission to come  
and put his head inside the door of the Crematorium,  
as he does each night inside the Library or the Bar  
at the Home of Commons, and call, in a loud clear  
voice, "Who has come?" And then I would like  
to be followed by a bugle blowing the Last Post.



D I A R Y.

13.3.45.

Commercial Policy. Confer with my officials on Hawkins' latest version of the U.S.G's. intentions. These include - at the moment, though of course there must be changes later - a proposal to cut existing tariff rates by 50%, formally under By-lateral Treaties, but in such a way that a multi-lateral convention might grow out of them. This is a tremendous step forward, from the general jaw we have had so far. It would be much easier if this offer were formally made to ~~members for~~ a multi-lateral convention. But I still think nothing much can happen until after our election.

form part of

Memorial Service at St. Margaret's to H.J., which is attended by a very large number of Ministers and other friends. I don't much care for this sort of service. It is quite impersonal, the organ is much too loud, the Parson (The Reverend Don) has no personality, and the ten choir men looked very dingy. I have not lately given much thought to what one would like done after ones own death, but certainly this sort of performance would not appeal to me at all. I still prefer Arthur Ponsonby's old suggestion of a policeman from the House of Commons to come and put his head inside the door of the crematorium, as he does each night inside the Library or the Bar at the House of Commons, and call, in a loud clear voice, "Who goes home?" And this I would like to follow <sup>ed by</sup> a bugler blowing the Last Post.

Further discussion on the future of the light metal industry in O.L's. room. Cripps argues most persuasively against any form or degree of nationalization of this industry!

14.3.45.

D. of I. Committee. We try to do something for Northern Ireland, where, there being neither military <sup>spirit</sup> nor <sup>conscription</sup> conscription of labour, pre-war unemployment is re-asserting itself, and also for Distington and the Workington

Direction



area generally. It is hard work and we are trying one thing after another to keep this very vulnerable area going. But before the war no one even tried, and we are having at least some limited and temporary success.

Talks, first with T.U.C. and then with a body of Labour M.P's. on my D. of I. Bill. The former are quite easy. The later fortunately contain a majority of Members from the Development Areas, to whom I make a vigorous and slightly demagogic appeal, and get a good response. There are the usual complaints, especially vocal from Burke, of particular areas being left out and Silkin - damned fool! - says that we ought to insist on putting London and Birmingham into the Bill in Clause 9. I say that this is quite the most certain way to wreck it and to deprive the D.A's. of all advantage, for we must, I repeat with tedious reiteration, play football with our heads as well as our feet. This view prevails and I anticipate we shall not only get a solid vote for the second reading, but, on the whole, sensible speeches.

Tom Fraser dines with me and gives me a long account of his experiences in the Soviet Union. It is, he says, a young man's country. A large number of people in leading positions are under 40. They take great care of the children who, he thought, looked very fit, *except* especially in Baku where everyone looked rather below par. But in the S.U. generally they don't trouble much about the old people, who get a very meagre ration and a very tiny pension. They seemed to be pretty crude about this. There is an elaborate division of the population into eight classes, with great differences, not only in rates of pay, but in rations, based on the social value of the services they render. All Managers of large concerns have the rank of General, even though they perform no military duties, and have relatively large pay and rations. They also are allowed to purchase, at a heavy discount, in the highest class amounting to 30% - ~~and~~ smaller discounts for the next few

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classes - goods in the Government's "Commercial Shops". These are a legalized and socialized black market. Some of his most interesting experiences were in Central Asia, where he went through Kazakstan and Uzbekistan to the frontiers of Persia. There have been tremendous developments here. Tashkent is a great modern city of a million people with huge factories and a tremendous hydro-electric scheme. At Bokhara and Samarkand the ancient Palaces are now being taken care of and built up, for tourists, but the British were informed that there had never been any carpet industry at Bokhara. The carpets called by this name *were* being made elsewhere. In Central Asia they still spoke with pride of the Russian Revolution and of what great progress has been made since then. In Moscow and elsewhere in Great Russia this is not spoken of any more. Indeed the Russians rather deprecate references to the Revolution, saying "Well, we had ours 27 years ago and you had yours 300 years ago, so what's the real difference?" At Leningrad they were told that 300,000 people had died of starvation during the ~~siege~~ *siege* which lasted twenty-eight months, and that only 8,000 had been killed by German shells. Very little damage had been done to the buildings and it was clear that the Germans were looking forward to occupying the city themselves and indeed they very nearly took it. There was great interest and pride in the ballet and in other forms of drama, cinema etc. T.F. had had great difficulty in getting their agreement to go to the Donbas, but had finally succeeded. There had been nowhere to stay, owing to the tremendous devastation wrought by the Germans and so he and two companions had spent two days in a special train which the Russians had put at their disposal. The interview of the Delegation with Stalin had begun badly. Stalin looked very tired. His photographs give a very false picture of him. He is a small man - T.F. said shorter than himself. - his hair is not black but very grey, his moustache no longer bushy, but small and drooping, his figure rather hunched forward. At first he seemed to take no interest whatever in the conversation and indeed seemed rather nervy, continually smoking cigarettes and

putting them out before he had finished them. He was asked whether he would like to hear anything about our doings on the Western Front. For, if so, Lovat would be able to tell him. He said "No, not to-day." He made no response at all to compliments to the achievements of the Red Army. Elliot, the leader of the Delegation, shy and discouraged by this response, said that he was sure the Marshal - the Russians always spoke of him as the Marshal - was a very busy man. Whereupon he looked up at the clock and said "I can give you another hour". And then the conversation brightened up. In addition to the Delegation, only Stalin, Molotov and Maisky were present and the latter translated. It was noticeable that, at the beginning of the conversation, when Elliot made a lengthy and polite speech, Maisky translated it in one short sentence or even only a few words. Stalin, in the latter part of the talk, gave them a most vivid and detailed forecast of the military operations for the next three days and this turned out to be quite accurate. Asked whether he intended to use the Free German Committee now in Moscow, to form a Government in Soviet-occupied Germany, he replied "No, certainly not. We have made some use of these men on the wireless for propaganda purposes, but we must remember that they are traitors to their own country and therefore it would be most unwise to use them in any way when we have occupied Germany." Asked how he thought Anglo-Soviet friendship could best be promoted, he said "Tell the truth. In this country go anywhere and see anything you like. We have many good things and many bad things. Go back to England and tell the truth about them all."

*he can't trust them.*

15.3.45.

*W+*  
Sir Montague Barlow to see me. He is most friendly about my Bill and is doing quite a lot behind the scenes to promote it. He says he has squared Herbert Williams, who, for some reason I don't understand, is under an obligation to him. He thinks it would be wise for me to see some of the

D I A R Y.

various Town Planning Societies who are all jockeying for position one against the other and inclined to be jealous and suspicious of the Board of Trade.

Kalina to see me. He says that practically all the Czech notables have left for Moscow en route for Slovakia. Many of them are not at all happy about the prospects. The Communists are opening their mouths very wide for office. A new Czech Government is to be formed in Moscow and the Communists are claiming the Premiership and the Ministries of War, Interior, Commerce and Education, i.e. practically everything except Foreign Affairs and Finance. Benes wants to keep Foreign Affairs for a member of his own Party, probably Ripka who, for the moment, is remaining in London. But K. thinks that the Russians will insist on Fierlinger having it. Since he has been in Moscow he has become very pro-Communist as well as pro-Russian. K. thinks that the outlook for the Socialist Party is poor. Clearly he doesn't want to go back to Prague. He didn't at all like the attitude of the Russian Delegates to the World T.U. Conference. Kuznetsov was very friendly in manner and spoke English well and is very clever. But some of the others, who spoke no English, quite frightened him. They were very ferocious and fanatical. One woman, in particular, said "Comrade, when we take control, we shall ~~root~~ <sup>out</sup> Facism, including all <sup>hidden</sup> ~~ardent~~ Facists." And, as she said this, her voice rose to a shriek and her eyes bulged. He did not wish to meet her again, least of all in Czecho Slovakia. He thinks he is on the Russian Black List, because he is known to be pro-British and has been here for so long and on friendly terms with so many of us. I said that I did not accept the view that Anglo-Russian friendship could not be made permanent. It would be very difficult, but, if we failed in this, the future was hopeless and there would be a third world war. I didn't, therefore, accept his rather defeatist attitude, though I understood his own personal position. He has arranged a code with some of those who have gone and they will communicate with him from time to time and he will let me know.

U.S.

I am seeing swarms of deputations on my D. of I. Bill; yesterday all the Manchester M.P's, whom I think I quietened down (they were afraid that Clause 9 would be applied to Manchester); to-day, North-East Lancashire, a swarm of Councillors and Town Clerks led by Burke and Silverman, very obstinate and persistent and urging that N.E. Lancashire should be a D.A.; later three members from N. Wales, Clem Davies and Goronwy Owen and Bob Richards, quite prepared not to be a D.A. but asking for various minor alleviations.

Spend most of this evening sketching out to Miss Wagstaff the first draft of my speech next Wednesday. It was finally announced to-day - I had kept a close watch on this, in case there should be some last minute trickery - that my Bill is to be taken on Second Reading next week. Only just in time to get it through Committee before the Germans collapse.

16.3.45.

It looks as though both food and fuel will soon be very short and that these shortages will last sometime, if this is so a shortage of clothing will be less noticed! Evidently, soon after we have won the war in Europe, we shall have a thinner time than ever!

Receive M.P's. and others from Hull who want to be in the D.A's.

To W.L. for the week-end, during which I spend a good deal of time preparing my speech for next week on the second reading of the D. of I. Bill.



D I A R Y.

19.3.45.

## Return from W.L.

Campaign Committee, with H.M. in the Chair. I try to check too much expenditure on stereotyped election "literature", and to make sure that a good part of our Campaign Fund is distributed in grants of £50. or thereabouts to a large number of constituencies. It is now agreed that we shall include an item of grants to, say, 400 constituencies at an average rate of £50. each, i.e. a total of £20,000. or a little more. We shall not this time spend nearly as much as before on printing copies of the Election Manifesto.

Conference on Location Planning Room downstairs for industrial correspondents. We also give the press a list of 19 Government factories in various parts of the country which have now been allocated for post-war peace production. The correspondents are a good deal impressed.

Spend the evening preparing my speech.

20.3.45.

After Questions Malcolm Macmillan urges that the Highlands should be included in the D.A.'s.

This afternoon I confer with O.L., Garro and the Secretaries of State for the Dominions and Colonies - we Ministers being accompanied by a swarm of officials, including Professor Plant, Pares and Hodson, whom I am coming rather to dislike - on the allocation of cotton yarn between home and export. I secure some reallocation in favour of the home market, but even so we shall be desperately short and it is doubtful whether we shall be able to maintain, unless things unexpectedly improve, even the present reduced

U.F.

taken  
Sunday  
Times



clothing ration and small output of household textiles through next winter.

Then Sir Ian Fraser presents a deputation from Barrow and from the Furness Region asking to be included in the D.A.'s.

Look in at a party given by H. Watt and Harold Mitchell, attended by M.P.'s of all Parties and the Press, at which the general expectation seems to be that I shall get my D. of I. Second Reading fairly easily this week. But, on my return to the office, there is much excitement on the telephone owing to Sir G. Schuster having put down an amendment hostile to the Bill on Second Reading, asking for delay, moresurveys and some assurance that the Board of Trade has been "suitably strengthened" to perform its new duties. I speak on the 'phone to this frightful man who says that he has not put his amendment down in any hostile spirit, but that he feels very much concerned about the future etc. UF

Speak also on the 'phone to O.L. who is playing up very well and will, as I have requested, wind up the Debate to-morrow.

D.J. to dine and to discuss with me the line of my speech to-morrow. We dictate, between us, the latter part on Clause 8 and 9 to Miss FitzGerald. The rest I have already got pretty well into shape.

21.3.45.

My Bill gets a Second Reading without a division after a long debate, "the rule being suspended" for an extra hour. I speak for more than an hour and, I hope, expound the thing clearly. I try to avoid giving way to

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would-be questioners and am surprisingly successful in this attempt, without exciting indignation. Otherwise I should have been going on for a couple of hours and the thread of the argument would have been completely broken up. The habit whereby Members jump up all through a Ministers speech in order to put questions, most of which are quite silly, is very bad and I hope I have done something to restore the earlier practice whereby a continuous speech may be made as a basis of a later Debate. To-day's Debate is worth reading. Opposition chiefly comes from the Midlands - Wardlaw-Milne, Schuster, W.J. Brown and Higgs. On the other hand, in addition to Labour speakers, support is given by N. Bower who is supposed to be speaking for the Tory Reform Group, Trevor Cox and Greenwell, a little bounder who sits for the Hartlepoons. O.L. is quite good at the end, stressing the strategic argument in favour of control of location. I anticipate a lot of trouble in the Committee upstairs after Easter, but meanwhile we have advanced a definite step forward.

22.3.45.

Perkins brings a deputation from Stroud Valley who seem afraid they will fall under Clause 9 of the Bill.

Lunch with McGowan and the I.C.I. Board to whom I say a few words. They have a number of large projects of development in mind and these should certainly be encouraged, particularly that on the site to the South of the Tees.

With D.J. to talk to Leathers and his officials about transport developments in the D.A's. L. isn't, I think, much interested in this post-war stuff, but, so far as he goes, is not unsatisfactory. I press in particular for better road communication between the South Wales towns and Birmingham, quite apart from the new Severn Crossing,

and for the Tyne Tunnel at Jarrow. On both of these he is reasonably good, though it seems that these people's plans are still at a deplorably early stage. Along the W. Cumberland coast it is intended to make the road a trunk road and this is all that we can reasonably ask. An official called Wilson says that they can't make their road plans in the D.A.'s. until they know where the new industrial developments are going to be. I say that this is not so, since we know approximately where new works will go and greater precision would not alter the road plans. This is particularly true in W. Cumberland.

D.J. and Blackburn to dine. The latter is very anxious to see the point of everything and I think this talk is good for his education.

23.3.45.

To the North-East with G.P. A very tightly packed but interesting and successful week-end, during which I visit nearly all the principal places on both banks of the Tyne along the coast between Tyne and Tees, including Tynemouth, Gateshead, Jarrow, South Shields, Sunderland, Hartlepoons, Middlesborough. I also meet a number of leading Trade Unionists, the Board of the Team Valley Trading Estate Company, who give me lunch on the Estate, the Executive Committee of Neda and the Executive of the Northern Regional Council of the Labour Party.

I end up with a press conference in the course of which I unload a surprisingly long list of new developments, all over the area, for which S. Forster deserves great credit. I don't much care for Neda, who have played their cards badly both as regards myself, my Regional Controller and my D. of I. Bill. I told Ridley that I think the notes which he has circulated over his own signature and on behalf of Neda on my Bill are lousy. Instead of simple straightforward support which is what they should have given me, there are a

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number of small niggling criticisms. They are also obviously anxious to push their noses in and exercise a quite undue influence about the location of new enterprise in the area. I tell them very frankly that I must take responsibility in the House of Commons; that I must look primarily to my Regional Representative in the N.E.; that nobody such as Neda can interfere between him ~~on~~ any local authority in the area who wishes to contact him; and that we must have no procedure which will lead either to premature and indiscreet disclosure of our plans, or to delays in reaching decisions. I endeavour elsewhere during my stay to instil into the minds of the Local Authorities some suspicion of Neda's intervention. It is, in fact, a wholly ~~retaining~~ *redundant* organisation. Nor do I care much for Ridley. He is conceited, unhelpful in detail, surprisingly woolly and altogether too much taken up with membership of innumerable Committees - he represents the Ministry of Production, is Chairman of the Regional Board, a member of the D.I. Committee (where he has to sit, not very willingly, under the Chairmanship of S. Forster), Chairman of the Northumberland County Council, Chairman of the Executive of Neda and of the Northern Industrial Group, a Director of the L.N.E.R. and of various other industrial enterprises in the North-East. ~~I think~~ the Government weighed in heavily - and until, in particular, I at the B. of T. took a vigorous and active interest in bringing new industries to the North East comparatively nothing had been done by Neda. This is a jealous, self-important and unco-operative body, largely run by our political opponents. Cookson, the Northumberland coal owner, was also particularly insistent that they should be brought into the picture.

I got a better view of the N.E. Trading Estate Company than of Neda. But how all the personalities here hate one another! Methven is certainly a man of drive and ability and we should take steps to keep him usefully employed, though under control. S. Forster has done a very

good job of work in spite of much discouragement. He is on very good terms with many of the local people and local authorities, though not with the Big Wigs of Neda. Until this Sunday night he had never been invited to meet their Executive. I found that several of the L.A.'s. were of the opinion that Neda was a fifth wheel to the coach. This view was strongly held at Tynemouth, where they have some very active people and where I was delighted at my inspection of the West Chirton site. The list of the new projects which I gave to the press will be slowed up in execution only by the shortage of available building labour, but some building licences are already out. The total new direct employment in this list is about 20,000, well dispersed over the area. If we add, as the experts permit, a further 30,000 for indirect employment, the total is 50,000.

I stay at the County Hotel at Newcastle which is much more comfortable, though less pretentious than the Station Hotel. I dined on Sunday night with Ronnie Adams and his red haired bride, Frances, who are now occupying the old house at Jesmond Cottage where I used to stay with his father. He would like me to stay there again whenever I am in Newcastle and not wishing to be in an hotel.

(Separate notes on itinerary and press statement.)



ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT,  
MARCH, 1945.  
-----SATURDAY, 24th.

- 9.0 LEAVE County Hotel
- 9.5 Visit to Regional Offices
- 9.30 Arrive Town Hall, Mayor's Parlour
- 10.0 Council Chamber. Introduction by Lord Mayor
- 10.5 The President addressed the Meeting.
- 10.45 LEAVE Newcastle Town Hall for Sunderland.
- 11.30 Arrive Standard Factory, Pallion Estate
- 12.10 LEAVE Sunderland for Team Valley Estate, calling at Standard Factory, Southwick on the way.
- 12.45 Arrive Team Valley Estate for lunch (1 o'clock).
- 2.30 LEAVE Team Valley for Hartlepoons.
- 3.45 Arrive Standard Factory at West Hartlepool and site for new Trading Estate at Hartlepoons.
- 4.30 LEAVE for Middlesbrough via Transporter Bridge.
- 5.15 Arrive Middlesbrough Town Hall (Victoria Park Entrance) for tea.
- 6.15 LEAVE for Newcastle via Standard Factory, Tees New Bridge and Billingham.
- 8.0 Arrive County Hotel, Newcastle
- 8.10 LEAVE County Hotel (on foot) for Royal Station Hotel
- 8.15 Royal Station Hotel for dinner with Lord Ridley and guests



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ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT  
MARCH, 1945

SUNDAY, 25TH

- 9.30 LEAVE County Hotel for Jarrow.
- 10.0 Arrive Town Hall, Jarrow (coffee)
- 10.30 LEAVE Town Hall for East Jarrow sites
- 10.35 Arrive East Jarrow sites and Leam Lane industrial sites.
- 10.48 LEAVE Jarrow for Standard Factory South Shields.
- 10.50 Arrive Standard Factory, South Shields.
- 11.30 LEAVE South Shields for Ferry (meet Town Clerk of Tynemouth).
- 11.45 FERRY for Tynemouth.
- 12.0 Tour Tynemouth by car and visit to West Chirton Estate.
- 1.0 Arrive for Lunch at Town Hall, Tynemouth.
- 2.0 LEAVE Tynemouth for Newcastle via site for Ministry of National Insurance, Benton.
- 2.30 Arrive Newcastle  
Labour Party Meeting
- 6.30 PRESS CONFERENCE Duke of York's Room, County Hotel.
- 7.30 President to LEAVE County Hotel for private dinner engagement with Mr. Ronald Adams.

The Rt. Hon. Hugh Dalton, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, carried out a very full programme during his visit to the North East this week-end. He had a conference with the Lord Mayor of Newcastle and addressed a fully representative meeting at the Town Hall, Newcastle, of the civic heads of the Tyneside Local Authorities including representatives from as far afield as Consett, Lanchester, Newburn and Blaydon.

He visited the Pallion Estate at Sunderland where, in addition to inspecting the Standard Factory, he conferred with Local Authority representatives in regard to the extension of the Trading Estate. He also had an opportunity of discussing post-war problems with representatives from Seaham Harbour, Houghton-le-Spring, Hetton-le-Hole, Washington and the Sunderland Rural District Council.

Mr. Dalton visited the Hartlepoons where he inspected the Standard Factory and discussed details of the proposed Trading Estate with the representatives of the two Boroughs and a number of industrialists and Trade Unionists.

At Middlesbrough he had a conference with representatives from all parts of Tees-side including the Cleveland area. The Standard Factory at Middlesbrough was also inspected. He had a meeting at Jarrow and South Shields with representatives of the Local Authorities and discussed with them the proposed site for a Trading Estate in that district. At South Shields he inspected the Standard Factory now nearing completion.

Mr. Dalton visited the West Chirton Estate at Tynemouth where he was much interested in the large clothing disposal factory for the Ministry of Supply, now in course of construction, and discussed post-war problems on the North Bank of the Tyne with representatives from the Boroughs of Tynemouth and Blyth and from Ashington, Bedlington, Whitley Bay and other nearby Local Authorities.

Mr. Dalton had conferences, during his visit, with Trade Union Leaders, with the Directors of the North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd. and with the Executive Committee of the North East Development Association. He also visited the site at Newcastle, selected by the Ministry of National Insurance, in which he was most interested.

Mr. Dalton was most impressed with the progress already made in bringing new industries to the region and with the plans for new industrial development. Mr. Dalton is satisfied that a tunnel under the Tyne is essential to the industrial development of the communities on both the North and South Banks of the river and said that, before leaving London, he had discussed the matter fully with the Minister of War Transport who shared that view and had authorised him to say that the plan for a Tyne tunnel from Jarrow to Wallsend would, on its merits, come high among major schemes of road development.

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26.3.45.

Woken at 6.30 and after an early breakfast at 7.15 sleep most of the way down in the train, reaching Kings Cross at 2.45. A very useful and stimulating week-end.

Spencer Summers, whose appointment as new Secretary to the D.O.T. was announced on Friday, comes to see me. He began work here this morning. I explain the general lay out to him and I think he should be a good deal more use than his poor old predecessor. But I am conscious of being at the outset a little on my guard.

27.3.45.

Greenwell brings to see me a certain Colonel Brooks, a Hartlepoons man, who has large, and I think good, ideas for starting the manufacture of motor cars for export on the Tyne. He hopes to get a lot of American dollars and would also wish to bring over some American key-men. There would be ancilliary production elsewhere on the North-East coast. I said I liked this and would help in any way I could, but that we should not like the Americans to have a controlling interest in the show.

My next visitor is the very aged Lord Bicester, now acting Chairman of Associated Engineering Industries, whose Chairman, Felix Pole is in hospital and going blind and whose Secretary, Lusk, recently died. I want to interest them in going to Short Harlands at Belfast. But this ancient shows no enthusiasm. He reminds me of a lady putting her head round a door and saying, hurriedly and defensively, to the Commercial Traveller "Nothing to-day thank you!" How can British industry get on, if decisions - and indecisions - are taken by old fossils like this!

L.P. Policy Sub-Committee, with H.M. in the Chair, makes good progress with H.M.'s. draft now amended for the Declaration.

Thence to discuss clothes rationing with a great concourse, C.W., A.O., C.B.G., Sir T.B., and a number of others. Sir T.B., opening out at my request, paints a picture of unrelieved gloom and others follow up. They are anxious I should say something soon, which I undertake to do, probably in a public speech on Saturday week at Chesterfield. All they really want me to say is that there may be some serious inconvenience in the next few months, owing to stocks falling so low; that we shall probably have to extend the rationing period for grown-ups till September (which most people are already taking for granted) and that it must not be assumed that after September there will be a very good ration. All this can be safely said with a "penumbra" of general observations about the war and how right we were to give priority to the Armies. Some would have preferred me to answer an arranged P.Q. on the subject, but I much prefer a public speech, where I can fit the thing in in my own way, avoid any suggestion of the need to consult colleagues, and avoid, likewise, publicity for silly Supplementary Questions. Anyhow I refuse to take the view that it will do people any harm to have to shop about a bit in the next few months and to wait a bit longer for new suits or frocks, or even new under-clothes. I think the slogan for my speech must be "Peace will come before plenty."

Act as host, in Phil Baker's absence, to Negrin and Azcarate, C.R.A. also being present. Azcarate looks rather ill and has very little to say. Negrin, on the contrary, looks extremely fit, with a fat round smiling face, and talks sixteen to the dozen all the evening. I am not tremendously impressed, though no doubt he will be a great improvement on Franco. But he seems to be very suspicious of the Russians and, like Franco in his egregious letter to the P.M., to be fishing for some kind of Anglo-Spanish re-insurance arrangement against Russian aims. I am afraid I can't feel that Spain matters much, in terms of the near political future. It would be good to see Franco fall and to have some kind of democratic and Left Wing Government in Spain. But their past

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record of fighting an election and then a violent revolution to upset it by the defeated party, whether Left or Right, is rather discouraging. I frankly tell them this and so does C.R.A., who explains at great length the British conception of the Referee or Umpire and of the "Rules of the Game"! N. makes excuses on the ground that the Left, when defeated, did not feel that the election had been "fair".

*a/*  
We must go all out for maintaining Anglo-Russian friendship and understanding, very hard though it may prove, and in the eyes of such as our Spanish friends quite impossible. If, however, we and the Russians and the Americans can't maintain a triangular friendship, it were best for us that the failure, if there must be failure, should be in the maintenance of Russian-American friendship. With this thought at the back of my mind, I am inclined to let the Americans do practically all the trade and development in China. In any case I don't see us getting paid for exports to China for a long while, if ever. And this is a second reason for letting the Americans make the running here. It will also make it easier for the Americans to go slower with their export drive in other parts of the world. No doubt there will be screech from our Shanghighlanders and Hongkonkers, but I have never been much impressed by that crowd. Indeed, I would like to have very few British hostages to Chinese fortune in the coming years.

28.3.45.

L.P. National Executive this morning, in a rather talkative and time-wasting mood. Much discussion about the financial settlement with Gillies who, following Deakin's intervention on his behalf, is to be paid seven-tenths of his present salary for the next  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years and then to retire with his full pension. H.M., Shinwell and Laski oppose this as being too generous, but it is carried by a good majority as a reasonable settlement, likely to prevent any serious row at



the Conference. But, we say, it must not be regarded as a precedent in any future case and there is some doubt as to how the rules of our Staff Superannuation Society affect the case of any member proposed to be dispensed with on grounds of inefficiency. Gillies, according to the settlement, is to be "given leave of absence" on 70% of his salary for 4½ years. It has been argued by the lawyers that, if we said we dismissed him, he could not draw any pension at all from the Fund, but would only be entitled to a refund of his own contribution and this would be a very meagre provision.

Sir M. Barlow to see me. He is working away behind the scenes and has advised Osborn of the Town and Country Planning Association to write and ask for a talk. I say I shall be glad to arrange this, but O. seems a very self-opinionated person and not very easy to handle. But he thinks a lot of Sir M.B.

Dine with C.B.G. at the Café Royal. He is in a very good mood just now and very active about release of labour by the Supply and Service Departments. He does not like the new Secretary to the D.O.T., and I think the feeling is mutual. G.S.S. said to me "Of course, our firm made him, but now he's been out of business so long that he's forgotten the language". And C.B.G., when I told him this, said "Damned cheek! He knows nothing about business at all, he never worked in the shops like I did. If I were you, I shouldn't tell him too much to begin with. He's the sort of chap who will try and get his nose in everything."

C.B.G. would quite like, I think, to be Chairman of a Public Board to take charge of the Iron and Steel industry ~~in~~ <sup>under</sup> a Labour Government. He agrees that something of this sort is necessary. He tells how Willie Graham, when P.B.T. in 1930, asked him for a report which, he said, would be of interest to his colleagues, since the Labour Government of that day was thinking of nationalizing the industry. C.B.G. repeated this to M. Norman and they were then both invited to the Cabinet Room at No. 10. with J.R.M., P.S., and W.G., and no one else. P.S. was "looking very sardonic". C.B.G. repeated what W.G.



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had said to him, whereupon the latter blushed and became very confused and denied the story. The meeting then broke up and M.N. said to C.B.G. as they went away, "I think that's the last we shall hear of that. Of course, you couldn't expect the P.M. in a Labour Government to say that he didn't want to nationalize this industry." I don't think this story reflects credit on any of the persons concerned.

29.3.45.

Reassure Will Oldfield about the future of the Vickers factory at Openshaw. It is to be used for high priority war work till the Jap war ends but, after that, should be used for peace-time engineering. I say I can give a pledge that it shall be so used if I am here, or if there is a Labour Government at the time. Otherwise we can't tell what may happen. He can take this line quietly with the people there.

Weekly meeting limited to export licensing and kindred topics. G.S.S. tells me afterwards that he is very favourably impressed with P.L. I am not surprised.

*to death*

Leithers to lunch at the Etoile. We talk about the progress of U.N.R.R.A. and his various disappointments. He is finding the Russians difficult. He thinks it partly is because they are excessively beaucroatic at Moscow, though ~~the fact~~ of their distrust of foreigners no doubt enters in too. He believes it is inevitable that there will be great starvation in Germany. He does not see how it can be avoided that 10% of them should starve. I say that they should be able to live, even though on a very low level, on their present stocks plus their next harvest. But he is doubtful of this. He thinks it very unfortunate that we should have captured in the West, and be feeding very well, a large number of the worst type of Germans from the S.S. etc.

D. of I. Committee. Conference with Northern

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Ireland Ministers and Officials lead by Sir B. Brooke. In the total we are doing a good deal for them.

Dine alone with Mrs. P. Her prejudice against the Americans is quite an obsession. She can't keep off it.

30.3.45:

Good Friday and good news from Europe. Some think that Parliament will be recalled to receive the news of unconditional surrender before Tuesday week. I don't think so, though the war in the West looks likely now to end in weeks rather than in months.

In the afternoon to Burford to spend Easter with the Piercys.

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3.4.45.

Back by car with W.P. and his daughter, Priscilla. I had a very pleasant and lazy Easter with nothing more energetic than sawing some wood in an orchard and lumping logs about.

Sir G. Gater and his wife were staying at Burford, and we all dined together one night at the Bay Tree. The proprietor, Hugh Roberts, fortunately wasn't there! I tried on Gater, having previously tried it on W.P., my theory that we ought to do very little trade with China after the war and encourage the Americans to do all they wanted in that part of the world. W.P. had quite agreed with this, partly on purely trade grounds - credits to China being, he agreed with me, a bad ~~idea~~ and the prospect of Chinese exports on a large scale being very small - partly to get the Americans, as I wished, close to the Russians in Asia and also, as he emphasized, in order to get the Americans "definitely anchored on the other side of the Pacific", so as to increase the future security of Australia and New Zealand. We further agreed that the same lines of thought would make it desirable for the Americans to interest themselves in Arabian and Persian oil, in the prosperity of a Jewish Palestine and in keeping a fleet and having a naval base in the Eastern Mediterranean. I recalled to him that the Chiefs-of-Staff, in a paper sometime ago, had said something like this and that A.E. had replied that no one should even think, much less speak or write, in this fashion.

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Gater, however, though he spoke much of the value both to British trade and to the Chinese themselves of our occupancy of Hongkong - he was a good deal more doubtful about Shanghai - did not take my suggestion of leaving China to the Americans too badly. Indeed he said that he thought that Latin America would be much more important to us than China.

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4.4.45.

L.P. Committee. E.B. and I propose transfer of labour, including 400 women from aircraft factories in the S.W. to tobacco, in order to meet the claims of the troops for cigarettes and to save cuts in civilian supplies. This goes through, and for the first time Gripps raises no objection!

V. See  
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Talk with C.R.A. who is leaving for San Frisco on the 17th. I urge him to have a word with the P.M. before he leaves to make sure that no election will be declared during his absence. He must, in any case, come back for our Party Conference even if he has to return afterwards. He asks what I think of Arthur Jenkins' appointment. I say that I am very pleased with it. He says that he had to fight very hard to get it, since the P.M. first thought of appointing Tories to three of the four vacant Under Secretaryships, putting in old Jim Rothschild as A.S.'s. "pound of flesh". C.R.A. thinks it a very good thing that we have now promoted two P.P.S.'s. to be Under Secretaries. Both are good on merits and in addition it will be good encouragement to the P.P.S.'s. as a body. I also speak to him about Piercy and advise that he should urge on G.R.S., before leaving, the importance of finding W.P. a seat. I also mention the House of Lords. But he doesn't take much to this, saying, what is quite true, that people who go to the Lords without having had any experience of the Commons aren't much good. If W.P. were in the H. of C. for a year or two he would get on in the other place later.

See Shaw and senior officials on progress of housing fitments for which the Board of Trade are responsible. The most difficult are gas and electric cookers, but even here it is likely that our production will keep pace with that of the houses in which cookers must be installed. I am perpetually astonished at the failure to get on with house building or to take firm decisions on the types to be erected.

With C.B.G. to see E.B. who tells us, what we knew

two days ago, that the provisional date for the end of war in Europe is now fixed at May 31st. E.B. seems afraid that, if we get a lot of labour transferred from munitions to peace production we shan't know what to do with it. I am getting very tired of this. We constantly clamour for more labour, hundreds of thousands more bodies, as distinct from paper plans and programmes, and can absorb in any area and over a wide range of civilian and export industries. C.E.G. is very persistent and helpful in all this.

H.G. is to take two months rest on Doctor's orders. His heart is not quite right. I hope, and think, that this is not really serious, but he has been over working for years and has never seemed physically very strong. He is a bit concerned as to whether the election will come before he has had his rest. I hope, and am inclined to think, it won't, but one can't be sure.

After one of Sir A. M. Livingstone's parties I have a few words with Professor D. T. C. Jack of Durham University. He says that Daish is only a "geographer" and doesn't understand the importance of costs of production to the location of industry. Jack seems to me no better than Daish. He wonders whether the various industries I am guiding into the North-East "will stay after the war"! He says that although there are some two million people within easy distance of Newcastle this is the extent of the market available for light industries in this region. I tell him that this will be a jolly good market provided the people have work and wages. He has not met S. Forster. God save us from these provincial economists!

5.4.45.

Kalina to see me. He says that a new Czecho Slovak Government has now been formed with 27 or 28 Ministers. Fierlinger is to be Prime Minister, with five Deputy Prime



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D I A R Y.

Ministers, of whom two are Communists! Masaryk is Foreign Minister, but Ripka has been made Minister for Foreign Trade, a new post. Nosek who comes from the same Bohemian village as Kalina and used to be a most obscure local Trade Union official is Minister of the Interior. He is a Communist. He will have complete power over the police, gendarmerie etc. The Minister of Defence is General Svoboda, who is a non-political soldier. Only two social democrats are in the Government, of whom one, Mayr, is Minister of Food. This is an impossible job and its occupant will, K. thinks, soon "go up in flames". He was mad to take it. Neither Neměcnor Bečko is in the Government. No Czechs who have remained in Bohemia or Moravia are included. Nor is any member of the once powerful Agrarian Party who used always to have the Ministry of the Interior in pre-war Governments. Nor is there anyone from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. It looks as though this province has already, as he puts it, "Gone East". K. takes a very gloomy view of the outlook. He thinks the Communists are increasingly in control. "National Committees" are being formed everywhere in liberated Slovakia. These are on the Pyramidal System as in the Soviet Union. Anyone who criticizes them is accused of not being "democratic". He thinks that the Communists will soon get rid of Benes. They will show no more gratitude to him than he has shown to his old supporters. Neměc and Bečko used to walk about saying "Benes is my programme"; now they are out. The second social democrat in the Government is Lauschman, who was always pro-Communist and pro-Russian and used to criticize Benes. K. doesn't want to go back to C.S. He is still continuing with the B.B.C. and is now becoming interested in the Czech firm of Supak at Perivale. I tell him that we must not despair of good Anglo-Soviet relations, unless we despair of the future peace of the world. Nor is it unnatural that C.S. should be strongly influenced by Russia. I think he may be taking altogether too black a view of the future of his country.

R.I. Committee. I obtain, very grudgingly, the consent of my colleagues to give a Certificate to Lever for Timplate Redundancy. (Neither A.D. nor O.L. are present).

But the thing has now been so much whittled down, especially as regards tax concessions, that Lever may not really think the Certificate worth having. I shall see him next week and press him further on his plans for modernization.

With J.W. to premiere of "Blithe Spirit", which we both think great fun, and then to dine. We agree that we must make good use of the last stages of our Ministerial influence to get Courtaulds firmly fixed at Sellafield. This would be a wonderful parting gift to West Cumberland. It would make all the difference between light and darkness for these people in the future. J.W. seems now to be almost certain to succeed Walter Green at Deptford. This constituency was first offered to H.M., then to E.B., but both declined, the first because he thought that if he was leaving a London seat it should only be for another London seat now held by a Tory; the latter because he did not think it would be right for him to leave Central Wandsworth which had been cleared for him by making Nathan a Peer.

6.4.45.

Peter Bennetto see me about my D. of I. Bill. He will be a useful ally on the Standing Committee. He says he has no objection to the first 7 clauses, but Birmingham is very apprehensive about Clause 9. He wonders whether we need it at all. I ask him to suggest amendments. And he hands in a paper furnished to him. Not very clever, but a strong personality and a firm ally if once he agrees to play.

Lunch at F.O. to meet American General from Oklahoma, who is now Ambassador at Chungking. Have a word with A.E. afterwards and tell him that I hope we can agree to keep foreign policy out of the foreground at our General Election. I suggest that we should meet and talk before he leaves for S. Frisco.

Osborn of Town and Country Planning Association, an angular, persistent, one-track minded man, spends 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

✓ Pat Hurley

(we discuss date on 16<sup>th</sup> but he left 2 days before)

Nervous

(mad)

DIARY.

hours with me. He makes a long speech at me from notes. I think I more than half win him over, but it is slow going.

Leslie Nicholls to dine, on the eve of going out to join the staff of S.H.A.E.F. just moving to Koblenz. He is still hankering after Maldon.

7.4.45. (Saturday)

Speak at Chesterfield, George Benson in the Chair. (Advance attached) A larger meeting than usual and very attentive. People are beginning to take an interest in politics again.

8.4.45.

Speak at Alfreton and Belper with, and for, George Brown, who has just been adopted for the Belper Division in succession to George Dallas. A very good type of young T.U. Candidate. Unless something goes wrong he should win the seat. Both these are good meetings, and at Belper a group of very keen and clear cut young men have taken charge who, till a few weeks ago, were the local Communist Party. They have all come over in a lump and have already, for the first time in history, started to build something real in this town. They give me a sense of great competence and relief, after some of the old buffers who have been muddling along in charge of our Local Parties for a generation.

Make a "tour of the horizon" in the East Midlands with Tom Baxter this evening. He is very hopeful of the results of the next election. He thinks we should win everything in Derbyshire, except the High Peak; everything in Leicestershire, except South Leicester (Waterhouse's constituency) and Melton; everything in Northamptonshire except Daventry; two out of four seats in Nottingham City and most of the County, including Newark where we have just adopted an Air Vice-Marshal; and in Lincolnshire, Holland-with-Boston for certain, Lincoln probably and Grimsby



possibly, though the organisation there is non-existent.  
Even if all this is a bit too good to be true, the general  
impression is pretty good.

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... ..

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Dalton 2 3758

(See Diary for Saturday, 7.4.45.)

For release 8 p.m. Saturday, 7th April, 1945.

PEACE BEFORE PLENTY

The Right Honourable Hugh Dalton, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, speaking at Chesterfield on Saturday, April 7th, said:

"We shall have Peace before Plenty; Peace through total victory, which has only been made possible by our tremendous concentration on the war effort. The Government have deliberately given first priority to munitions and to maintaining the Armed Forces at full strength. The claims of our civilian population and of our export trade have come second. We have given Monty and our boys fighting in Europe everything they wanted to win the battle of Germany. I am quite sure that we were right. As we see our Armies, and those of our Allies, advancing so swiftly, and with casualties mercifully so much lighter than we feared, as we see the final collapse and catastrophe of German military power, who will say that the Government would have done better to give less to Monty and his men in order to give more to the civilians at home? The civilians would not have thanked us if we had postponed the over-running of the rocket sites by our troops, in order that they should have a few more food or clothing coupons. Better no V bombs and no new suits, than more of both!

We have borne, without flinching or grumbling, a tremendous strain. We have mobilized our man-power and our woman-power and all our national resources for more than five years of war. When victory comes, we shall still have to face many shortages. It will take years to work our way from scarcity to plenty, though fewer years if we have full employment than if we tolerate a return to the pre-war dole. But, however well we plan, many necessaries of life and many comforts and conveniences will be short for some considerable time.

As regards clothing, I gave a warning in the House of Commons last January that it might not be possible to make a further issue of coupons to the general public before September. I repeat that warning now, and I also repeat that the children will, in any case, get a further issue on the 1st August. The children should come in front of the grown-ups.

We have, for some time past, been drawing on stocks to supplement current production in order to maintain the clothing ration. And this will have to continue a little longer, until current production can be increased by the return of labour from munitions to the textile and clothing industries. We had very large stocks three years ago, and they have served us well as a reserve during these critical months when we were planning the build up, first for D. day and then for the crossing of the Rhine.

From now on there should be a gradual return of labour. But one of our troubles is that some sections of the textile industries are much less attractive to the workers than the engineering jobs they are on now. It is up to the textile industries, if they hope to attract labour in the future, to improve working conditions and amenities.

In June 1940 we had nearly 1,500,000 workers in the textile and clothing industries. By June 1942 this had been reduced to little more than 1,000,000, which was pretty near the minimum labour force necessary to clothe and equip the Forces and to maintain the standards we had then set for clothes rationing. None-the-less, these industries have contributed a further 160,000 men and women in the last 2½ years to the Armed Forces and to preparations for the assault on Europe.

The process of rebuilding the labour force in these industries must be slow, so long as war needs continue. In cotton spinning there are now little more than 200,000 workers as against 364,000 at the time of Dunkirk. The wool and worsted mills have lost 45% of their labour force since that time, the hosiery mills more than 50%, the boot and shoe factories 30%. And all these industries, with their depleted labour forces, have had to equip, not only the civilians but the Armed Forces. And they must make proper provision, in the months which lie ahead, for the men and women who will be demobilized, and who are entitled to be properly clothed on their return to civil life.

This prospect of inevitable shortage, continuing for some years into the post-war period, means that we must continue those controls which are necessary to stop profiteering and inflation and assure fair shares for all.

I agree with the Post-war Reconstruction Committee of the Drapers' Chamber of Trade who say 'We are in favour of retaining the control on the production, supply and price of consumer goods until supply has reached the level of demand'. That will not be for several years. The Committee go on to say 'The deplorable consequences of a premature removal of controls after the last war are still fresh in our minds'. How right they are!

But for these controls during the war millions of our people would, by now, have been naked, hungry and penniless, while a small section would have waxed fat at the expense of the rest. This all-Party Government have prevented that. We have shared out fairly what little was left over, when the claims of the war effort had been met. No future Government must do less than this, both for the civilians and for the men and women returning home from the Services.

Any Government, or any political party, which advocates decontrol for the sake of decontrol, and a return to the inequality, injustice and muddle of pre-war days, will be broken, and will deserve to be broken, by the electors of Britain.

We have learned a thing or two during this war, and we don't intend to let these lessons be forgotten."

DIARY.

9.4.45.

C.W., to whom I do not say too much about my week-end talks, wants me to go to the Prime Minister and tell him that everyone will be naked next September unless we at once get a lot more labour, but C.B.G., whom I bring in, says that this will only upset other Ministers and do no good, and anyhow there is yet another of these innumerable papers coming before the Cab. this week on Man-power.

Dine with Peter Fraser. His namesake Bob is also there, and his son-in-law and Dick Campbell.

P.F. is always both sensible and "idealistic". But to-night I am a little disturbed by his anti-Russian inclinations. He doesn't like Yalta at all, though I think he realises that we must, if we are to get the Russians into the International Organisation, go a long way to meet their wishes. Later on we may be able to revise our initial effort at a new World Constitution. Someone this evening, I think Bob, said "Under our breath we are thinking of a possible future war with Russia." I said that war drifts in that direction must be most firmly resisted. I told them the story of our recent Parliamentary Delegation being put to wait in a room at Baku in front of a picture of the Twenty-two Commissars being shot by the British in 1919. P.F. had never heard of this incident. On the other hand, he was inclined to be in favour of the definite separation of Germany into several States. He had seen Zilliacus, from whom he had gathered the idea that our National Executive should be studying Dumbarton Oaks etc. more closely. He was also in favour of Z's notion of the World Assembly being a collection of Parliamentarians chosen from each Parliament according to P.R., though he did not think that any Government at this stage would accept this idea.

*any other*  
*to walk in a group and say (conclude) the same thing to*  
 I walk down Whitehall with Bob and urge him to make up his mind, pretty soon, to cut loose from the Civil *He said "if"*  
*to walk in*

2.4.45

Service if he wanted to be a Candidate next time. The political tide was rising, I said, and he should by now have made up his mind about the alternative offers which were open to him. He is inclined to be a bit slow.

10.4.45.

Memorial Service to L.G. in Westminster Abbey. Rather ironical in view of L.G.'s hatred and contempt in his younger days for the established Church and his fervent non-conformist radicalism. There is nothing Welsh in to-day's service. It is one of those impersonal performances, which I have thought before so completely missed out all individuality. Apart from one brief reference to L.G. by name, in one of the prayers, it might equally well have been anyone else.

Outside the Abbey door I had a word with E.B., who had made a heavy attack in a week-end speech upon the Tory Party, and set the press humming with talk of an immediate break-up of the Government and an early election. E.B., who seems very pleased with himself, grinned and said "Wouldn't stand Beaverbrook writing these articles any longer". There had been many insinuations that E.B. would dissociate himself from other Labour Ministers when the time came. I never believed this.

Meet, with one or two of my colleagues, Vernon Bartlett to see whether he would join the Labour Party. He won't - at any rate at present - and will, therefore, I think, be defeated at Bridgwater by the Tory in a three cornered fight.

Then a meeting in a Committee Room upstairs, with Labour M.P.'s. to consider amendments to my D. of I. Bill. Foster and Burke are both very persistent about their parts of Lancashire and rather irritate the rest of the meeting.



DIARY.

I urge that, the fewer Amendments and the fewer speeches made, the better the chances of getting the Bill through - and add that I can't accept any Amendments which would make any serious alteration. It is finally agreed that one or two suggested additions to Schedule I. shall be put down and that a new clause, for demonstration purposes, shall give me the power to direct industrialists to go anywhere I choose. Not a bad result.

Then another meeting in C.R.A.'s. room with Labour Ministers, both large and small, to discuss S. Frisco. Whither C.R.A. and a number of others, including George Tomlinson and Ellen Wilkinson are going next week. The discussion turns to military commitments for the future and whether we should permanently adopt conscription. The general feeling of the meeting was that we should, but I really don't see why they need keep trying to rush this decision. It will not be raised at S. Frisco in any definite fashion and it is surely enough, for the moment, to say that the present call-up must go on for several years, until we see where we are. Several people made the point that rockets, and extensions of this idea in the future, could only be dealt with by land forces, and not by sea and air alone. E.B. said that if the Russians were on the Oder in the future, they might be able to shoot rockets at this country from that distance. These are not good thoughts.

I speak to C.R.A. alone after the meeting and urge him to get perfectly clearly from the P.M. an undertaking that while C.R.A. was away there could be no question of breaking up the Government or giving notice of any intention to dissolve Parliament. If this were not clear I said C.R.A. ought not to go. He said he was sure that this would be all right; that he had already spoken to the P.M. who had agreed that it would be most unfair to do anything of this kind in his absence. I hope that C.R.A. and the rest of us are in no danger of being outwitted as a result of pressure on the P.M. by M. and B.

4.

Dine at Claridge's, with Ashfield in the chair - a predecessor of mine at the Board of Trade - to meet Mudalier and two other Indians on their way to S. Frisco. I have always liked M. who is a Madrassee, quiet, intelligent and co-operative. He thinks that when Gandhi and Jinnah are dead, and the Jap war is over, we shall get a settlement in India. But he thinks it's no good trying at it for another year. Linlithgow is here to-night. His manner and appearance is quite unbelievably pompous. I do not like him at all. ~~But~~ I still seemed to see in him my contemporary at Eton, a very fat little boy who used to make himself sick by eating too many tinned peaches.

11.4.45.

Campaign Sub-Committee. H.M. in the chair. A small and useful Committee, which is giving the Chairman, quite rightly, plenty of elbow room. He suggests, backed up by A.G., that we should back down on iron and steel in the Policy Declaration. He has been lunching with X. Y. Z. who have told him that it is too ambitious to talk of "owning" this troublesome industry. But I strongly resist this and get my way.

D.J. to dine and discuss many details about the D. of I. Bill tactics and our action under present powers. Molson and his young Tories are offering support and I told D.J. to meet him as a complete ally.

We agree that the slowness of inter-Departmental movement is one of the fundamental facts in government. It is not at all understood by outsiders, but it is a tremendous argument against putting more stopping stations on the line which runs, oh so slowly and circuitously, through the soggy lowlands of Contact and Consultation and Co-ordination to the final high peak of Decision! This is why it is such a mistake for anyone who wants action to try to secure additional consents <sup>in</sup> consultations at every stage.

New Industrial Building Schemes

Many industrial firms have agreed to come to the North East Coast and there are also several local undertakings with important post-war building proposals. They are not all at the stage when it is possible to make a public announcement but the following can now be mentioned:-

C. A. Parsons & Co. Ltd., Electrical Engineers of Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne have received a Building Licence to extend their works.

National Galvanisers Ltd., manufacturers of Housing Equipment, Sunderland, are to add another 50,000 sq. ft. to their factory. Employment is likely to remain at some hundreds above the pre-war level.

Scott & Turner Ltd., manufacturers of Medical and Food Products, Newcastle-on-Tyne, are to build a factory of at least 120,000 sq. ft. on an approved site at Coxlodge.

Pyrotenax Ltd. of Hebburn are to build a new factory of 100,000 sq. ft. to employ about 100 men and 200 women.

Reay Gear Works Ltd., the well known Gear manufacturers of Gateshead-on-Tyne, are to build a factory of 25,000 sq. ft. and give, ultimately, employment to an additional 70 men.

The North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd. are to build a factory of 100,000 sq. ft. on the Team Valley Estate for Sigmund Pumps (Great Britain) Ltd. which in addition to providing the firm with a specially designed factory for Pump manufacture will enable the release of premises now occupied by Sigmund Pumps Ltd. to be used for the expansion of a number of established Team Valley firms. This is an indication of the Government's desire to see stable employment on the Estate.

The Anglo Scottish Trading Co. Ltd. are to have additional premises at Team Valley and their associated Company, R. M. Electric Ltd., will be provided with a factory in which the manufacture of Radio Sets and Radio Components will be carried out.

There are also a number of other developments pending in relation to existing firms on the Team Valley Estate.

Frederick Byron Ltd. of London, manufacturers of Infants Wear, are acquiring temporary premises in Ashington pending the building of a factory of 10,000 sq. ft. which will ultimately employ 200 people.

The Newsham Clothing Co. Ltd. has established a small factory at Blyth where, ultimately, employment will be given for approximately 10 men and 150 females.

Hall Sections Ltd., Engineers, who came up from London during the War and now occupy requisitioned premises, have expressed an intention to stay in this area and when a factory of some 20,000 sq. ft. has been built at West Chirton, Tynemouth, will employ approximately 200 men and 100 females.

De La Rue Insulations Ltd. have acquired a site of over 13 acres at West Chirton, Tynemouth, where a very important branch of the Plastic Industry is to be established. The first stage will be the building of a factory of over 50,000 sq. ft. with employment in the vicinity of 500 people.

Beechams Trust Ltd. of London have purchased 4 acres of land in Newcastle-on-Tyne and are to build, initially, a factory of 30,000 sq. ft. for the manufacture of Tonic Beverages and to erect modern laboratories. The ultimate employment is expected to be 100 men and 200 females.

Smiths Potato Crisps of London are also to build a factory of at least 25,000 sq. ft. and employ 25 men and 200 women.

John Waddington Ltd. of Leeds, the well known Printers have established a branch of their undertaking on the Team Valley Trading Estate.

The North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd. are to build a factory of 50,000 sq. ft. at South Shields for Shaffer Aircraft Ltd. of London for Engineering

and the manufacture of Pre-fabricated Plumbing Units to employ 4/500.

The Standard Factory at South Shields has been allocated to Wright & Weaire Ltd., the well known London manufacturers of Radio and Electrical Components. Employment for at least 500 people is to be expected.

Prices Tailors Ltd., of Leeds, have taken temporary premises in South Shields and are to build a factory of 50,000 sq. ft. to employ ultimately between 1,000 and 1,500 people.

Other new industries which have come to South Shields and which will require larger factories after the war are Doll Industries Ltd. of London; A. Zoob Ltd. of Harpenden; and Mary Harris Gowns of Team Valley. The latter is, of course, an expansion of this firm's local interests.

Turner Bros. Asbestos Co. Ltd. of Rochdale, propose to put down the first Asbestos Spinning Factory in the North East at Washington. The size will be 144,000 sq. ft. with employment for approximately 200 people.

Charles Twigg & Co., Ltd., of Birmingham, manufacturers of Gas Fires, Stoves, Gas and Electrical Equipment, are to establish a branch works at Sunderland to employ upwards of 7/800 people.

The Standard Factory at Southwick, Sunderland, has been allocated to Rego Clothiers Ltd., of London and will provide ultimate employment for over 1,000 people.

Prices Tailors Ltd., of Leeds are also establishing a branch in Sunderland to employ about 1,500 people and they are now occupying temporary premises as a training unit at the Old Eye Infirmary.

Charles & Co., of Harrow, now engaged on Ministry of Supply Clothing Contracts, are opening a Factory at Houghton-le-Spring where they expect to employ 120.

The Standard Factory at West Hartlepool has been allocated to Prices Tailors Ltd., of Leeds where employment is expected to be given to about 1,000 people.

Woodhouse & Smith (Nottingham) Ltd., Hosiery Manufacturers, have opened a temporary factory at Langley Moor where they are now employing about 90 people. They will ultimately require a factory of 25,000 sq. ft. employing approximately 60 men and 250 women.

Redmar Ltd. of London, a new Company merging the interests of two well known dress manufacturers, have established a factory in temporary premises at Crook and will require a factory of 50,000 sq. ft. after the war to provide employment for 6/700 people.

Alfred Morris Ltd., of London, manufacturers of Fur Coats, etc. are preparing plans for a factory of at least 30,000 sq. ft. which will be located at Shildon, to employ about 5/600 people. They are now occupying temporary premises in Shildon where they are employing 50/60 people

Barnard Castle will have the benefit of employment for 2/300 people at the factory now under construction for the manufacture of Medical Products.

J. & H. Walter Ltd. Radio Manufacturers, of London, are to establish a factory of 40,000 sq. ft. in Guisbrough, Cleveland, to employ at least 400 people, of whom a large proportion will be men.

J. & S. Bickley Ltd., are about to establish a Clothing Factory in Durham.

There are many other schemes nearing completion and the fact that some towns are not mentioned in the above statement must not be taken as meaning that they are not attracting the interests of industrialists. Several matters of considerable importance are in that stage of negotiation during which it would not be the wish of the firms themselves for a public statement to be made.

The President has also heard with great interest of a number of important modernisation schemes by the basic industries of the North East Coast.



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D.J. says that they have one man in the Department here who spends all his time ringing up other Departments, all day and every day, to push things along and to get them to take the necessary next action on a mass of detailed cases.

He also says that, when he was at the Ministry of Supply and trying to get Arms Production speeded up, and factories manned, he used to say to people "Each of you has got an opposite number in Germany. If he gets on with his job quicker than you with yours, they may win the war". It has been a close thing more than once. D. Day was only just in time. We overran the rocket sites only just before the Germans were able to start a bombardment of London which would have made wholesale evacuation inevitable.

What should I have done without this live wire. And yet what a struggle I had with the slow coaches here to get him promoted and given sufficient authority to get a move on!

12.4.45.

A visit from Lever, whom I tell that I have succeeded in getting from my colleagues, after great efforts of persuasion, a most grudging and reluctant assent to my giving him a Redundancy Certificate. I say that it would have been much easier for me, in the light of the discussion with my colleagues, to have dropped the whole thing. But I had promised him that I would do my best, and I have managed it. But he must come along with more detailed plans on his cold reduction plants. He asks whether I can assure him that the Government will back him, and that there will be no serious attack upon him as a monopolist, if, in order to oblige me, he moves quickly and arranges for two new cold reduction plants in West Wales to be run by a subsidiary of R.T. (the proposed plant in Monmouthshire could be run by an independent group.). I say that I am in favour of monopoly if it is technically more efficient



than a group of competitors, but I tell him frankly that I reserve the right to propose that the Tinsplate Industry should be put in the hands of a Public Board or otherwise publicly controlled. The time for me to say these things is not yet, but it may come a little later. He, I add, could do just as good work, and possibly better, as Chairman of such a Board, appointed by me, than as Chairman of R.T. nominally appointed by the shareholders. He says he thinks it is economically wrong but doesn't press the argument strongly. He doesn't altogether like the modifications intended by the Chancellor in tax arrangements, but I advise him to take these away and think about them. He is considering putting Sir Gerald Bruce on their Board in order to make it clear that they are anxious to carry local opinion with them regarding industrial location in Wales. I say I think this would be a very good move. He <sup>says</sup> ~~says however~~ that, in principle, he would be willing to have a Trade Union leader on the Board. But he doubts, and he thinks the T.U. Leaders share his doubt, whether a man so appointed would continue to carry the confidence of the workers.

I promise to write him a letter to-morrow and we are likely to meet in a fortnight at a dinner given by the Swansea Chamber of Commerce. This might be a good opportunity for a public statement.

War Cab. on Man-power. A shocking show! If an account of this morning's discussion was published, this Government would perish in ridicule and contempt. There seems to be complete confusion as to the meaning and implications of, and the distinctions between, the following:

- (1) V.E. Day. Does this mean that from this day the war with Germany would be over? If so, will all Labour controls cease? E.B., supported by S.C., says "Yes". Then there can be no more direction of labour and there is no sense in making any labour "allocations" for the second half of 1945. What will happen will be that a mass of people will be

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discharged into an unregulated labour market. This astonishes the P.M. and several others, who say that this is certainly not what was intended. How, in that case, could labour be held in making munitions for the Jap war, or directed toward work of primary importance rather than to inessentials.

- (ii) Cease Fire Day. This has already been discussed in connection with workers holidays. But, if there are still German pockets of resistance to be mopped up, how can we "Cease fire"? Will this, therefore, be before, after or coincident with V.E. Day?
- (iii) A "spontaneous outburst of rejoicing", which might arise here, and in the U.S., when Berlin falls or, even earlier, when the Russians and the Americans meet somewhere near Berlin. Would this not, in effect, be the same as V.E. Day? Beaverbrook has been pressing this argument on the P.M. His game all through is to try to hurry up the election and, therefore, V.E. Day as its preliminary. He is very persistent on all this and it is a bad sign that the P.M., more obviously than ever this morning, is paying heed to him and meeting him off stage.
- (iv) The "end of Hostilities" and
- (v) The "end of the war". These two last have great legal importance for contracts etc. How are they related to the others?

Obviously nobody has ever thought all this out. I have no direct Departmental locus, so it is not my responsibility, but it is really a disgraceful omission on the part of some of those concerned. E.B., as against Beaverbrook, is playing for a postponement of the election and tells me later in the day that the P.M. was very much concerned at what he had said this morning and "was on to me again about it this afternoon". It

is left that "the officials" shall go into it and produce a report!

At the close of this morning H.M. and A.E. raised the question of Pollitt being allowed to go to Finland to attend a Communist Conference. It is agreed that he shall be allowed to go, but that no special facilities shall be provided for him. This means that he won't be able to get there. The P.M. winds up a cheerful denunciation of the Communists by declaring that "They have founded a religion, but they left God out of it. They are Christians without Christ, Jesuits without Jesus!" H.M. says to me "I wish he would say that in public."

Wells to dine with me. He has been rather ill and is still taking lots of drugs, and his father has recently died, which has involved him in a great deal of troublesome arrangements. He doesn't look at all strong or fit<sup>ish</sup>. But he has now been adopted for Walsall and I will do my best to help him to out Schuster.

13.4.45.

CP21

Meeting of L.P. with Anderson in the Chair, on Storage. Sir Findlater Stewart has produced a long report. But I hear, after the meeting, that he never invited Warter to go and talk to him about it! He is recommending that there should be a new "Executive" appointed to take charge of this. There is a good deal of shindy at the meeting, A.S., in particular, ascertaining that the Air Force can't win the war against the Japs unless they have all the storage they want and that they can't accept any decisions reached by others. Grigg too is a bit troublesome, though less than usual. Both E.B. and Duncan say that they don't see why this shouldn't be done by the Board of Trade and I say that, till now, I, and Warter, whom I praise, have gone on the basis that we do not discuss the propriety of claims for storage, but simply try to meet them. From now on, I say, there must be a sharp change and I shall urge in the interests of reconversion and civilian production, the most

DIARY.

( Mar 7 1945 )

rapid clearance of storage possible. But no new official appointment is necessary for this. Warter can continue to do it, all the facts are known to us and I will put up proposals to a suggested new Ministerial Committee for enforcing rations - and rapidly falling rations over the next few months - on the Service and Supply Departments for total storage accommodation. If I can't get the clearance necessary, I will take it to the War Cab. It is, however, agreed, on E.B.'s suggestion, that I should put up priority claims by industries in areas for clearance. This is quite a good outcome and Sir F. Stewart, I think, must be a bit disappointed. Warter tells me afterwards that he has been very pompous and imagined that he had been called in to clear up some muddle. I had previously been told that he was one of our best Civil Servants. In the light of this incident I mark him down some way.

also/

On the midnight news last night I hear that Roosevelt is dead. Parliament to-day will adjourn. He should have lived, even a few weeks longer, to see the full light of victory in Europe. But he has seen the dawn. And, but for him, there would have been no dawn. Only a long darkness for us all; an eternal night for most of us. I never met this very great man, but to all his other gifts he added the highest political skill, of ~~views~~ both to win elections and to achieve great influence after winning them. His disappearance will make a great difference to the whole complex of Anglo-American personal relations. It is not clear who in the U.S. will now have much authority. This may have some very bad results quite soon, not for the war itself, for that's all but won, but for the peace preliminaries and for our post-war relationships.

CW

L Kings/

DIARY.

13.4.45. (Cont'd.)

Battling Barlow calls this afternoon and shows me the draft of a letter which he proposes to send to "The Times" discouraging the idea of "Surveys" before any action is taken. These, he rightly says, are only obstruction and time-wasting devices. I hear from D.J. that the people behind all this agitation are old Roskill, whom we had to get rid of from M.E.W. because he was so incompatible with everybody else and Neale of M.T.C.P.

To W.L. this evening for the week-end. The weather is very lovely and *Pyrus Aria Lutescens* stands like a white ghost tree, at its earliest and best. The Flowering Crabs and the Lilacs are on the point of rushing out and the *Spiraea* is out already, a sheet of white. For the first time for many months I begin a really serious dig in preparation for an autumn plant. I plan to put in two *Sorbus Pinnatifida* backing one *Sorbus Vilmorinii* which I have longed, since before the war, to introduce into my *Sorbus* collection. The other ~~two~~, whose long name I am always forgetting, but which I remember by its other name (in Hillier's catalogue) the Bastard Service Tree, or as I often call it the Australian Service Tree, is are doing very well in a not very easy place already. Digging is very good for the soul as well as the body.

in/  
my single specimen of



Dalton 2 32 (68)

St. Paul's Cathedral

17th April, 1945



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

1882 - 1945

## Order of Service

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### THE SENTENCES

*W. Croft.*

I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord : he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live : and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God : Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.

We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away ; blessed be the Name of the Lord.

### THE INTRODUCTION

Brethren we are gathered together in the presence of God to commemorate the life and work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32nd President of the United States of America, and to render thanks to Almighty God for the services which he gave to the welfare and peace, not only of his own people, but of all the peoples of the world. We will praise God also for the example which he has left us and the continuing inspiration of his character, remembering that every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from the Father of lights.

We who represent the two great English-speaking peoples are specially bound to pray that through our co-operation one with another the great causes for which Franklin Delano Roosevelt laboured may be brought to fruition for the lasting benefit of all the nations of the world.

*Then shall be sung the following*

### ANTHEM

*S. S. Wesley.*

Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee. The darkness is no darkness with thee, but the night is as clear as the day ; the darkness and light to thee are both alike. God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all. O let my soul live, and it shall praise thee. For thine is the Kingdom, the power, and the glory, for evermore. Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee.

*Then shall be sung :*

PSALM XXIII.

*Dominus regit me.*

- The Lord | is my | shepherd : therefore | can I | lack | nothing<sup>\*</sup>  
 2. He shall feed me in a | green | pasture : and lead me forth  
 be- | side the | waters of | comfort.  
 3. He shall con- | vert my | soul : and bring me forth in the  
 paths of | righteousness | for his | Name's sake.  
 4. Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of  
 death<sup>\*</sup> I will | fear no | evil : for thou art with me<sup>\*</sup> thy | rod. and  
 thy | staff | comfort me.  
 5. Thou shalt prepare a table before me against | them that  
 | trouble me : thou hast anointed my head with | oil. and my | cup  
 shall be | full.  
 6. But thy loving kindness and mercy shall follow me<sup>\*</sup> all  
 the | days of my | life : and I will dwell in the | house. of the |  
 Lord for | ever.  
 Glory be to the Father | and to the | Son : and | to the |  
 Holy | Ghost ;  
 As it was in the beginning<sup>\*</sup> is now and | ever | shall be :  
 world without | end. | A- | men.

*Then shall follow :*

THE LESSON

REV. vii, 9-17.

After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands ;

And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,

Saying, Amen : Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes ? and whence came they ?

And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple : and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.

They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more ; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.

For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters : and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

*Then shall be sung the following hymn.*

Fight the good fight with all thy might,  
Christ is thy Strength and Christ thy Right ;  
Lay hold on life, and it shall be  
Thy joy and crown eternally.

Run the straight race through God's good grace,  
Lift up thine eyes, and seek His Face ;  
Life with its way before us lies,  
Christ is the path, and Christ the prize.

Cast care aside, lean on thy Guide ;  
His boundless mercy will provide ;  
Trust, and thy trusting soul shall prove  
Christ is its life, and Christ its love.

Faint not nor fear, His Arms are near,  
He changeth not, and thou are dear ;  
Only believe, and thou shall see  
That Christ is all in all to thee.

*Then the priest shall say :*

LET US PRAY.

Lord have mercy upon us.

*Christ have mercy upon us.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; But deliver us from evil : For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh are in joy and felicity, we humbly commit to thy fatherly keeping the soul of our brother, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, beseeching thee that it may please thee of thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of thine Elect, and to hasten thy Kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul in thy Eternal and Everlasting Glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life; in whom whosoever believeth shall live, though he die; and whosoever liveth, and believeth in him, shall not die eternally; who also hath taught us (by his holy Apostle Saint Paul) not to be sorry, as men without hope, for them that sleep in him; We meekly beseech thee, O Father, to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness; that, when we shall depart this life, we may rest in him, as our hope is thy servant Franklin Delano Roosevelt doth; and that, at the general Resurrection in the last day, we may be found acceptable in thy sight; and receive that blessing, which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

O Eternal Lord God, who holdest all souls in life, we beseech thee to shed forth upon thy whole Church in Paradise and on earth the bright beams of thy light and heavenly comfort; and grant that we, following the good example of those who have loved and served thee here, and are now at rest, may at the last enter with them into the fulness of thine unending joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, and giver of all comfort: Deal graciously, we pray thee, with those who mourn, that casting every care on thee, they may know the consolation of thy love, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, the physician of men and nations, the restorer of the years that have been destroyed, look upon the distractions of the world, and be pleased to complete the work of thy healing hand. Draw all men unto thee, and one to another by the hands of thy love: make thy Church one, and fill it with thy Spirit, that by thy power it may unite the world in a sacred brotherhood of nations wherein justice and mercy, truth and freedom, may flourish, and thou mayest ever be glorified, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.



## THE GRACE.

*The Battle Hymn of the Republic will then be sung.*

5 Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord ;  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are  
stored ;  
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,  
His Truth is marching on.

*Glory, glory, Hallelujah ! Glory, glory, Hallelujah !  
Glory, glory, Hallelujah ! His truth is marching on.*

I have seen Him in the watchfires of a hundred circling camps ;  
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps ;  
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps ;  
His Day is marching on.

*Refrain.*

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel ;  
" As ye deal with My contemnners, so with you my grace shall deal ; "  
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with His heel,  
Since God is marching on.

*Refrain.*

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat ;  
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat ;  
Oh ! be swift, my soul, to answer Him ; be jubilant, my feet !  
Our God is marching on.

*Refrain.*

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born, across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me ;  
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free !  
While God is marching on.

*Refrain.*

*Then shall be sung :*

*J. Goss.*

I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, from  
henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord ; even so  
saith the Spirit ; for they rest from their labours.

## LET US PRAY.

Grant to us, O Lord, together with all thy faithful departed,  
peace, light and refreshment. Amen.

## THE BLESSING.

*Then shall be sounded :*

THE LAST POST.

THE REVEILLÉ.

## THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

Oh, say can you see, by the dawn's early light,  
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thro' the perilous fight,  
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?  
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.  
Oh, say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

## THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

God save our gracious King!  
Long live our noble King!  
God save the King!  
Send him victorious,  
Happy and glorious,  
Long to reign over us;  
God save the King!

DIARY.

16.4.45.

Back from W.L. and arrive very late at a Lunch being given by Philip Inman to C.R.A., E.W. and G.T., about to start for S. Frisco.

Drogheda to see me about films. He deplors the absence of H.G., who is totally resting on Doctor's orders for three weeks in the country.

17.4.45.

Memorial Service for Roosevelt at St. Paul's, Better than for L.G. at the Abbey. Winant reads the lesson and we sing the Battle Hymn of the Republic but rather too slowly, turning it from a triumph song into a dirge. C.W.

Deputation from Sheffield, asking to be made into a D.A. I am getting too many of these approaches and it will be a good thing when I get the Bill into Committee. This now has been put off a further week, in order to give the Committee a week's rest after their heavy labours on the Water Bill, but we are now due to start on May 1st, and there is just a chance that we might finish it by Whitsun.

Annual Meeting of E.P.A. Peter Fraser, Frank Forde, looking very cheerful, well preserved and second-rate as compared with either Fraser or Curtin, and also Frank Cooper, Premier of Queensland, are present. But they aren't asked to say anything until I drop a broad hint right at the end when briefly seconding a vote of thanks to the Speaker. Cooper is 73 years old. He doesn't seem so interested as Forgan Smith now presiding over the destinies of Queensland sugar.

Dine at the Acropolis, with my two P.P.S's. past and present, and the three denizens of my Private Office.

This makes a very pleasant party. It was originally planned to celebrate the third Anniversary of my becoming P.B.T., but has been put off so often that it had looked as though it would almost celebrate my departure from this office, but this too seems to have been put off along with V.E. Day.

18.4.45.

Ness Edwards brings two sleek dark Jews to see me. They want a factory at Caerphilly. *(Clothing?)* I am all for their having it.

Lunch with Garro, who wants to explain to me why he has decided not to stand at the next election. He doesn't like C.R.A., who as good as offered him the post of Parliamentary Secretary to Civil Aviation, and then, not being able to bring this off, wasn't frank with him about it. He is not very happy about his constituency, though it should be safe enough at the next election, since there have been moves of a Communist character there. But he admits that his own personal position is quite strong. He has been seeing something of Catto, whom he has known for a long time, and has been talking to him about the possibility of going into business. He finds he doesn't have much time, while in the Government, to see his wife and two young children. He has no difference at all with the Party over policy. He may be able to serve the Party again later in some other capacity. I don't find this, in the total, quite convincing and have never felt that I completely understood him, though he is able, energetic and a good friend of mine. He says he hopes that we shall keep in touch with one another even though he is out of Parliament. It is no good arguing about his decision, since he has both taken it and told his constituents and the press.

Brigadier Taverner to see me. He has just come back after  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years as a prisoner-of-war in Germany. His aeroplanes came down over the Bay of Biscay when he was flying

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out from London to take over S.O.E. Middle East for me. Of the fourteen of them, nine were drowned and he was only picked up by a German seaplane after being in a dinghy for three days and nights. He had rather a bad time as a prisoner-of-war, for they threatened to send him to a Concentration Camp as a civilian, because they had ascertained that he had travelled from New York to Lisbon as "Mr. Taverner", so, they said, he wasn't really a soldier at all but a Secret Agent. In fact, and at that time, before the U.S. were in the war, they all had to travel as civilians. I arrange for Selborne to see him.

International Sub. Only E.W. of the three who are going to S. Frisco is there. She gives quite a good account of the discussions with the Dominion representatives. Shinwell is becoming very "realistic" about Big Powers and upsets A. Bevan who is not really a member of the Sub-Committee but was allowed to come because S. Frisco was to be discussed. When I rebuke A.B. from the Chair for interrupting and tell him that he is only here by courtesy and must listen to other people, he rushes out of the room in a temper. They are terribly sensitive to counter-attack, these aggressive people!

Dine with Streat. But there is little new to say about cotton. It is all going so slowly.

I send off to-day my Minute in reply to the P.M.'s about clothing. While discouraging any panic about "early critical shortage", I point out that, for the present, coupons will have to last till 1st September. There will be an awkward rush after that and serious shortages in the shops, unless we can build up more stocks meantime. This can only be done if I can get more labour for the cotton spinning and this, in turn, means that either I must have more spinners transferred from munitions or, as the P.M. himself suggests, part of the labour and capacity now in the industry must be switched from Service to civilian needs. I hope he will pursue this last possibility.



19.4.45.

See E.B. and give him copies of the P.M.'s. Minute to me and my reply on clothing labour. He says that he proposed long ago to the P.M. that we should divert labour from the Services to the civilians but that this was refused then. He seems quite satisfied with my Minute and I say that Ince and B.G. have already arranged to go further into it.

I say that I am glad to read a statement that he is to act for C.R.A. during the latter's absence. He grumbles that C.R.A. only spoke to him about this at the last moment and didn't tell him much of what he was expected to do. Then some desultory talk. He thinks that V. Day has now been considerably postponed. The P.M. got the wind up when he heard all the difficulties about direction of labour after V. Day. E.B. said "He's all right as a National Leader, but, when he turns into the Leader of the Tory Party, you can't trust him an inch. He just becomes a crook." Meanwhile, the row, caused by E.B.'s. speech followed by Bracken's, has now quite settled down and this week-end E.B. and A.V.A. are to go to Bristol with the P.M. who will give them both Honorary Degrees in the University. E.B. obviously likes this very much. As regards the possibility of the Government going on until the end of the Jap war he says he told the P.M. that the thing mustn't be discussed in terms of any intrigue. If the EM. had any suggestion to make, he should make it officially and straightforwardly to the leaders of the other two Parties.

Lunch at Drapers' and afterwards sit in the House waiting for Clause 8(v) of the Land Requisition Bill to come on. I have to speak on this, since it gives the B. of T. strong powers in connection with the acquisition of land on which factories have been built during the war. I do a deal in the Smoking Room with Manningham-Buller, one of the Tory opponents of this clause, having in mind

- (1) that it is better to get a quick settlement

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now and to limit obstruction on this clause, and

- (ii) that this man is also on the D. of I. Bill Standing Committee and that it would be a good thing to get on friendly terms with him at this stage.

The compromise is that we will let our cases go to the Commission being set up under the Bill, provided they go with a high priority and are settled within, say, seven days. J.A. assured me on the Bench, before we agreed to accept this, that he would have the Commission ready to submit to the King for his consent as soon as the Bill was through.

Dine with Blackburn, who has collected quite an interesting party. Bellenger is one of these and makes a better impression on me than usually. Blackburn wants to accompany me on one of my trips. I say that he can come with me to the North-East the week after next if he is free. Following this there won't be another chance for sometime. I take back in my car Fletcher Cooke now in the War Cabinet Offices, our Prospective Candidate for East Dorset.

*Laten ratted!*

*(Freedman, I hear, has been adopted at Watford. one of the very best.)*

20.4.45.

Receive Sir P. Bennett, Sir W. Rootes, Sir P. Hennessy and Nixon, representatives of the Motor Industry, who are full of complaints. I am supported by C.B.G. and W.P. Rather a desultory and unsatisfactory discussion. Hennessy does not make a very good impression. He clamours for taxation on cars to be reduced. He says that, until it is reduced, they can't tell what cars to make and can't begin designing, and designing a new car takes two years. So I said, in that case it is no good getting you any more draughtsmen. Before that they had all been clamouring for draughtsmen. They are not at all a united body and were obviously all at sixes and sevens this morning.

*Palmer*

*15/4/45*

D.J. to lunch and to run over the ground about S. Wales. Very much on the spot as usual, though a little inclined to exaggerate personal problems, e.g. Sir George Turner and, to take another instance, the dissatisfaction at the Morris Works at Llanelly.

By train to Swansea, arriving soon after 9 p.m. Met at the station by Brunning and Humphreys - the Siamese twins. Thence to the Mansion House where I am the guest of the Mayor for three nights. It is a very pleasant house looking out to the south, down a sloping lawn, to some quite magnificent and very well grown trees - which a fool would cut in order to get a better view. In the foreground there are two magnificent Ilexes, a superb chestnut, with a well mixed variety at the back, both pines and broad leaves, and some very lovely little Flowering Trees in the front. The Mayor - Alderman Watkins - is an old collier, a very friendly, simple and typically Welsh personality. The butler is a tall man who looks at me fixedly when I arrive and, following me up to my bedroom, looks at me again and asks whether I remember him. Drawing a bow at a venture I ask "Weren't you at the Gnull?" He is deeply moved at this recognition and says that indeed he was and that he remembers me very well coming there for holidays from school. ~~He is a few months older than I am.~~ He was the boy about the house working under an old tyrant, whom I well remember, named Veale. ~~He brings to show me a book presented to him by my Grandmother in 1907.~~ He is George Morris and has been in charge of the Mansion House for a number of years.

Swansea, apart from its very ~~microscopic~~ <sup>slummy & decrepit</sup> approach from the East, which should be opened out and reshaped, is one of the most attractive large towns in the country. Its civic building, both inside and out, is quite first class. Percy Thomas was the architect. The Brangwyn panels from the Great Hall have been ~~buried~~ <sup>hurlled</sup> underground as a protection, but I remember from my visit in 1937 and again in 1938 - those were the days of our Commission of Enquiry into the Distressed Areas - the very fine proportions of the interior and the very handsome wood panelling, chiefly Australian oak, in the various offices. The centre of the town has all been blitzed, but this will

DIARY.

give a great opportunity for rebuilding. Out at Fforest Fach, on the edge of the Town, commanding a magnificent view toward the West, my standard factory is nearing completion and there are plans for a Trading Estate immediately below it, and below this again and away to the right, a site where the Ministry of Supply contemplate a clothing disposals depot to be turned, after a year or two, into a second Trading Estate. We shall have done Swansea pretty well when all this is through. They are also to have a Training Centre here for building labour. The next two days are pretty closely packed. (Time-table attached).

*Agd a new road reduction plan in Fforest Fach near by.*

On 21.4.45. (Saturday) I make quite a number of speeches of various degrees of formality.

We leave at 8.45, half an hour before Schedule, in order that I may visit my birthplace at Neath before we meet the Mayor. I take B. and H. through the War Memorial and then rather quickly up hill, turning in from the Dingle past the old Lower Pond, now much improved and turned into a bathing pond for the people of Neath; then sharply up a slope to the left, where all seems quite unchanged, and steeply up some stone steps on to the terrace in front of the house. This has been allowed to become a shocking wreck and looks as though it had been bombed. It should long ago have been adapted for use as a school, or convalescent home, or for some other public purpose. It has now so far gone derelict that nothing better could be done with it, unless the site were cleared and something were rebuilt, than to adapt the ground floor for some kind of residential for visitors to the grounds. We then walk quickly down the drive and round by the Middle Pond, looking up toward the Ivy Tower, and thence down again to the Lower Pond. I have time enough to see that the trees and shrubs are doing very well and the grounds, I hear, are very much appreciated by the people of Neath, into whose possession I am very glad that they have passed. This is a sort of triumph for the dangerous Socialist ideas which I began to entertain at an early age to the great concern of my Grand-mother, Uncles, Aunts, Cousins etc.

*Gates*

*refreshment room*

*- it looks so near; how! even a small long low cut on a donkey it seems a long way. And the roads are with*

*(midlaw)* I see the new Standard Factory at Neath, the shell of which is just completed and where they are to make aluminium hollow-ware (~~Middle~~ Metal Spinners). I also visit the Metal Box Factory at Neath, built just before the War.

At Port Talbot I meet, at Guest, Keen, Baldwin's Office, Cove, Vaughan and other notabilities, along with some of the industrialists, among whom I pick out one Cartwright just returned from the United States where he has been studying their methods. Very keen and clear cut. We see on the map where the new hot strip mill is to go, but it is rather difficult of access. I make a short speech in the Board Room.

At Bridgend I make another slightly longer speech in the office to an audience, including representatives of the Shop Stewards and Ted Williams M.P. I assure them that the R.O.F. will go on in one form or another, possibly in part as a peace-time R.O.F. and in part as a Trading Estate. At Neath we had been joined by Sir Gerald Bruce, whom I now add to H. and B., who thus emerge from the Siamese Twins into the Holy Trinity. Each of these three is quite first-rate and they combine well and create a massive impression of confidence and understanding.

*(collective)*  
 At Cardiff I lunch with a Party, ~~completed~~ by Bruce, at the Park Hotel of some two dozen people. Trevor Williams of M.T.C.P. whom Brunning wants to take on as a Research Officer. - the man he took on before, chiefly apparently, because he was a Doctor of ~~Physiography~~ turned out to be quite literally a lunatic, - makes a very good impression on me. He gives me a note to the effect that M.T.C.P. in South Wales have now surveyed and approved for new industrial buildings a total area of 2,500 acres. This would give, at five acres each, 700 factories of 50,000 square feet each with a suitable "curtilage". They have also in Reserve another 12,000 acres for the same purpose. This is wonderfully good. All we want is the D. of I. Bill plus a bit more building labour. Then the thing is done. I had to make a speech at this lunch and then go across the road and make another, in a rather different style to the Delegates attending the



DIARY.

Annual Meeting of the South Wales Regional Council of Labour. Fortunately the press aren't present at either. I get a good reception from the Delegates.

Then back to Swansea where there is a Chamber of Commerce Dinner in their lovely Civic Hall, where I make another long speech, with the press present, to some 300 people. There is a mike and it doesn't work very well but the press get down enough to give me quite a good report in next day's "Western Mail". I talk a bit on tinsplate, having fixed this with Lever, whom I meet immediately before we go in. I arrange that he shall be one of those who replies. We are gradually dragging him along from point to point. Colonel Bevan, Captain Leighton Davies, the little Solicitor Ovary and the rest of the tinsplate gang are at this party, but I definitely speak of discussions between myself and Lever.

Next day, Sunday, we begin by visiting Fforest Fach, already described. I make a short informal speech just before leaving to some two dozen people, and then to Pembrey where they have a very fine spirit at the R.O.F. and are very anxious to go on working as a Government concern on peace-time production. I give them an assurance, in a speech to some 50 people in a hall just outside the premises - so as not to contravene against the Ministry of Supply rule against discussing the future of the R.O.F. on the premises - and tell them that this must go on in some form or other. They are a very nice crowd here.

At Kidwelly I am received by the Mayor and Council with Moelwyn Hughes, the local M.P. I say a few short words to them in the Council Offices.

At Llanelly I go round the Morris Works, where, since it is Sunday, nothing is going on but where they employ just on 2,000 people and intend to go on doing so after the war making radiators and other parts of cars. There are some teething troubles here and they will do better when they have trained enough Welsh foremen. Some

of the people from Birmingham, particularly Cooper, the Labour Manager, aren't very good at adapting themselves to the local folk.

Lunch at the Thomas Arms Hotel, given by the Mayor of Llanelly, a friendly and strongly built tinsmith worker named Hughes whom I had seen before when he came on a deputation to me with Jim Griffiths and the Town Clerk. I have to make a speech at the lunch and this is well received. The Mayor whispered to me, as we went in, "Most of these are our chaps". Finding myself, therefore, seated between the Mayor and old Evan Williams, whom I had not seen for sometime, and who apparently was nearly killed by enemy air attack but seems now to have recovered, I decide to have a little fun. Referring to my D. of I. Bill, I say that there are two M.P.'s present - Jim Griffiths and M.H. who, I know, will support it. Then leaning over to Sir Evan I ask "Do you know any M.P.'s. Sir Evan?" ~~There is then~~ general laughter which drowns our next exchanges and I then say to the press, who are at the end of the table, "Now I don't think you got that. Be sure to take this down. I asked Sir Evan whether he knew any M.P.'s. and he said 'Yes, quite a lot'. I asked him: Are they all Labour M.P.'s. and he said 'No, not all of them'. So I said, will you promise me to get them all to vote for my Bill," and he said 'Yes I will'". At this there was much laughter and ironical applause, while the old boy was trying to deny and amend my version. He deserves nothing from this community except a tombstone. He has done quite a lot to ruin both these basic industries by long overstaying his welcome and by his total lack of either a constructive outlook or of human relationship with the workers.

*This  
cause*

At Ammanford a standard factory is just completed, and looking very handsome and well placed, as they all do. Quite a party gathered here, including not only local Councillors, but Captain Jack Davies, the Managing Director of Pullman Spring-filled Company. A Jew and, as he reminded me, a friend of Harold Mitchell with whom I had met him before. I say that he must get H.M. to support, and to persuade other Tories to support, my Bill, for Captain Davies is so pleased with the factory that he wants at once to double it.

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But, I explain, this won't be possible now unless I get my new powers. This firm were allotted a factory in preference to others because they gave better undertakings about labour. They will employ at least 50% male labour and, over and above this, a number of disabled men - who shall count against the female labour quota - both war disabled and victims of silicosis and other miners diseases. They are quite confident that they will make a success of it. We have to stop at Glanamman, in order that the local Councillors may say that they must have a factory there too. But this is really not at all urgent, since they lie half way between Ammanford and Ystradgynlais. This last is the most beautiful and romantic of all the factory sites. It is here that Smiths Clocks, combined with Ingersol, are going to have the last of our present group of standard factories built for them. This is a beautiful Estate, containing many trees, and an old mansion, to be used now as a guest house and hostel for key workers, belonging to the Gough family. Sir Allan Gordon Smith who was down here last week had made the same first remark that I had made, namely that it would be a crime to begin cutting down the trees, and they will be able to avoid this, except for one or two, just where a new entry must be made to the site. Jefferies, the Clerk to the Ystradgynlais Council, is very quick and good. He too was born at Neath and is Under-Sheriff for Breconshire in which county we just are. A Pub just down the road is on the borders of three counties - Glamorgan, Carmarthen and Brecon. . Rising behind the factory is a down slope on which new houses are to be built and at the back a mountain rising some 800 feet above where we now are. The two firms who are coming say that they wish "to build a little Switzerland" up here. Before the war we got too many clocks and watches from Switzerland and Germany. Why should not the Welsh be just as good at such precision work? The two firms talk in terms of starting an entirely new industry here, which shall grow until it employs perhaps 40,000 people. There is a wonderful possibility of growth and real "enterprise". We have tea in a very pleasant little Café just opposite the factory site with Mr. and Mrs. Jefferies and the Councillors and Officials. Several speeches are made, including one by me, and then innumerable photographs are taken. Everyone is in

high spirits. Next door to the Café, on a piece of open ground, there is to be a new cinema built and just up the road there is to be a Pub which is to be enlarged. All this illustrates the "indirect employment" which will come merely from the starting of one new factory. They ask me to come back in October to be present at the opening. I say I will if I can, but that they must ask me in my personal capacity, for it may well be that someone else will be at the Board of Trade then. But, I add, we have now carried this so far that no successor of mine will be able to stop it.

At Pontardawe, on the way back, we have to listen to the apprehensions of the Local Councillors that after the war there will be unemployment again at Pontardawe. There is none now. But here too they are near enough to neighbouring developments not to be in danger, though Bruce and I agree that it would be a good thing to clear away one of the old timplate works and replace it with a modern factory for something else.

I have made enough speeches these two days and am glad to find the Mayor of Swansea has collected a relatively small and informal party to meet us at dinner. Afterwards I drive with him out of Swansea to the West and round the Gower Peninsular. There are many lovely places here. But the light is failing too fast for us to see as much as we should like. And so back in the dusk.

(See Diary for 20.4.45.)

Dalton

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PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO WEST WALES.

Friday, 20th April.

- 3.55 .. Train Paddington to Swansea.
- 8.30 .. Arrive Swansea.
- 8.45 .. Mansion House.

Saturday, 21st April.

- 9.15 .. Leave for Neath (8 miles)
- 9.45 .. Neath, Standard Factory. Meet Chairman etc. of Council.
- 10.15 .. Leave for Port Talbot (6 miles)
- 10.30 .. Port Talbot - Meet Chairman of Council, etc.
- 11.00 .. Leave for Bridgend (12 miles)
- 11.30 .. Bridgend R.O.F.
- 12.00 .. Leave for Cardiff (19 miles)
- 12.45 .. Cardiff - Sir Gerald Bruce at Park Hotel.
- 2.30 .. Labour Party Regional Council.
- 5.15 .. Leave for Swansea (46 miles)
- 6.45 .. Swansea.
- 7.15 .. Swansea Chamber of Commerce dinner.

Sunday, 22nd April.

- 9.30 .. Leave for Fforest Fach (3 miles). (Swansea Estate & Standard Factory)
- 9.45 .. Leave for Pembrey (18 miles)
- 10.30 .. Pembrey R.O.F.
- 11.00 .. Leave for Kidwelly (6 miles)
- 11.15 .. Arrive Kidwelly. Moelwyn Hughes K.C. Mayor of Kidwelly.
- 11.45 .. Leave for Llanelly (Morris Works) 10 miles.
- 12.15 .. Llanelly, Morris Works.
- 12.45 .. Lunch Thomas Arms Hotel given by Mayor of Llanelly.
- 2.30 .. Leave for Ammanford (15 miles)
- 3.15 .. Ammanford. Standard Factory.
- 3.30 .. Leave for Glanamman (5 miles)
- 3.45 .. Glanamman. Meet Chairman of Council.
- 4.00 .. Leave for Ystradgynlais (9 miles)
- 4.30 .. Ystradgynlais. See Smith Clocks Factory site and tea with Town Clerk.
- 5.45 .. Leave for Pontardawe (7 miles)
- 6.00 .. Pontardawe. Meet Chairman of Council and Town Clerk.
- 6.15 .. Leave for Swansea (8 miles)
- 6.30 .. Swansea.
- 7.15 .. Private dinner party given by Mayor of Swansea.

Monday, 23rd April.

- 8.15 .. Train to London.
- 1.20 .. Arrive Paddington.



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23.4.45.

Leave by the 8.50 from Swansea to London. It has been a fine visit, giving one great hope and stimulus, and a jolly change from London.

Back in time for a late lunch, having had to make a certain amount of conversation in a crowded train with Swansea worthies.

ow/ War Cab. this evening. A suggestion has been made, in a paper by A.E., absent in Washington, that we should export surplus articles "capable of military use" to Spain. After Law has expanded this, I say that I think we must be very careful, for there are great political dangers about this. The P.M. at once agrees with me. We might be most fiercely attacked both by the Americans and in this country, even though the Americans were themselves selling arms and near-arms to Spain. It is finally agreed that we shall do nothing until we have asked the Americans what they have in mind so that, at any rate, we can do the same as they do.

24.4.45.

Hear from P.L. of talks on Reparations on official level. Keynes is said to be going back a bit on the proposals, for which he was largely responsible, in the Malkin Report. At Yalta it was agreed that the U.S.S.R. should have 50% of the total reparations - not including the use of German labour. What the Russians have in mind here is 4,000,000 German workers for a period of ten years. It is still not clear how far other countries would wish to use German labour, but P.L. suggests that, even in this country, it might be worthwhile to use prisoners of war for house building etc. I said I thought this would be very difficult politically.

Policy Sub-Committee this afternoon. H.M. in very

good form. Our declaration had a very bad press with the Tories, who are tending to concentrate, as we should wish, on home front economics.

Go down to Milland to see H.G. He has now been in bed for about a fortnight and has another week of the prescribed period to run. After that he is to have two months of pretty complete rest. He is naturally concerned about the election. If he makes reasonable progress and the election is not till the Autumn, there should not be much doubt about his being able to fight. But, if it comes this side of August, it might be difficult. And this would be a very bad disappointment for him. We agreed that he should see Horder if any such sudden developments occurred. He has already mentioned this to Hamilton, his G.P., of whom I did not, on his story, think much, and Parkinson the heart specialist whom he saw. They both said they would welcome Horder's opinion.

He and Dora and his two daughters - of whom I remember Julia very well three years ago at Woburn, she is now just six - are living in a pink washed house which they have just sold, reached through most lovely country. I had forgotten how good the views were from the Portsmouth Road, just before reaching the Devil's Punch Bowl at Hazlemere. H.G.'s mother lives close by and he has an old farm house, now broken up and used as two cottages, which he hopes to go into after the war. I hope he will soon get better. I too should be greatly disappointed if he couldn't fight and win at Leeds next time.

25.4.45.

National Executive in the morning. Arrangements for Annual Conference. Our Declaration is to be subject to a general debate on the Tuesday. H.M. starting and I winding up. Next day it is taken section by section, and, though textual amendments are not to be admitted, resolutions and

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amendments may be moved and we shall promise to take account of votes and speeches in preparing the final election manifesto. This is quite a good compromise invented by H.M., which leaves us substantial freedom of drafting and of picking and choosing between items.

*about him*  
Lunch with Will Henderson. It is on the cards that he will go to the Lords in the Birthday Honours. E.W. spoke to C.R.A. and so did I. We agreed how few Labour Peers were fit to hold office in a Labour Government. We were always "strengthening the Labour Party" in the Lords but it never seemed to get any better! I said that, of the present lot, only Listowel, ~~Kath~~ and, doubtfully, Winster could, in my view, be considered for office. He again pressed the view that I should go to the F.O. if we won. He said that, if I wanted it, "There are really no competitors." I said I didn't want to fix my mind too soon, but that, if offered the F.O. I didn't think I should have the heart to refuse it! He said, in that case, he would like to be one of my Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, since it would be useful to have one in the Lords as well as the Commons. We agreed that it all turned on keeping the London-Washington-Moscow Triangle in good shape.

Herbert Kay to see me. Quite friendly as usual and reassured by being given the advance of my speech at Chesterfield, which he can show to his friends who have been rather upset by the D.H. twist, which represented ~~me~~ as saying *that*. *How. if*  
there weren't any clothes later on, that would be the fault of the clothing industry for offering such bad conditions!

Dine with Piercy, J.W., D.J. and Berry at the Reform Club. The old Liberals here are said to be getting very jealous of the Labour Party and horrified to find they have so many members of the Party in the Club! I said that, in that case, we had better be careful in suggesting that I should join it, as I had half thought of doing. There will be a new Club Committee next month and we will wait till then and see who is on it. Beveridge, who is now completely airborne, is a very prominent personage here and it will not

make him love the Labour Party any more that we have this very morning endorsed a Labour Candidate against him in Berwick. Probably this will have the result of putting the Conservative in! But Beveridge should have joined the Labour Party long ago and it is his own fault if, after lecturing us publicly and boasting of helping to put 500 Liberal Candidates into the field, he finds that we too are not content to be wholly negative!

26.4.45.

Talk to George Shepherd about constituencies for a few outstanding people who are not yet fixed. Specially press Bob Fraser, Molly Hamilton and Piercy. C.R.S. will send on the first two names to North Aberdeen, now to be vacated by Garro. This is a good seat which we have only lost once, in 1931. Both, he says, have Scots names. I say yes, but one talks with a strong Australian accent and the other is a woman. Still it would be very good for either. East Hull is also becoming vacant, through Muff's retirement. He told them "If you don't agree with me, you better find another Candidate", and to his great astonishment they took him literally. One of the Sunderland seats will probably be vacant through Fred Peart moving across to Workington. But this is less attractive, though the Hull people are said to be both quarrelsome and corrupt. W.P.'s name has been sent forward both for the new Coventry Division, which is very good, including part of the mining area in the old Nuneaton Division, and also for Wycombe, which is a new Division and a bit of a speculation. I speak also of Mike W.T. and understand that it should be possible, even from India, to get him back for the Selection Conference at East Wolverhampton. And, if he is then in the country, we might push him in somewhere else, even if that failed. Tom Williamson should also get fixed up soon, though I don't feel it is my job to push him. G.R.S. hopes that he will get Silvertown. Apart from a number of the new Divisions in greater London, many of which are poor speculations but

*push*

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some of which ought to come off all right, there is not much left at the moment which looks at all attractive.

Lunch with Charles Davis of Arding & Hobbs, J.W. also being there. They are quite a good lot to meet.

*Frank*  
Deputation from Association of Municipal Corporations on D. of I. Bill. They have been won round to support ~~and~~ the seven clauses and I promise them various amendments on Clause 9. Bowen from Swansea is one of the party, but says nothing. He has been useful behind the scenes.

Dine with Beaverbrook to meet Holland and Dodge, *i/-* two members of the N.Z. opposition. Also present the Lord Chancellor, the Minister of State, the Minister of Information and the Solicitor General. The New Zealanders got only a few words in edgeways, the Solicitor General said nothing at all, and the Minister of State very little. But, thanks to the rest of us, the conversation was loud, long and good humouredly controversial. M. and B. are still pressing, by every means, for the earliest possible election.

27.4.45.

See J.A. about Storage. Rather unfortunately, as I thought, Sir F. Stewart, evidently a buddy of J.A.'s., is allowed in while we discuss. I said I thought the Minutes of our last meeting were not accurate. I was anxious to safeguard the position of the B. of T. and to make it clear

- (i) that we alone knew all the facts about storage and who had what, and
- (ii) that I alone was responsible for recommending to Ministers what were the needs of industrial reconversion, i.e. in what places and what industries it was most important to release storage.

J.A. accepted this, but still thought that there would be some role for someone -presumably Sir F.S. - to



"bring Departments together", so as to facilitate the surrendering of storage and the acceleration of disposals. It was left that J.A. would prepare a draft directive for any person to be appointed to this new post, including both what he should, and should not, do.

Lord St. Davids to see me accompanied by a man of Jewish appearance and name (Hepner) in order to argue on, (The matter had already be dealt with by by officials and by Tom Fraser), in favour of his being allowed to procure cotton yarn and turn it, in a factory at Pembroke, into handkerchiefs for export. They both made a very poor impression. These Labour Peers are a most unfortunate possession for the Party.

To B. A. in the afternoon.

W.D. tells me that he has been invited to become a Director of the West Auckland Clothing Company, and we discuss the conditions subject to which it would be prudent for him to accept. He is due to retire from the teaching profession in two years, and, if he retires in a few months, his pension will be payable in two years time at very little less than the maximum. He would gain little, under this head, by going on two years more. On the other hand he should, I suggest, insist on at least a five years contract and an income appreciably above what he is getting now. He would, however, be of great assistance to them and his sure judgement and sense of what can and cannot be done would help them exceedingly. Would it damage him politically? I think not, for he is too well dug in to the confidence of all here and it would associate him with the policy of industrial expansion, for which he, with me, gets much credit already.

*He is getting  
£750.0  
W would  
not  
£1000  
+ fees*

28.4.45.

Rather a full and tiring day, most of which we spend at Newcastle at the Annual Meeting of the Northern Regional Council. I address the Conference on my D. of I. Bill and get a good reception. Sam Watson makes an excellent Chairman. Then back by car with W.N.D. and George Gibson, who always talks one's head off, to a delegate meeting at the

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Lightfoot, which I address for just over an hour. I tell them that, if the signal for the Election is not hoisted by the middle of June - and it well may be - it is likely to go over till the Autumn. They are a wonderfully good loyal lot, but not very talkative. Jack Bell had a tummy ache and George Gibson takes the Chair.

Dine with Lewins and discuss their various projects. Vogel's extension in West Cumberland is helpful to them, for that is a weaving concern from which they get their cloth. They are very full of work just now.

29.4.45.

Sleep in till after ten and, as always after a long night, am quite fit and resilient this morning. Maurice Mason comes for a talk and we walk up to Woodhouses. He is very sensible and anxious to learn and to co-operate. There is still no sign of any Candidate against me, though the Liberals have recently gone through the motions of reforming a committee and choosing officers. But I notice that the "Northern Echo" says that they have still a long way to go before they can consider putting a Candidate in the field. There is a rumour going round that they will only fight the seat, if I am not the Candidate and this in turn seems based upon a rumour that I should "prefer a seat nearer London". This is the exact opposite of how I feel! It is just conceivable, though I still think very unlikely, that I might not be opposed. It might conceivably weigh that some of those who would be thinking of this, believe I shall be able to take credit at the election for a good deal of new factory building in my own constituency. A number of established firms in the town, including George Dunn, W.J. Cummins and the Bishop Auckland Co-operative Society, are now thinking of branching out, and Norman Mascall, who comes in this afternoon to a Conference at the Manor House, with Sadler Forster, Ruddock, W.N.D. and myself is very pleased at his invitation to join the North Eastern Trading Estate Company. Still I am pretty sure they won't let me have a walk over.

Meet, this afternoon at Coundon, about 120 people in the Cinema, but it is all still very dead. And it is very natural that this should be so on a Sunday afternoon, with the war not quite over, and no opposition in the field.

Call, as invited, this afternoon on Dr. Cama, whom I had never met before. He has collected quite a party of family and friends and I relate a number of stories, which W.N.D. has often heard before, but which interest and, indeed, quite thrill these good people. Dr. Cama is, I am told, a Jamacian halfcast. Dr. Cherry, the local doctor who attended me ten years ago when I had lumbago during the Election Campaign is a Buck Nigger. I think he is probably the better Doctor of the two.

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30.4.45.

Return from B.A.

In the afternoon to a Reconstruction Committee meeting on Iron and Steel. It is quite frankly stated by several Ministers, beginning with myself, that we think this industry should be socialised, but as an immediate measure, we finally agree to "the industry", i.e. the employers, being invited to prepare, within six months, a five-year plan for modernization. J.A. says that he would think £100,000,000. spent over five years to be a very cheap price to pay if we can make this industry really efficient. Franks, who attends with Duncan, gives a very lucid exposition of the officials' report. We discuss whether, in return for this five-year plan, the industry should be given an assurance of "substantial protection" during this period. The general feeling is that we probably should. I stress the importance of having, in any case, a statutory price control for the industry. Franks admits that this was not what they meant in the report. It is officially agreed that they shall work out their plan as quickly as possible and be in touch both with the B. of T. and the M. of S. Not a bad discussion.

As the person responsible for insisting that socialization of Iron and Steel shall go into our election programme, I am pleased to find support for this view, not only in the Trade Unions Appendix B. to the official report, but also in the speeches of H.M. and E.B., the former of whom had been very shaky about this when we discussed it last.

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1.5.45.

Receive young Tories - Molson, Hinchbrooke, Hamilton Kerr and N. Bower - to discuss the D. of I. Bill. They will give me "steady but not indiscriminating support". I think they quite like their reception.

Mary Piercy to dine with me. She is having great difficulty in getting back into a flat, part of their old house in London.

2.5.45.

To Welwyn with McGowan to see their Plastics Research Department. Being an innocent in these matters I am considerably impressed.

3.5.45.

Ask Manningham-Buller to see me to try to get him to go slow on some of his Amendments to the D. of I. Bill.

Reparations Committee in J.A.'s. room.

Lunch, rather bored, with Paint Research Association.

Clem Davies brings a deputation from Welshpool (D. of I. Bill).

Ripka, the only Czech Minister now left in London, comes to talk about post-war trade. But neither he, nor we will yet know what we shall want from the other.

Lever to see me and to say he hopes they will get lots of financial assistance in connection with new template developments.



Dine with Sir P. Warter, his wife, sister and mother-in-law and I like her best of the three.

4.5.45.

Minister of Production's Council. I urge much greater speed in turning over labour to civilian production. I say there is a certain "inertia" in the Supply Departments. At this Sir G. Cunningham, who is accompanying J.W. shouts out "I protest". He is a clumsy creature and doesn't know how to behave. I had not mentioned his Department by name, and officials accompanying Ministers are not supposed to speak unless called on. J.W. covers it up very nicely by saying that the M. of S. are most anxious to help the B. of T. in any way they can and would we let them know of any particular difficulties.

Lunch with Sir S. Beale who afterwards takes us to see a film illustrating the uses of grindstones. I fall asleep in the middle.

Then by 6 o'clock train to W.L. where I spend a very peaceful week-end in the course of which I do some more digging on a warm day for my symbolic Autumn planting.

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7.5.45.

Back from W.L.

Final meeting on D. of I. Bill to consider Amendments.

Tom Fraser to dine. He will have to be active when the Bill is in Committee next week, collecting a quorum when necessary.

A great doubt as to whether to-day would be V.E. Day. Will it be announced to-night? It should have been but the Americans and the Russians insisted on delaying it till to-morrow so as to get all the surrender business complete..

8.5.45.

To-day is V.E. Day.

First day in Committee of my D. of I. Bill. Lambert Ward is quite a good Chairman. We obtain a quorum without much difficulty and to my great surprise and delight get through the first three clauses and most of the fourth in spite of the fact that, at the start, Gridley moves to report progress in order to ascertain my intentions and I make a statement in reply indicating a number of Amendments, particularly on Clause 9, which I am prepared either to accept or to put down myself.

P.Q's. as usual at 2.15. The P.M. is expected at 3.15. He has been broadcasting from No. 10 at 3 and is to come straight on. But he is delayed by the crowds and does not arrive till just on half past. During the last ten minutes the House is turned into a most good tempered Brains Trust, J.A. having to answer a series of impromptu questions. Then the P.M. comes in and we all stand up and cheer, except two Commonwealth Members who

stay seated. After his statement we go across, through cheering crowds, to St. Margaret's where, once more, I feel the service falls short of the occasion.

Dine this evening with J.W., W.P., D.J., and Will Henderson at St. Ermin's and discuss the line of Party propaganda. Then we walk out, some of us, and see the flood lights and the crowds. Big Ben is flood lit, and the Clock Tower, and the Speaker's House, so are The County Hall, the Middlesex Guildhall (a rosy red hiding its natural ugliness), the blocks along Whitehall, though not the buildings below, the Horse Guards, the Lake in St. James's Park, Buckingham Palace, the Admiralty Arch, Nelson on his pillar, South Africa House, the National Gallery.

J.W. and I afterwards go to the Reform Club which is quite dark and empty. We make certain arrangements on the assumption that there may be an early election.

And so to bed. It has been a grand ending and we have been saved from darkness for a thousand years.

9.5.45.

Meeting of the Three Bodies to consider a statement by E.B. on the future of conscription. He gives many arguments for continuing it and says he thinks the Cabinet should make a statement to this effect before Whitsun. The voluntary army in the past has been largely recruited by unemployment. We can't have this in the future and our full employment policy should, in any case, make it impossible. We shall have for some years to continue the call up in order to enable the older men and those with longest service to be released, and as a contribution to Collective Security. His idea is that there should be one year's service between the ages of 17 and 22, this wide choice to allow scope for all sections including apprentices and University students. Thereafter one month a

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year in the Reserve for five years. Sea and air will be no use against the V. Weapons and their development. We must have land plans too.

E.B. relates how Strang, when he saw Stalin in 1939, was asked how many Divisions Britain could put into the field against Germany; Strang said two. Stalin said "Soviet Russia will have to put in 500, so that will make 502". There is a good deal of support for E.B.'s view, though some are reluctant to take any responsibility. C. Dukas says that he can't commit himself without consulting his Executive. We separate into our three sections and after most irritating time-wasting by Shinwell and Bevan, the N.E. agrees to support the continuance, for a term of years, though without prejudice to a long term policy, of compulsory military service. E.B. says that this is all he wants.

Take Michael Young to lunch at Marsham Restaurant. I don't find him particularly sympathetic, but he is quite capable I think.

Dine with Piercys - William, Mary and Priscilla - at Joseph's and afterwards walk about in the crowds on this second Victory night in Trafalgar Square, Whitehall etc. The flood lighting is again very lovely and everyone, again, as last night, most happy and orderly. We see the P.M. come out on the Balcony of the Ministry of Health. He had a tremendous reception from the crowd and obviously enjoyed it very much. He made a short speech, then he led the singing of Rule Britannia.

(H.M. said to me two days later "M. and B. have taken him out doing all this circus riding". It has been rather over done and people think he has pushed the King right into the background.)

10.5.45.

D. of I. Bill in Committee. Slower progress

to-day, but the general tempo is good and we get Clauses 4 and 5 and part of Clause 6. We may have to sit three days next week to finish before Whitsun.

Lunch, along with Cripps, with the Aluminium Development Association.

Confer with Warter, D.J. and others on allocation of factories. R.O.F.'s. are now being declared surplus rather fast and we have, among others, both Spennymoor and Aycliffe. P.W. is rather touchy and doesn't like the suggestion that he is not handling things as quickly as he could.

Cecil Malone to see me at Shepherd's suggestion to ask why the N.E. objected to putting him on List "B". I said they were "disquieted" by stories of his activities in relation to Finland, the Ukraine and Japan. The first two seemed to be anti-Soviet and the third anti-Chinese. He says that none of this is true and promises to send me a letter. In the first and third cases he was promoting an innocent and non-political Travel Agency, in the second case he had no contacts with the Ukrainian Movement organised from Berlin, but only its American and Canadian counterpart. Not a very nice person!

E.B. and H.M. confer with a number of Junior Ministers. All agree that an October election would be better than one in June. Our stock is steadily rising and will go on. Where do the two curves cross?

Dine with Korda, who is quick and amusing as usual, and has with him Sir W. Wiseman, head of our Secret Service in the last war, and some Peer whose name I don't catch.

11.5.45.

Preside over conference of all sections of film industry, to consider their observations on the Palache Report. This is much in conflict, but fortunately there is



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very little discussion and we end up by appointing a "Working Party" to make agreed recommendations to me. Drogheda is with me and is to preside over the Working Party. He seemed to me rather frail and old.

one/ Have a word alone with H.M. this afternoon. He and E.B. saw the P.M. earlier to-day. The latter had his Chief Whip with him. H.M. thinks that the P.M. has not yet made up his mind about the election date. He guesses, however, that the odds are still two or three to ~~win~~ in favour of a June election. The P.M. said that he was under very heavy pressure from the Tory Party to take it quickly. (E.B. had reported that the P.M. had said to him when they were alone "They know they can't win without me" and also that it was a bitter thought that, having been a national leader for so long, and having been so kindly treated by all, he would soon be attacked and spoken ill of by nearly half the nation!)

X H.M. added that he and E.B. had put the case very strongly in favour of an October election, but that he personally had argued against any possibility of further prolonging the life of this Parliament though, he thought, E.B. would like to do this and go on as long as the Jap war. But H.M. thought, and I agreed, that neither the country nor our own Party would swallow any further extension. H.M. said they had used the arguments to the P.M. about the badness of the present Register which would not be renewed until October 15th, and the argument that by October a large number of Servicemen would have returned. The P.M. he thought, was a little afraid of having the Municipal elections on November 1st before the Parliamentary elections, because, if we did very well at the Municipals this would have a great influence on the Parliamentary. He told the P.M. that, of course, the Labour Party machine was in quite good shape now and we could certainly face a June election. The Tories certainly believe that our machine is less rusty than theirs and this so far as it goes, is an argument for them to wait till October, but the argument on the other side is

very much stronger. C.R.A. and A.E. are both returning from S. Frisco and it would obviously be very indecent for the P.M. to make a final decision until he has seen C.R.A. But he can't delay the decision very long, if he wants to get the election over before the middle of July, when harvests and holidays begin.

I am inclined, therefore, to bet on a June/July election, though October still remains a possibility.

E.B. said yesterday that we should be in a very strong position if we had definitely offered the P.M. to remain with him until the end of the present Parliament and co-operate in passing good and great measures and taking other necessary action for the transition. If he refused this we should let the facts be known.

12.5.45.

14.5.45.

At Birmingham (note attached). An encouraging week-end. We are getting quite a good body of Candidates into the field at the West Midlands, though one cannot have the same confidence in the electorate as in the Candidates.

Listen on Sunday night (13.5.45) to P.M.'s 9 o'clock broadcast, thinking that he may drop some hint as to whether he was for a quick or a slow election. But there was no hinting. He sounded very tired.

I had the chance to speak to two of the East Wolverhampton people at the Conference and praised M.W.T. It sounds as though they are likely to adopt him, even if he cannot get back for the Selection Conference. I said that if they did I would come and speak for him later.

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directorships until it is clear what attitude will be taken by the next Government.

C.W. thinks that the Tories can't lose more than fifty seats. I hope and think he is wrong.

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DIARY.

14.5.45.

Back from Birmingham. Blackburn comes with me and stays to lunch. He has plenty of energy and personality. We speak of Rupert Brook and I present him with my spare copy of the Memoirs and the Poems.

*Tendebant (the man's ripae ulterius) mure*

R.I.E. Committee. Discursive talk on export targets. Chemicals and rayon are our brightest hopes, but quantitatively very small compared to cotton and coal, where our hopes are lowest!

15.5.45.

D.I. Bill Committee. Progress to half way through Clause 8.

See exchange of telegrams between H.M. and C.R.A. on the election. The latter is due back to-morrow.

Dine with Ivor Thomas at the House to meet the Italian Ambassador, Carrandini. A quiet, sensible, dignified person, sustaining a very difficult position.

16.5.45.

The Soviet Embassy have their victory party to-night. Enormous crowds! I have a haunting doubt whether Anglo-Soviet relations are being as well handled, from our side, as they might be. Could we not do more to break through this queer transparent wall which seems to separate us? Recent indications are not very good. "Big Three" meetings are all very well, but so soon afterwards difficulties always seem to appear. I thought to-night, looking at these strong, tough, friendly but yet curiously reserved Slavs, that one must face them with like qualities. I wonder whether some straight-eyed rigger blues might not be trained to confront them?

(Next day speaking alone to C.R.A., who has just returned with A.E. from S. Frisco, he said that the Russians were "behaving in a perfectly bloody way", telling us nothing, but setting up Puppet Governments all over Europe as far West as they could. I said that, if we won the election, I would like to be Foreign Secretary. I thought that probably I could come as near to understanding and dealing with these people as anybody. I was sure they had to be met both with strength and with understanding and I said that I was not quite confident that this combination was being applied now, either on the political or official plains. He did not say either yes or no.)

*Don't see letter  
11 July 13<sup>th</sup>*

17.5.45.

D. of I. Committee. We haven't finished this by Whitsun but we have passed Clause 8, without serious Amendment, and begun on Clause 9. I hope another week after the Whitsun Recess might do it.

Lunch with O.L. at Drapers' Court. He makes a short amusing speech, then we return together to the Royal Gallery where addresses are presented by the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker to the King, who makes a reply. This is what is called "An historical occasion". But it lacked, I thought, any real distinction.

Returning I had a word alone with C.R.A., part of which I have noted already. We spoke of the election. He said he thought the P.M. would perhaps make up his mind to-night. He was still quite undecided. He said the Tory pressure on him for a quick election was very strong. On the other hand the "national points" had been put, especially

- (i) that it would be unfair to the civilians because the Register was so bad and so.



DIARY.

many had moved, e.g. evacuees and building trade workers engaged on bomb damage in London,

- (ii) that it would be unfair to the Servicemen none of whom would be home in time to vote now but 500,000 of whom at least would be back before November, and would be reabsorbed in civil life,
- (iii) that this was a time when, particularly as there were no differences between the parties on International Policy, we should maintain a united front for the next few months and not seem to be absorbed in Party conflicts, and
- (iv) that there was much useful legislation passing through Parliament which we should complete before the session ended.

I had written all this to C.R.A. in a letter yesterday and had also told him that E.B. and H.M. had been getting on quite surprisingly well while he had been away! C.R.A. seemed to think to-day that the odds were rather in favour of a quick one. On the other hand, C.W., to whom I mention the matter this afternoon, seemed to take - though with some regret - the opposite view.

Catto to see me to tell me of the personnel on the Board of his new Industrial Finance Corporation. I said I quite liked it and particularly the absence of any "pure" financiers. This is a good little man who would make an admirable first Governor in a new regime at the Bank.

Write a further Minute to the P.M. to-night warning him that the switch from arms and service clothing to civilian clothing is going very slowly.

18.5.45.

To Blackpool for Labour Party Conference. I remain here till 23.5.45. This is a dramatic Conference, reminding us of that of five years ago at Bournemouth.

Before leaving on Friday (18th) C.R.A. asked me to come round and see him in the morning. E.B. was also there. H.M. and E.W. had already left for Blackpool. C.R.A. said that the P.M. had asked him to call just after midnight last night. He had then proposed that we should go on till the end of the Japanese war. Failing this, it seemed that the election would be in July rather than October. C.R.A. was in favour of going on. E.B. and I were inclined to agree. But we doubted whether the Conference would take it.

19.5.45.

At Blackpool. H.M. is very definitely against going on till end of Jap war. J.W. was first in favour, but later changed his mind. So did E.B. and I. C.R.A. still advised the E.C. to agree. But there was a substantial majority the other way. Burrows, Burke and Williamson were inclined to be in favour, all others against. I suggested, but no one backed me up, that we should say we were against a July election; were prepared to go on till November; and, just before November was reached, we would talk again in the light of the state of Jap war. But this was too cunning for the others. Finally we agree that we should not accept end of Jap war and that we would put it to the P.M. that we were still in favour of October election. The letter was to be drafted by three War Cab. Ministers. But E.B. said he wasn't interested. Therefore, it was left to C.R.A. and H.M. and they produced their draft next day and it was read, hurriedly by C.R.A. on the back of the Platform to N.E.C. We let it go, but it was not too good. In particular, many afterwards thought that reference to Referendum as Nazi or Fascist device was not persuasive. It is clear that the Old Boy has been hustled along by M. and B. and by the Tory

DIARY.

Head Office.

5.  
Ellen would like to  
retire in favour of HM  
Could I persuade him?  
I said it was impossible  
to do so

On the next few days the Conference rises to great heights, we have a finer body of Labour Candidates, including a large number of young Service Candidates, than ever before. It is very moving to see, and hear, these young men. Ellen is an admirable Chairman and always gives the preference to youth on the floor.

to do so  
more  
(Portrait of Ellen)

The Conference opens on the 21.5.45. and on the next day H.M. begins and I wind up a Debate on "Let us Face the Future". We both get a great ovation. I begin by picking up small points about fish, cotton etc., but make an impromptu peroration ten minutes long. The Conference rises at this and I have to rise and bow and make the V. sign.

A Healy  
talked  
the  
Lestell  
with her

Next day C.R.A. and E.B. speak on the International situation and both likewise get an ovation, E.B. the greatest.

Among young Service Candidates I single out Freeman, Desert Rat, who took the surrender of Hamburg and is our Candidate for Watford; Kenneth Younger, just back from Twenty-first Army Group H.Q., Intelligence, Candidate for Grimsby; Raymond Blackburn whom we know; and a bunch of others, including Air Vice Marshal de Crespigny, whom I introduce to Fred Burrows who said "I can't believe it. Either that's not your name or you aren't a Labour Candidate." The Air Vice Marshal is, in fact, our Candidate for Newark.

Mr. D. Jones  
could be  
Jesse  
Gandy  
Lester  
M. G.

23.5.45.

Return this afternoon, with H. Wilson, our Candidate for Ormskirk and John Pudney, our Candidate for Sevenoaks.

24.5.45.

Making arrangements for my move. I have a room at 14, Stanhope Gate and arrange with Colonel Llewellyn for an occasional room at the Lansdowne Club. Bob and Betty Fraser are also prepared to put me up at Hampstead. Most of the time between now and July 5th I shall be speaking outside London.

25.5.45.

Various farewells. I hear that O.L. is to come back to the B. of T. and C.W. to remain. This is quite comfortable. I have written to the P.M. both a general letter and one on the D. of I. Bill. I propose to drop Clause 9 and push the rest through. I write on this also to O.L. and James Stuart.

I advise Piercy to accept the offer of Chairman of the Industrial Corporation for Small Firms. Thus he will get a much better status for a future Labour Government than by trying to jostle in with hundreds of other people as Parliamentary Candidates.

Horder has seen H.G. and says that he may fight if he doesn't have more than "two incidents a day". This is reassuring. At Blackpool I saw the Delegate from S. Leeds who was most eager that H.G. should go on.

This evening there is a party given by Bruce-Gardner, Warter and Barlow in my honour to which some forty of the principal persons in the B. of T. are summoned. Speeches are made by B.G., myself, A.O. and C.W. It is a pleasant function and I think they are a good lot.

Dine with C.B.G. and advise him not to take

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26.5.45. (Saturday).

Clearing up papers, personal letters of thanks etc. Oliver Lyttelton is succeeding me. I could not have wished for a more pleasant colleague to whom to hand over. Since he will now combine the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Production, rapid, and I hope, smooth progress should be made in fusing many activities, particularly in the regions. He is also likely to be friendly and accommodating over the D. of I. Bill.

Waterhouse and Summers are also remaining. And the former yesterday, just before our Party, was as effusive as such a typically English country gentleman could be expected to be. He and I have liked each other and liked working together.

S. Summers has been away, making speeches in the country for the last two days. I don't much care for him and B.G. tells me that, just as he spoke badly of B.G. to me, so, conversely, saying that he considered that I had let civilian industry down by not sufficiently pressing their claims against the Service Departments. Northampton is in the danger zone and I hope he goes out at the election. *He did.*  
Leicester South, on the other hand, is quite safe for C.W. *It was not.*

I record for future reference two electoral estimates. C.W. said that he did not think the Tories and Lib. Nats. together could lose more than fifty seats net and that he thought they would do better than this, and might lose very few, if any, on balance. A loss of 50 would give a Conservative plus Lib. Nat. majority over all of about 135. Arthur Henderson, on the other hand, son of the best electioneering judge of our time, said that, though he was not as optimistic as some people, he thought we should win at least 80 seats. This would mean a Conservative and Lib. Nat. majority of not more than 75. My own estimate hasn't settled down yet, I am still thinking in terms of a very wide possible variation.

A.O. paid me the compliment last night, saying that one of the things that had most impressed him here was my skill in drafting answers to P.Q's, and G.P. said that he thought one of the reasons for this success - I have never, in my term of office which had lasted yesterday for three years, three months and three days, been in serious difficulty at Question time - was that I had always revised these, in consultation with him, without calling anybody else in, though we sometimes got squeaks from along the passage or below ground when my revised answers were shown to them. Many Ministers, G.P. said, held a serious Conference with a crowd of people sitting round when answers to questions were being prepared. He and I agreed that this was not a good plan, though I recall that A.H. at the F.O. sometimes used to do this.

Sir E. Hodgson tells me that the Cohen Report is to be finally agreed at a Dinner Party on Friday next, and that Cohen says no one will be allowed to eat until all have signed their names. It has been rather slow, but it will, I doubt not, be a monumental work. Sir E. H. is astonishingly well preserved, both mentally and physically, being now just past 65. He says that someone once said to a distinguished Civil Servant "If only you had Hodgson's constitution you would certainly be the head of the Civil Service". He also said, following the usual kind remarks about the "consideration" he had always had from me, that there had been some "apprehension" when my appointment had first been announced. I asked why? He said that some were afraid that there would be a return to what he called the "Macnamara method", this being a reference to the late Dr. Macnamara, the famous Liberal Statesman who spent some-time in a Junior post at the Admiralty and later was Minister of Labour. I asked what this meant and he said "He used to order his officials about like children and was not prepared to listen to what they had to say." Sir E.H. said he himself had witnessed "one or two painful scenes" when high and elderly officials were dismissed *from his room.*



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But, added Sir E.H., these apprehensions were soon dispelled when they became acquainted with me.

I shall spend all to-morrow, aided by the admirable Sherington, sorting clothes, papers etc. and preparing for the move on Monday.

On Monday morning retiring Ministers are all to see the King at 12.20 and the Prime Minister is "At home" at No. 10 at 4.30. And sometime on this same day I shall have a talk with O.L. and tell him something about some of the Persons and the problems of this Play, though he knows a good deal already about them.

One of them, I think Watkinson, told me last night that, after I had taken G.P. down for a week-end at W.L. soon after my arrival, when asked on his return what I was like, replied "He works like hell and he walks like hell".

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D I A R Y.

27.5.45. (Sunday)

My last day at the B. of T. clearing up, destroying papers etc.

28.5.45.

Move to-night to the Lansdowne Club where I am spending several transitional days.

To the Palace this morning, where a number of Ministers are "taking leave". I ~~am~~ *percolated* *go in* between Cripps and Jowitt. Bevin and Morrison, who came earlier, have stayed a bit too long and thrown out the programme. The King has very little to say and doesn't seem to have focused any B. of T. problem. He says that he thinks it was a pity we didn't make an ~~an~~ arrangement about coupons for under-clothing". I am not sure whether he thought that these could be bought without coupons, which was a mistake, or whether he meant that we ought to have arranged to have more underclothes made (though at the cost of what else?) and charged less (or more?) coupons for them. I don't suppose he has ever seen a coupon, either for clothes or food. Anyhow he really had nothing to say, and made no personal impact on me whatever. As nearly inanimate as an animate Monarch could be! Cripps who came out very quickly and didn't even try, as I did, to make some conversation with the poor man, said "I said 'Oh well, I suppose your Majesty is very busy this morning so I won't take up your time'" and came *stranger* ~~quickly~~ out. He said he thought the King was very grateful.

Early this afternoon O.L. looks in, very friendly as usual, and we have a short palaver about the difficulty of his combining his two Offices and two Higher Staffs. He says, rather ruefully, that there will be "some difficult problems to settle", as between Woods and Overton, Sinclair and Bruce Gardner etc. I give him a copy of my commendation of Fay.

2.

*The light will shine on all your helmets!*

At 4.30 an At Home at No. 10. Between 30 and 40 Ministers and Ex-Ministers are present, with a few Private Secretaries and other oddments. Practically all Labour ex-Ministers are here, and most of the Tories and Liberals. But M. and B. are both absent. The P.M. seemed deeply moved - and I feel the moment a bit too. I have a few minutes alone with him. I ask if he has got my letter. He said "Yes, and I shall certainly answer it." I said that these had been proud and imperishable years, in which we had worked together. I thanked him for all he had done. He said "You and all the others have always been exceedingly kind to me, and I should like to thank you for all you have done."

*(He smiles??)*

A little later, standing behind the Cabinet table, now draped as a buffet, he addressed us all, with tears visibly running down his cheeks. He said that we had all come together, and had stayed together as a United band of friends, in a very trying time. History would recognise this. "The light will shine on every helmet." He was sure that, if ever such another moral danger threatened, we would all do the same again. (I wondered whether this meant anything. If so, it could only have meant Russia. Probably it was only a phrase.) He went on to say that, when he went to meet Stalin and Truman, he wanted to take with him "My good friend, Clem Attlee" to show that, whatever happened in the election, we were a United Nation.

Attlee and Sinclair made very brief replies, and then Woolmer suggested that we might all be photographed. This was done in the garden of No. 10. It had begun to rain, the business took some time and the P.M. said "We'd better finish this or my political opponents will say that this is a conspiracy on my part to give them all rheumatism!" Then we dispersed.

*(Less than 5 months later, we were photographed again. Some days, we had a new Cabinet in the garden of No. 10)*

I had had a word with O.L. at this Party about the D. of I. Bill. I had said that I would myself propose to drop Clause 9. He said he was very grateful. *(lex!) its one*

D I A R Y.

Late that evening C.W. rang me up at the Lansdowne and I confirm my proposal *on Clause 9.*

29.5.45.

At 10.30 we just get a quorum in the Standing Committee on the D. of I. Bill and, as proposed, I got up at the start - this time from the Opposition Bench - and moved to report progress, in order that we might take stock of the changes which have occurred. I then dwell on the great importance of getting the Bill through and propose to drop Clause 9 and finish it this morning. This is generally accepted and, without very much difficulty, the Committee Stage is completed. Fortunately several of those who were threatening to speak at length upon the schedules are absent, and so is silly little Ellis Smith, who has a stupid new Clause giving the P.B.T. power to order any industrialist to go anywhere. This is a great, and, until the last moment, rather an unexpected triumph.

The Bill goes through Report and Third Reading with hardly any difficulty in the following week and passes into law just before Parliament dissolves. This is the best thing I have done at the Board of Trade. If the powers, now conferred upon my successors, are strongly and sensibly used, there will never be any Depressed Areas again. And this means much more than anyone who didn't know these areas in the pre-war years can easily imagine.

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D I A R Y.

*as far as*  
 I take no further interest in the last weeks of this Parliament, except to watch this precious Bill of mine go through. I begin, thus early, to make speeches for Labour Candidates and become more and more immersed in electioneering - *mostly in the North of Teeside* - for there is nothing to hold me in London now. The election is very long drawn out, going on for nearly six weeks until the Polling Day - in all except twenty-four constituencies where it is postponed owing to local holidays on July 5th. I am totally tired by the end of it, especially of hearing myself repeat the same old arguments and phrases night by night. I speak in all for 32 candidates, other than myself - the perfect number 2<sup>5</sup>. I largely choose this lot myself, many because I liked them personally, most because there seemed a sporting chance of winning and finally in such a way as to make for geographical convenience and economy of travelling. *I focused chiefly on West Midlands, Eastern*

*Constituencies and the North East. My estimates were results show wins in red, mostly with - but they majority.*

X Derby (2)	Baker and Wilcock	Probable win.
Sevenoaks	Pudney	No chance.
X Smethwick	Dobbs	Probable win.
X West Bromwich	Dugdale	Probable win.
X West Birmingham	Simmonds	Probable win.
X Ladywood	Yates	Odds against
X Aston	Wyatt	Odds very slightly in favour.
Solihull	Roy Jenkins	Good Candidate but can't win.
X Acocks Green	Usborne	Promising, though not quite such a good Candidate but can't win.
X Lichfield	Poole	Should win.
X Stourbridge	Moyle	Dull Candidate. Odds even.
X Dudley	Wigg	Might just win.
X E. Wolverhampton	Baird	Bad Candidate. Can't win but may put Tory in.
X Walsall	Welles	Good Candidate. Might just win.

(I hope so to be rid of Schuster.)

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X Edmonton	Durbin	Should certainly win.
X Watford	Freeman	Very attractive and glamorous Candidate even so odd slightly against, but might win.
X Sedgefield	Leslie	Should retain seat.
X Grimsby	Younger	First-class Candidate. Odds on.
Holland-with-Boston	Monks	Rather disappointing Candidate. Odds against. Boston is a hard nut and he isn't trying hard enough to crack it, though rowed by Dallas and myself on this.
X Lincoln	Deer	Odds slightly in favour.
X North Norfolk	Gooch	Good Candidate, should win.
X South Norfolk	Mayhew	Doing well and with two Tories fighting each other should certainly win.
X South Leeds	Gaitskell	Should win.
X Keighley	Ivor Thomas	Should win, but possibility of a mishap.
X Jarrow	Ellen Wilkinson	Should hold the seat.
X Barnard Castle	Lavers	Not a good Candidate and might easily lose the seat.
X Spennymoor	Murray	Even this old fool couldn't lose this seat.
X Cleveland	Willey	Should win, though Stan Nicholson has <del>cropped</del> <i>cropped</i> up and organisation pretty poor.
X Hartlepoons	Jones	Solid Candidate, should just win.
X Stockton	Chetwynd	Pleasing young Candidate, but don't



D I A R Y.

X Darlington

Hardman

think he will beat  
Macmillan.  
Should just win.

In addition to this I addressed, I suppose, nearly fifty meetings in my own division, and kept my engagement with the Miners at Blackpool, made some months before, to speak to their Annual Conference - the first of the new National Union of Mineworkers. It is, on the whole, quite a quiet election, though there is evidence of a serious mind among the electors and intelligent interest in many questions. Going around, I am very pleased with the showing of a number of our Candidates. We have certainly never had a better team in the field than this time. In a number of constituencies, where it would be a close thing anyhow, the personality of our Candidate will just make the difference, e.g. Grimsby and, perhaps, Watford. On the other hand, but for the personality of the P.M., we should undoubtedly have trampled the Tories underfoot and got a large majority. "You can't trust the Tories" has been a difficult slogan for them to shout or argue down. The Laski affair was most irritating. I don't think it will have turned over very many votes and I only once - at Grimsby - got a question on it in all my meetings, but it was worked up into a mild scare which will have brought out a certain number of old women who otherwise would not have voted. Laski should not have intervened, in the first instance, on the invitation to C.R.A. to go to Berlin. He was not in touch with the Parliamentary Leaders or would have known that they had been consulted and agreed; nor could there have been any question of us being "bound" by decisions reached in Berlin, now that we are no longer in the Government; nor, on the other hand, is it very likely that we should wish to line up against anything agreed to, not only by Churchill, but by Stalin and Truman; nor should Professors use words loosely - in this case the word "observer" which, in relation to conferences, always means a dumb person at the conference table, obviously an impossible position. But this silly little

How I got off; made  
Laski factor.

intervention gave the Tories just what they had lacked till then. A plausible new bogey. It is a pity his name was Laski, and not Smith, and that he was not a Member of Parliament. The question of the relationship of the N.E. to the Parliamentary Leaders is, (in fact, slightly delicate, though there is nothing new about it. It is not a thing the public discussion of which brings any gain to us. A further fuss, as to whether the little fool said that in any circumstances we should "use violence" - I always find it rather comic that this contingency should ~~be~~ be discussed by this gloomy, short-sighted, weak-hearted, rabbinical-looking little chap! - has been stopped for the moment by the issue of writs, a very sensible move. But I have a sort of suspicion that here too he said something he should not.

In my own Division everything went quite well. Maurice Mason proved a very level-headed and reasonably competent Agent, after a slightly uncertain start, and dropped no large bricks at any stage. Will Davis, with whom I stay, and was very comfortable and well looked after - despite the clamour of the dogs ~~and~~ chronic excess ~~of~~ farinaceous food - was more than ever a tower of strength. He told a great story, I hear, at meetings while I was not present about my doings for King, Constituency and Country, and there is just enough to show now, in the way of new factories etc., to make an impression, though there is some ~~approach~~ agitation against Jews and it is most important that we should have only Gentiles now, in addition to the three pioneer firms, at St. Helens and not too many Jews on the new Estate at Shildon. The switch over of Spennymoor and Aycliffe from R.O.F's. to Trading Estates for Peace production seems going pretty well and, after a month or two of transition, I hope that there will be very little unemployment in the area, especially as West Tool should have got going by then.

The last minute opponent produced against me was a Lieutenant Tily from Dorsetshire. He had apparently been a Military Policeman and had returned from Italy to offer to fight an election for the

D I A R Y.

Lib. Gnats. He had never been in the Division before. The official Tories were quite luke-warm about him, though old Thompson spoke twice for him, and the official Liberals sat on the fence and took no part in the election. He brought with him an *elderly* ~~Liberal~~ Agent from Tynemouth. On the day of their arrival they went into the Clerk's Office at Bishop Auckland to ask what were the boundaries of the constituency. It is said that he had never made a speech in his life before and he had very few regular meetings during the campaign - never more than one a night. His wife and daughter went around in a car with a loud speaker, exhorting anyone who might hear to vote for him, and also, apparently, calling out "What about Dalton in 1938?" But neither I nor anyone else knows what this meant. We gave instructions that he was not to be mentioned by name or in any way publicized, and these were pretty well obeyed. I don't know what they campaigned on, apart from the Churchill name, though I think a few whispers were put around connecting me with the Jews on the one hand and with lack of coupons on the other.

My most serious preoccupation at the start was old Meehan and the Old Age Pensioners. I thought it very sinister that Tily's Agent was a member of this Association and that the two old boys had been seen walking down the street together. I thought that Tily, having nothing to lose, might have promised out and out support for their Charter, including 30/- a week for all at 60. I also had some evidence that a certain rot had set in among the old people in some areas, owing to its being persistently repeated that I was against their Charter. I, therefore, decided, on Will Davis' advice, to take this particular bull by the horns and make a long and strong statement, bringing out all the difficulties of the Charter, but emphasizing how much the Labour Party was already committed to - and, after all I was more than anyone else the author of Labour's Pension Plan in 1937! - at Eldon Lane on Sunday morning. I did so, and it went off very well.

I said that we were in favour of a substantial increase in the pension, sufficient to allow an old person to live in reasonable comfort on retirement, taking account of the cost of living. I said that we were against the Means Test. I said that there were strong objections, from the Trade Union point of view, to paying the increased pension to those who were still working. I further stated that a compulsory retiring age of 60 was out of the question and would be most unpopular and, -in view of the steady *important* increase in people's health - most unnecessarily early. On the other hand, Labour's Pension Plan provided that, in cases where a person below the normal retiring age of 65 was unable to obtain work, the pension might be granted earlier, though I hoped that such cases would be rare. I also explained that, while we had been in the Government, there were many matters on which we had disagreed and on which, therefore, no legislation had been introduced but, so long as we were in the Government, we had all to speak with one voice. I added that I regretted that some people had been spreading false reports on my views on this whole subject.

*Refined  
(in hand)*

This went very well and was much applauded. Then a man got up at the back of the hall and said that we would like to know that it had been decided, at a meeting of the Old Age Pensioners Association the previous Sunday, that they should vote everywhere for Labour Candidates, and old Meehan, who was also present, then got up and said he was very glad I had stated the case so clearly and so firmly and that, although he still believed that everybody else ought to retire, as he had done, at 60 - he used to be a male nurse in an asylum - he had accepted my statement. He was particularly pleased that the pension was to be substantially increased and that there was to be no Means Test.

*SM*

From this moment on all went better and better. Meehan took the Chair for me at Auckland Park and everywhere commended my candidature to the electors. I thought it wise to ~~make~~ *give* a summary of my views on this subject at every meeting and got thoroughly sick of

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hearing myself repeat it. The old people seemed almost always to be quite satisfied and I was only once pressed to promise exactly 30/- at exactly 60 years of age, but I resisted this. Finally we issued, and charged to our own election expenses, placing our own imprint on it, an appeal by Meehan to all Old Age Pensioners everywhere to vote solidly for the Labour Candidates all over the Northern Region, and hundreds of copies of this were given to the old boy and his secretaries for distribution.

This matter, having been thus disposed of at an early stage of the campaign, I had no other serious troubles on policy. On the other hand, though very many fear a return to unemployment, it was difficult to get them to realise the possibility of bringing ~~in~~ new industries, either in general or in terms of the D. of I. Act. All this will become much clearer and easier for them to understand when one or two new industries have been established, employing mainly men. And this should be within a few months from now.

Housing will undoubtedly be a great and continuing issue, and I told them several times that, in my view, we should not create a new Ministry, but should combine, in charge of one Minister - I thought the Minister of Works who should also be the Minister of Town and Country Planning and should take over, by administrative arrangement, from the Ministry of Health, relations with the Local Authorities regarding housing and from the Ministry of Supply and the Board of Trade responsibility for organising production of all fitments - all the essential responsibilities. I added that I had learned at the Board of Trade the importance of having live Regional Officers to deal direct with local people and cut out correspondence and pilgrimages to London. This transformed Minister of Works and Planning - Portal for a short while had exactly this title - should, therefore, appoint energetic men to be his Regional Officers all over the country, with orders to prod and jog the



Local Authorities into speedier action, rather than to hold them back as now. I am quite sure this is the right approach. - And this Minister might, in addition, have Default Powers, though I should doubt whether he would need to use them often, since most L.A.'s., though often sloppy-minded and poorly staffed, do all want to build houses.

I grew very weary as the fight went on, though several times I got a second and then a third wind. On the eve of the Poll I addressed eight meetings. On most other nights in my own constituency three, or four or five, and sometimes a visit to a neighbouring constituency thrown in. I stayed most of the day at Manor House, paid very few visits to the Committee Rooms and did practically no personal canvassing. They gave me my breakfast in bed and I generally did not get up till about 11 a.m.

On the day of the Poll I started out with Davis and Mason, though we left the latter in the Committee Room during the afternoon to make sure we had checkers at all booths in B.A. town and we covered that day 108 miles, all inside the constituency. Practically everywhere, except in B.A. town, things looked very good. At the great majority of Booths we had checkers and Tily had none, and our people had broken all the rules, e.g. by sticking up Bills and chalking "Vote for Dalton" close outside the entrance to the Polling Station, and sometimes the checkers themselves sitting inside the Booths. The only blot before lunch was that at three of the four Polling Stations in B.A. town we had no checkers, but this was corrected in the afternoon. When, however, having been everywhere else, we landed up at about 7.15 at the Cockton Hill Schools, we found thirty enemy cars concentrating on this Ward and depositing their loads of voters. This was the first and only place during my tour when I was slightly booed. Inside the yard our checkers stood with very long faces. They said "This has been giving us the creeps for the last hour." We told them that all the "outsides" were looking quite healthy, and that obviously the Tories were concentrating on the most Tory Ward in B.A.



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Afterwards we checked up and found that, out of a total electorate of 42,000, those who polled at Cockton Hill numbered 4,500. If we assume that 80% of these voted and that, of those voting, 90% voted for Tily, this would only give them just over 3,000 votes. Nearly everywhere else in the Division, including Shildon, where there is also a heavy electorate, there was very little to be seen of them, either cars or Committee Rooms, though one of our people at South Church was slightly panicked because, wearing no colour, he had been taken for a Tory and the man in charge of the Tory car had said "I think, if we get all our people up, we may just win if there's a lot of apathy on the other side." But I think the Poll will turn out to be about 75%, which will give us a total vote only a little less than last time, when I won by 20,000 to 12,000. Curry, moreover, had then been the Sitting Member for four years and was well-known in the area. It is difficult to think that Tily can poll as well as Curry, so that, if there is a general swing our way in the country as a whole, there will not be something of a swing here too. And so, to sum it up, I shall regard it as a bit of a blow if I don't get a five figure majority. Ten thousand is the Target.

My general estimate of the election is - I am quite conscious - queerly influenced by that last scene at Cockton Hill. If I had gone round the place the other way, and seen my own supporters pouring in during the last hour in some of the strongholds, including Shildon, I might have felt quite different. So, when I say my hunch is that we have won about eighty seats, giving us about 240, with 30 for the odds and ends, including the Liberals, and 370 for the Government, giving them a majority of about 100, I dare say I am a bit of a pessimist. Much depends on how heavily the Liberals poll, broadly the heavier the better for us. Anyhow, 300 triangular contests must help us a lot as compared with an election mostly of straight fights. Of the neighbouring constituencies

I am most interested in Darlington, where David Hardman has undoubtedly done very well. The talk is that Peat is unpopular and has done badly, while the Liberal seems pretty good, though apparently he went off at too fast a pace and couldn't sustain it, even so some people are saying that at Darlington it lies between Labour and Liberal with Peat at the bottom. This I don't for a moment believe. ~~My~~ ~~best~~ hope is that Liberal will take a good few votes from Peat. ~~Fortunately~~ the latter is very windy. I wish I could see us win Stockton, for our Candidate. There is an excellent young man who, in spite of his artistic name, is a miner's son. But their organisation is very poor and they have an old Agent who seems half asleep, and I should expect Macmillan to be very good and he himself is a formidable opponent.

And so back to London on July 6th, feeling in need of a few "days of silence" à la Gandhi. I hope to get ~~off~~ in the country in the next few days - provided Durbin doesn't make me talk too much!

(these)