

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

Volume 41:
May - August 1951
(Folder of Loose Manuscripts)

Reduction Ratio:

12 x

DIARY

1/5/51

Contracts, 1 to the F. AU & E. Adams, Phil & L. V. ... 2. I went young to Van, & back with AU & Corbin

Woodrow Wyatt tells me that he is to be Under Secretary for War, replacing Michael Stewart when taking Stan Freeman's place at Saffy. W.W. will do well.

I drive him home, & meet his wife. We talk for some hours. I must have him to lunch sometime.

I remind him that I remember that I saw him a week when he tried to persuade me that Jack Lawson should leave the W.O., early in 1945 - I met him and said that John Freeman seemed more of the P.P.S. & U.K.C. type.
 (Linda had also known him very well, & carried a heavy stone which she had worked with.)

W.W. says that Tony (with whom he has been working closely for some time) & Stanley think that my non-jealousy, especially since I left the Treasury, is very fine & a stabilising force in the Party. I say I am very happy that they think so. But I am so conscious of the strength of the enemy, & the difficulty of our task, that I have never wanted to see our forces weakened.

I reminisce to him a bit. He hadn't heard it before. He thinks it will make a wonderful book! I tell him of the P.P.S. or a cry of declaration. I hear, on my return, he scattered his seeds of

DIARY

2

2/5/51.

Health Service Changes Bill is Uree.

A most shocking show! Our back benches
- "all the rejects can be frustrated" as some one says -
Reef up a furious attack on the changes of 1 hour
hours. Most bitter & abusive speeches were made.

A vote is challenged on the first clause, and
Uree we win by 260 odd to 3 - with a few
Tories & Liberals with us - some 30 of our Uree
sit abstaining, & a lot more had left before the
vote. Jan for Tories!

~~Emotion~~ Crossman is Keenan, Writz
with passion, said "see you see!" "This is just
a Tory Budget" ---- Now that he can't get
with the Habit, he is a Mite.

All his publications and columns are Mites.
They mean all the Televisionists & performers in
the broadcast series.

Earlier this evening, we had on XYZ, &
discussed the main points. Jack Diamond thought Mite
had some input to the bottom of the pond last week. That
was now climbing up. Jim Callaghan had had a

DIARY,

2/5/51 (2)

bit, as usual, with Walter he could really
believe across programme. Tony said most
of our M.P.'s were faithful (as said), but they were
way the cat would jump. He himself has written
letter to Tribune & N.S. last week. But he
thinks very few things will have been. He thinks
that will carry ~~good~~ (constituent) position at
conference. I said I wasn't so sure. All
this before we went up & found this disturbing
business in the House, where what on bill
nearly 2 hrs. on 3/5/51

Tony also said
that (that) were such (that) House
that they always overplayed
their hand, i.e. in stuffing
notices of junky meetings in
Tribune.

DIARY.

(4)

11/5/51

Roy Jenkins lunched with me, after meeting with Wilfred Finlayson in my office to discuss General a Nat'l Exec Document on "Towards Social Justice". W.F. will write this up. I send copies to me, Roy & Tony to discuss after revision necessary.

Roy has talked recent atmosphere in H.C. so much that he has only four weeks to vote. Jennifer is expecting a second baby in week or so. He hopes soon to finish his History of Parliament Act Period, which should be a good show. He has found an analogy with recent events in L.C. & Winston's relationship against National Programme, ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~saying~~ that if this were so, he would have to cash in the vote. In fact he made L.C. Chancellor & Winston's first lead to Admiralty. L.C. then prepared his demagogic Budget, in part to pay 2 Remuneration & Winston was persecuted by L.W. If Ulen had made Nye Chancellor, he might have played a similar part and then accused Tories of not being willing to pay votes for Remuneration. But Roy - and many others - have been deeply shocked by Nye, & his "sub-human" performance at Party Meeting. Nye had forgotten that Parliamentary Party, so many of whom he antagonized, elected Party leader. Roy hopes Ulen will go on

DIARY

11/5/57 (2)

long enough to be able to hand over direct to Hoff jaitskell. Under Herbert it would not be a happy party. I said that Jim Phillips should not be ruled out as a possible leader. We agreed that Hoff had, as yet, no public face in the labour movement ^{in the country} though he had it in Parliament & in public opinion usually. But this would come.

There had a sharp reverse at the next election, most of Nye's friends would lose their seats. He was also afraid that Tony might go.

He said that Tribune had only a circulation of 18,000 as against New Statesman 100,000. Many Tribune subscribers didn't read it!

He criticized Dick Crossman's unreliability & incoherence - even in the course of a single conversation. He said I seemed to do my default work pretty effectively though long practice. He thought I was an expert on the Dept. He said I was trying to read books, most people like to read yesterday.

Dick criticized Young he was only another civil servant at U.F.O. & no real use to Herbert. He had hoped that Eddie Shackleton would get Ernest Davies' job, but there had been some middle management. I said some thought that it would be better to have the money of HM's 20 million in office.

DIARY

(6)

11/5/51 (3) - Gordon Walker, Nell, Snowdon, etc.

Grossman had also told me that, when Winston offered Butler Education in 1940, and Butler accepted, Winston asked "Do you really want it?" 2 NABs said "Yes. It is the Department I would most like to take". Winston smiled "That beats out all my worst suspicions of you!"

Dick says Nat is completely out now.

He says Nat once said to him, he thinks of women as women. "I agree with nearly all your policy, except for one thing. I believe in inequality." Nat then ~~said~~ Me-too-ism didn't fit the Young Tories today.

DIARY.

16/5/51 - 21/5/51

Wrightsman Walk. Pembrokeshire & Brecon.

16/5/51

Car from W.L. to Thurston airfield, near St Adovon, Brecon
fly with Geoffrey de Freitas & Peter Ayler (space pilot)
to Witley base airfield, Haverfordwest. met by Desmond
& a crowd of local workers.

stay 4 nights at Mariner's Hotel, Haverfordwest - very
comfortable & friendly. joined by Arthur Blankinoff, then
2 Mr & Mrs Stephenson & on Saturday, 19th by Barbara
Castle.

Great public meeting at H'west on the
Thursday. I end with a moral parable. "The lake
put down his net for their sake..." Of the steep
monumental side of history; nature, strong faith; the ancient
stones.

Two days walk along Pembrokeshire coast
nowhere is very fine. Various points by car. 20th
Dennis' nature & beauty & his wife Mrs. Pugh and others
on Sunday to Brecon - stay at Gorge Hotel, also
very comfortable & well fed. 20/5/51

Climb Brecon Beacon. Rain & near by hill
with a strong wind. Part 1 make a speed to

Dit 114.

16/5/57 - 21/5/57

Wantsen walk.

* Some 60 Runderen & Yeats Harkellen. The
Dach Mirror being represented I will then all to
come & make love, in the lovely & beautiful
Wantsen walk - but not on a day like this.

We are reduced to a small number of
next year? An election before then? Who

will be left? I come back feeling very
fit, strong & bit stiff. I went up to hill

on the Beacon Star & moving, but I then

down a hill of a pace, leading to
land. Not bad! But rather admired!

This is one of my ramblings.
{ with "as I can say to Tony!

"My Stamina on you"

DIARY

(9)

29/5/51.

see C.R.A. and talk about election date & kindred matters. I say I'm sure we can't wait to go into another winter. My cold view is that, having something quite unexpected, we shall lose. But we can't expect to lose by as little as possible. If we wait till winter things will get worse for us. Our best chance will be in Sept or Oct. Perhaps we must discuss an agenda for the conference at the beginning of Oct.

He says he agrees. (He of the Sept thing, & then slips.) Finks arguments, especially the King for on his Australasia team in Feb, & ^{by election} ~~the~~ can't be used before then, & (2) the doubt about the attitude of M.C. & Co.

I say I'm sorry Jim Callaghan won't give a more up. He isn't very convincing on this. The resignation, I fear, has put off the sackings - of A. Henderson, Strain & Strachey. (I think I noted ^{earlier} that Strachey was

going to see Allen in Hospital & tell him that he wasn't going to resign with M.C. - & then said in some public speech that he agreed with M.C. about the spectacles & feet, but wasn't resigning on it!)

DIARY.

30/5/57

A Black Day! Bad briefing to Anti-Porter Bill in morning. Shawcross very reactionary; three years with him better (1) say R.P.M., he says he wants to start again, 2 commit a bill on just anti-Porter R.P.M., 3 recommit to the Commission. He thinks the present proposals will be very unhelpful & ineffective (2) on new features of new towns, on house he is very unforthcoming, - but I am negotiating with H.S. John Edwards whom I see is very vague, but I say sharply that I want a Treasury directive that not vague understanding with officials. (3) on Russia & timber, now he seems quite prepared that he should be militant in current negotiations, unless Russians accept that they should have practically nothing that counts, even recently, "War potential." This is almost nonsense. H.S. is a socialist, cocky, knows nothing to questions before things but narrow vision on each particular issue, no political sense.

XYZ Report (1 item recorded on minutes 20.2) H.S. 11
 have to leave early (at 12.30 - on train & timber. Discuss very early of last paper. I said I'd written it all down (I didn't want to speak. Only Meade & Tony spoke before H.S. 11 left. Tony was doing nothing to hold up, felt edged - not even seen now a man is a top hat!

DIARY.

1/6/57

H.G. to lunch alone in ^{my} flat. Very pleasant talk. He's still a bit too much inclined to play safe & forget the Party. But he is very keen to address next Annual Conference and I say this can certainly be arranged.

Inclined to agree with me that he ought to have the election before winter, especially if he could settle Korean War.

Prinks will be out could be strike - & might delay Union sum of the highest cost. I'd denounce Shawcross, as well a Socialist & that cocky to be. H.G. defend me - modestly - but agree that on R.P.M. he's very neat, & will try to back me up on this.

H.G. is standing up to it all very well.

DIARY

1/6/51 - 3/6/51

Week end at Oxford with Littles.
 Drive down with Sheepshanks, still an undergraduate at Trinity.
 1) Dine - 2 sleep 2 nights - at Littles. First class
 hosts. Raymond can, his wife Susan (very pleasant) 2 Marcel
 Smith to dinner. Very gay & lots to drink. Play croquet
 in falling light. 2 after dinner a ~~total~~ lot of talk, poker,
 under of course. I had forgotten 2 have to pick up car for
 I was particularly interested to see the famous Raymond
 can for the first time. I can picture him as a very
 gay, 2 unassuming, companion on many adventures! He is
 I hear in law, having difficulty in getting a Fellowship at any
 College. Hence he is a very good historian. And his M.A. at
 Fellowship runs out next year. This seems bad luck.
 particularly now that he is married to Susan.

2/6/51 (Sat)

To Worcester with President of Trin (Leaver), Philip London,
 Ian (knows) insisted must leave, since this was economical.
 Vill Chamalla (Leav. the condition for Christchurch) 2 Sheepshanks
 inspect workings, talk to 60 officials, 1 to a farmer. Very
 thing over board. I am also conversed in Oxford place,
 but they have all agreed in some way want, except they want
 to complete ring road before doing anything to the center.
 branch at Trinity. Redicorn 2 Philip Williams, - Lab, stayed
 at Greenwood with Bells, William Jallo, Peter 2 Klaus a lot

DIARY,

(13)

2/6/51

about French elections etc. Nile man, but not a Fellow yet. Croquet after lunch.

Then Ian L1, at London's suggestion, with some work - University v Free Foresters - but he didn't know which side was his, I brought back many information based on search card. But it was splendidly stupid.

Tea with President L O! his wife! I'm so glad I'm staying with the Littles & no with them.

Conference on the proposed amendment to the Revised Working Bill. President London, Ian (again on my insistence) Sheffield & L1.

They present an amendment to say that, when there is compulsory restriction in the loan, there will be no option of payment in lieu. They may go to the Loans Tribunal and argue that if they had put in compulsory restriction, they would have got a higher royalty. London says that they & Unstuck could

more from documents that they could have got 3 1/2% instead of 2 1/2% a ton. Deducting 1/8% levy from the higher national royalty there would be 2 3/8%, thus saving 1/8% instead of 1/8%, a 1/4%.

Ian & Sheffield both doubt whether they could really prove this. It will be easier to say that they could really prove this. It will be easier to say that they could really prove this. I promise to consider it.

DIARY

2/6/51. (21)

Dine in College. Good dinner, especially wine. Some very good
 Old French Sherry in Combination Room. Croquet
 - 3rd time in two days! - after dinner. In C.R. saw H. H. H.
 James Holliday, rather interesting character whom I liked.
 Said he was Socialist. Had won all University Prizes in
 a Sweep. In our former National History, L. H. L. M. M.
 D. M. M. of our Bank at Copenhagen (R. M. M.) in L. D. D.
 told me he had spent his flat & wanted to do this with
 everyone. Very brilliant but very insensitive to other people's
 feelings. Last person who had fallen for him, said
 Tony, was Dr. H. H. H.

3/6/51 (Sunday)

In L. D. D. L. 1
 Drive to Michael's Olga for lunch. We find Tony's car
 there, & he is sunning on his grass with Olga. He had
 slept here last night, coming from his constituency &
 a Youth Rally at Gloucester. Very pleasant company.
 Some more funny. Tony & Olga drive back to London &
 see me, I in night when they had me with Olga
 to pick up at Trinity. Leaving Michael to drive Tony's car
 back on Thursday.
 A very good & sunny week!

DIARY.

15

4/6/51.

get my Anti-Pollution of Rivers Bill read the third time.
I have looked it along through Cree & Report, with our
Division, & picked it up as I went. It will be a useful Bill.

That evening fine, rather bleakly, with H.M. at Howard
Hotel. Now meant Morgan Phillips, Gordon Walker,
Denis Healey & F. Wilfred Fineburgh. One idea seems to
be to discuss future party. But we got on to the Annual
Conference, & stayed there most of the evening. There
was general opinion about the Conference. Strong support
for the N.Y.C. among constituency parties. His resignation & the
resulting issues will be raised. There will be a clearly
N.Y.C. & the need to speak to minority view from the platform.
If this is rejected, they will simply speak from the floor.
Stand for reelection & get back triumphant. Can votes
needed to carry any major vote, & you can't be sure of
big cards. Danger of N.Y.C. - it's winning further seats in
N.E., with a C.L.P. section. (on the other hand, if they
try to run a single large ticket, they may split each other's
votes.) Can we concentrate on a Short Party Statement,
let it be agreed ^{ONLY} if it contains something in Remark, it might
make it difficult for N.Y.C. to appear in other. What an election?
Not before Conference, or this would be stronger to be a Party. "we must
win the Conference" but how? Not a very bright evening!

DIARY

5/6/51

(16)

Call in morning. We get RPM write Paper accepted, subject
to saying it shall be "illegal", then leaving it open as to
criminal & civil proceedings. Shawcross' covering note,
& opening remarks in lat. are frighteningly weak & unconvincing.
"It won't bring the millennium"; it won't affect the last
living by ~~the~~ ^{as much as one point.} It will be very unpopular.
I follow & present ^{HE would have preferred} his approach. Starting with
idea that, in addition, he should legislate doing nothing about individual
against long colts, etc. & Sta appears to view p.m.
that this will be, not only Selwyn's last hope, it might prevail.
H.C. speaks strongly in favour. & says he hopes to make
H.B. a bit clearer than he seems to be now. AVA supports
saying it is 26 years since he introduced & still makes 10
minutes still to do this; so we don't move very
fast. Stokes says it will be no fear "because of the long
lead" but doesn't oppose. Then does anyone else.
It is agreed that H.B. shall express itself at 4 o'clock in
Tony's notice on June 15th (I recall Tony's notice taken
& introduced in second session after.)

That afternoon Tony & Roy both speak well on Petrol
Duty. Tony much improved, in so far as recent Parliamentary
debates. Stokes, & good debating points. Hearty Tony hit
respect listening, but it was before dinner!

DIARY.

11/6/51 (Monday)

Today I decide to dismiss Kay Felton on purely departmental grounds, - failure to attend meeting P.M. last Thursday, & failure to give proper information of her intended absence & to make arrangements for duties to be carried on in her absence. This puts the Civil Liberties issues outside my field. I mentioned to C.A.A. how sad I take full authority to dismiss her.

Corina rings up. I learn to her in a great stew. He has a son in Korea! I write her 2 letters today, one telling her not to meet at Tomson's meeting of the Corporation, the second asking her a number of questions.

12/6/51.

I receive her reply, & send her a letter of dismissal. This dismissal is on the tape tonight & record to Army files. Only one sentence, giving no reasons.

13/6/51

I decide this morning that I must issue a more substantial explaining reasons. Eden puts this in the

Notice Question. This is very convenient. 14/6/51 letter read on adjournment of House.

DIARY.

(18)

15/6/51.

I was asked a question at a public meeting at Sheffield. I say I would have broken her just to know if she had been a member of the British League.

(Dossier of this case in separate set of cuttings & typescript.)

Of course, if I hadn't fired her monthly, I

should have been under ~~immense~~ ^{irresistible} pressure

to do so, which I could not have withstood.

And I should have had a flood of resignations at Stevenage, including Duff & several members

of the Corporation. The Tories were very

angry because (1) I acted quickly (2) I kept it wholly departmental. Bracken went over

saying "a very cunning & adroit reply"; Windsor

was heard to say "of course, it's not true. He's just a stooge."

DIARY.

15/6/51 (Fri)

Tony's motion on Revolution a most
 successful detail. Tony's speech was first
 class, though he had a very thin theme. He spoke
 for 40 minutes & I passed him a note at the
 end "You look so far. It is politics
 economy
 style
 theme"

A very nice combination."

Ray Parker sent ~~me~~ ^{Ray had} ~~me~~ ^{me} this later. Ray
 was less enthusiastic than I about the speech.
 Shawcross, having been pepped up by me, made
 quite a good though man for Ray's speech. Had
 the opposition fronted inevitably, I said it was
 clear that I had been telling Shawcross what
 to say. Don't join with the story is (not used)

DIARY

15/6/51 (2)

Sunday Express says I am being a ginger-man
and ~~being~~ telling them we are to "get tough
with monopolists."

Next week we have the W.P. on Royal
Price Maintenance, written by Alan Neale, whom
Tony introduces me in the journal after the debate.
I have - ratherfully, I hope - helped him along in B & T.

Now we must just get legislative work to
be prepared - hypothetically for next session.

I drive down with Addy Taylor to midlands
and speak at two meetings. Aspley Grove &
Sheffield. One latter is crowded out, & I do
well, ragging the Tories. Meet at Bedford

2 next day

16/6/51

He drives me to Ipswich where I attend an
Eastern Counties Regional Conference. Record number

DIARY

(21)

16/6/51

a keen spirit. Many young delegates. A lot of dissatisfaction. We have lost our impetus; lost our sense of direction, etc. Nothing specific on Reels & Messer or on foreign affairs. Just malaise.

1 try to clear this and the matter - on the Reels whether his contributions will be blanked. 1 talk of Dist of Wales, & Tory proposals to give tax relief to the firm, & of the manufacturers & private tycoon & Trade Association.

We shall have a go at the Party Conference in the C.P. section, & I don't intend either to vote or before to line up with the Stodgin & Congratulation. This is a fact which will

not be very easy to play. But really we must regain some impetus & produce some new ideas.

Tribune yesterday announced that a Policy Statement "one way only" issued by Mr. Butler, I.F. & 22 other MPs will be issued next month. This is rather a provocative

DIARY

(22)

16/6/51 (2)

procedure, since my ^{present} 2-3 other members of UNEE will be signing this, before submitting it to UNEE itself.

I'm afraid there will be a lot of trouble over all this. I would like myself to put forward some good proposals, especially of public =? but I would hate not to say H.F. with me.

Meanwhile I must talk to J.F. on Monday, and, in the evening, I am to see G. Libbey how want to talk about a 2 year programme. I heard

~~today~~ ^{by} from Len Williams that he has Eye Division. Granville has 1000 Sudan that he would like to have his to see on third trip - discuss joining to Labour Party. ^{Sudan} said Granville

DIARY

16/6/51 (31)

must first make up his own mind. If he did decide to join us, Emsden would stand down for him & lose his influence to let him accepted as Labour Candidate. He knows that, though somewhat opposition at first, it could be overcome.

I am still pretty firm of an anti-war election, but, if 4 Liberals definitely joined us, it would be a perceptible bright in the - - - - - scale.

20 - 21/6/51.

Late sitting on Finance Bill ~~with~~ Bill & Co. Demand, Dick Gossman & others tell me of the 25. Only Trade Unions are Fernyhough, Marnel & Can Michael. Now it will only be a Tribune pamphlet, with 3 resigning Ministers writing a foreword, & 20 other names. Foot writing draft of first part (international) & Kirkwood of second

DIARY.

(24)

20/6/51

Not they say, an it-decided programme at all. It seems I had some influence on all this, because a few nights ago in Smoking room I urged Nye not to create a lot of procedural debate by proposing a programme with 3 other members of N.E. without having put these to N.E. itself. He is said to have ~~not~~ used this argument strongly in discussions in the group. I heard that Barbara Castle had been asked to stand down for N.E. to make room for Harold Wilson. I encouraged her to refuse. They will, no doubt, try to run something of a ticket. But there is some danger for them - as well as for themselves - in this. They may trample each other in the vote, with wide spreads ~~between individual~~ voting by C.L.P., now as ~~well~~ had to unjazz ~~before~~ to vote tickets.

My Ipswich speech got a good press, & I circulated advances pretty freely.

21/6/51.

Saw John Freeman, now recipient what Nye said to me. I said I wanted reason of manoeuvre between Nye's proposal, ^{some} ~~nothing~~ of which I reject him, & staying out of the Mad. Times. I had no interest myself to be in Mad. Times, & not to do anything. As to campaign

DIARY.

(75)

21/6/51

In the country, the Keen ones were certainly distorted. They said he had lost impetus, & sense of direction. We must encourage them. Even if he frittered off, or failed to attract some non-Party votes, he should do better with our people ^{rather} than only half fighting. There's a zone of doubt in all these calculations, but a case of ~~not~~ being a bit bolder than the cautious electioneer would think.

J.F. agreed. He is writing steadily to Stakeman now. But his successor to K. Martin is less clear than I had thought from earlier talks with him. Nothing for 2 years anyhow, he thinks. He & Dick, he says, act on each other, Dick as a stimulant to him, Keen as a sedative to Dick.

That cat has been drained of personality, & is suffering from pernicious anemia. True, I'm afraid!

DIARY.

22/6/57.

It is bad that the young should feel like this, & worse worse still that they may be right. ⁽²⁰⁾

Had amid all these future arguments about anti-feds a ~~the~~ Foreign Minister meeting.

Jack Ashley, Ex-President Cambridge Union. Working engineer from Widnes, just back from U.S. Detaching Team, to lunch with me at the House. Very thrilled. He sits on the terrace after. He has got a II 2 in Economics, not bad considering how much else he has been doing. He asks me what I did when I went down from Cambridge, & I remember when I told him I did little or no politics for some years. He has been offered a job with Cadbury as Industrial Relations Officer. I advise him to take it - he was inclined to, but hesitating - & to aim at holding it for a year or two but to keep in touch with the Fabians & the Birmingham Movement, Wake, Welling, there is not much Parliamentary talent.

He's come back more pro-American than he went out. He liked the West, California & Washington State, though in this last they seem very remote & the women strike for hours, when you say you're an Englishman. He had some fun with the girls, he says. Political ideas very wide out there, he says, but tremendous energy & very hospitable. He says he admires my stamina. In my plan, after losing Treasury in 1947, he'd have written 20 years well held. He has a black view of Europe. Destroying everybody & everything, either have been a war, or he shall have succeeded in a Communist ultimatum for all the Channel.

DIARY.

23/6/51

At W.L.

But I prefer to be
burned, ^{than} ^{be} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{sea}

Looking up tracks for a talk next Thursday to the Communist Society, I turn up Sea Thruan because I find

"I have one fault of modesty which I have seldom discovered in another, that is I am not so much afraid of death as ashamed thereof. 'Tis the very

disgrace & ignominy of our nature, that a moment can so disgrace us that our nearest friends, wife and children, stand afraid and start at us; the birds and beasts of the field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath

in a tempest - disposed & left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters, wherein I had perished unseen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had said 'Quantum mutatus ab illo!'

Religio Medici p. 46, (and it goes on well from there)

And again

"These words hath engrossed the name, yet with little proved the truest sense." Amherst p. 96.

DIARY.

28

26/6/51

Lunched alone with H.G. in the Treasury.
We are both Octoberists. He says everything is getting
too difficult to go on being handled in this Parliament,
with the narrow majority & the Revenue.

He thinks Dissolution should be announced at opening
of, or just before, the Annual Conference in October.

We agree that he must get free from the Cliff
pledge. I am, ~~unwilling~~ for repeating the Special
Contribution, with some ~~exception~~ limits, but on a
stiffer scale, and making it annual on long as the
rearmament drive lasts. He is more inclined
to a Capital Gains tax, and wonders why I think
it justly of it. But the Royal Commission is studying that.
One beauty of S.C. is its administrative ease, ^{but} of C.G.T.,
the more, the less of it, is hideously complicated.

H.G. & I are both of divided limitation - a straight
freeze, not Kaldor's niceties since one couldn't
sell - but he would like to make this part of a
bargain with the Union for some long restriction. I
would be willing to do it on needs.

We are both for more transfer price control. Dept's

DIARY.

26/6/51 (2)

(29)

have been too compliant.

He admits that we have no real foothold in the City. Colwell's appointment was a disaster. (He told him that I had had Colwell's names through latter with respect succession. One Bank were very uncooperative on credit control. Their only idea was to put up rates, with no selection. He had resisted them on floating debt. Maurice Allen, now economist at the Bank, had been warned to be careful of Robert Hall at the Treasury!

I said that Tony had persuaded me that, provided there was no increase in floating debt rates, and since there was no compulsory redemption of Debt Hill 1953, it was all right to let float-edged prices slide, & not to intervene either by hand or deed. But, in order to bring down equity prices, it was necessary to speak. I thought that H.A. by publicly limiting or dividend limitation, could do it. I used to do a lot of speaking to the market, chiefly the float-edged market; he said. I remember him. He admitted that he & his advisers had been quite

DIARY.

(30)

26/6/51 (31)

taken by surprise, when equities soared after the Budget. (I had a similar surprise, I thought was bear, when I had at midday rose. Gilt, fell & equities rose. I had expected the opposite.)

H.G. thought that some mistake, especially in Chancellor & the Foreign Secretary, shows that with care & not solemnity. - to the nation & the nation - not for parties. I said there was something in this, but it could easily be overcome.

He thought well of Rindenberg's test paper.

XYZ 26/6/51

G.R.

Diamond

(1) D said "Peace and then Plenty" was the best slogan. Stress help to under-nourished countries and our own full employment. That would be enough.

Meale

(2) M said say that Lab. Govt. will ensure peace: We shall be better than Tories both in re-armament and U.S. relations. Stress anti-monopoly and a fairer distribution of burden of re-armament. Don't have much detail.

Jim Callaghan

(3) J said people thought we were too much in American pocket, and that we were muddlers. There should be a re-statement of Britain's position in the world. The public thought of Ministers as tired, fumbling and fifth-rate. We should try to make a better impression, e.g. that we were making a great fight against high prices, and were going to beat up those responsible. As regards profits, we should fix a maximum dividend. Without letting subsidies expand too much we should subsidise children's clothes, etc.

Dorothy Jay

(4) D said "Peace then Plenty" was a good slogan. We should set out programme like this (a) Peace - suggest we were more likely to keep it than the Tories. Backward countries and Colombo Plan. Social democracy the only defence against Communism.
(b) Controls and allocations in the national interest, as against greedy profit making. Dividend limitation.
(c) Anti-monopoly.
(d) Social Services. We should say we were more in favour of these than the Tories. We might promise an increase in family allowances, e.g. bring in the first child.

Tom Crosland

(5) T said Election would not be fought on programmes, but on current issues. Fine sentiments about peace were no good, and "plenty" would be a bigger washout in present circumstances than "peace". Anti-American line would win Election easily, but we cannot do this. Only other thing that will win Election will be giving evidence that we are doing something, not simply promising. What will the Government do in the next few weeks? He would like revaluation, but thought this was too late now. Import prices of commodities were now steady and retail prices should flatten out in a few months time. Some prices of materials had fallen heavily and might fall further, particularly if Korean war ended. Some more increases in food prices were inevitable and we should announce these as soon as possible, e.g., so as to come into force during /August ...

August when people were on holiday and less inclined to grumble. We should, at the same time, announce a moratorium on food prices for the next 6 months. We should also make loud sounding noises about tighter price control. Was it too late for a statement on dividend limitation? We couldn't promise an increase in family allowances now or increase subsidies, and anti-monopoly was a washout because of the public monopolies which had increased their prices so much over the last two or three years. If you replied, as someone else had suggested, that "public monopolies don't make profits", you would be blown away in a gale of laughter at any public meeting. If it were so important, why had we not done it before? In the short run, the grocers would be against us and the housewives not for us. The time was all wrong. The pressures against us would be strong, those on our side weak.

- (6) I said N.E. was preparing short statement. I would try my best to get some agreement between this and Tribune Pamphlet. (Two of them said that M. Foot had described me as his "over-cover representative in the Cabinet".) We should stress that we were in a completely changing situation due to rising prices and re-armament. Everything was dominated by re-armament now. We should adopt, as someone else had said, "a posture of attack", not too much detail in our statement, but I was very anxious to get clear of the Cripps' pledge against a repetition of the Special Contribution or any other equalising weapon of this kind. I thought that, of all these, probably a repetition of the S.C. with some exemption limits, i.e., £2,000 a year of which at least £250 unearned, should be kept, but the scale should be much steeper and it should be made an annual impost for as many years as the re-armament programme lasted. Someone said that it would be difficult to put this over without losing votes, particularly because this simply took money away from rich people and didn't obviously re-distribute it.

Berry B had said earlier on that it was most important to bring home that increase in prices was much more due to higher import prices than to our own re-armament.

Some said that impossibility of legislating on R.P.M. etc. before Autumn was an argument for postponing General Election, but most of those present were firm octobrists.

/This view ..

3.

This view very strongly held by J who also said that the present under-tone was that we were being pushed around too much in Persia. Wogs! Winston wouldn't allow it. Public opinion ^{over Pacific} here was going in the opposite direction from public opinion over Korea. Everyone would like to see the end of that war.

Tony

T added that we must give the impression that we were against high prices, and that we were fighting them flat out all the time. This was particularly important for the women. The greatest psychological change in the post-war world was that the money illusion had given way to the price illusion. (People used to think in terms of how much money they'd got, and not much of prices; now they thought of what prices they had to pay, and not much of what money they'd got.) Week-end speeches were not enough. A solemn pronouncement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House was needed. We should say that there would be no more increased prices in the shops from October until next Spring. It was bad that other Ministers had left it so much to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to defend re-armament, both in the House and in the country.

Tony said next week that he'd been in Japan & going through the winter. If he could flatten out living & bring in some lively legislation.

DIARY.

1/7/51 61

In a day time the American Tribune pamphlet is due to appear. There is still great dispute among the US on its content. The first half, on Foreign Affairs, by Fort was ~~not~~ very anti-American and very anti-Russian. Some want it toned down. The second half, by Mikardo, has hardly been discussed in detail yet.

Chiefly from Donnelly, and a bit from John Freeman & Dick Crossman, I hear about this anti-communist program. I think - as I may have noted before - that I seem to have had some influence through talks with Nye & J.F. both on the form of the document - not to be an it-accused programme - ~~not~~ on the introduction, - not to be signed by 2 dozen names.

The next are Nye, H. Wilson, J.F., who will sign the foreword, M. Fort, Crossman, Mikardo, Barbara Castle, Davies, Donnelly, Bing, Bill Mallalieu, L. Hall, Acland, Jennie Lee, Delany, F. Bowles, Tudor Watkins, Cecil Price, Ferryhouse, Carmichael, Harold Davies, Baird, Lipton, Manuel, W. Griffiths. (including all the British members of the Party)

They meet on Tuesday. Total 25. Don't know how many in a lot of work.

DITRY.

1/7/51.(2)

I've been trying to be a bridge, & looking a bit ahead, to make a programme that will be bold and yet make sense.

H. Massingham, who has a malicious fixation about me, has an amusing pamphlet in this week's Star Observer, saying that I have recently been observed festively entwined in "loving arms" with

around the shoulder of one member after another. "I shall ask her to help to lunch." (Copy of letter enclosed.)

M. Foot was reported at last XYZ meeting to have told Jim Callaghan & Tony Crossland that I was their "over-over representative in the Cabinet." I think it's mainly Foot that feeds Massingham, & I've no doubt.

Meanwhile I am making a fair number of speeches - I made one yesterday at Leyden - tonight, an offer at this house of the YCA, & strengthening N.E. vote at the Annual Conference.

[Xerox copy - 1966]

(36)

THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1951

H. Massingham attacked me for the third week running today. Mr Dalton's "starked cackling", he says, might lead people to think that H.G. was only one of the doctors among thickies -- that he was much more than that, a most formidable figure.

'No Immediate Crisis'

MR. RICHARD STOKES

Lord Privy Seal, said yesterday at Letchworth, Herts:

"I am confident that if we handle the situation in the right way there is no reason why the defence programme should delay our further advancement for very long.

"I am sure that if we can get others to see reason on the proper allocation of raw materials, we are not going to have any difficulty in keeping the pipeline full here. There is no immediate crisis as such.

"I have got to get abroad and see what can be done. I expect that will happen in the immediate future."

It was true that we should go short of certain manufactured articles which people liked to have. The defence programme would impinge mostly on textile, building, and the engineering industries.

Dalton's Pledge

Mr. Dalton, Minister of Local Government and Planning, said at Bristol yesterday that the Labour Government and the country were very fortunate in having Mr. Gaitskell as Chancellor of the Exchequer at this critical time.

"This year he had to deal with a far more difficult Budget situation than any which ever confronted either Sir Stafford Cripps or myself. He has been the object of some most vicious, untruthful, and unworthy attacks.

"But his Budget has already rallied a great measure of popular support. I stand beside him in any battles he may have to face. So do his colleagues in the Cabinet. So does an overwhelming majority in the Labour Party."

I had desire
my words
may be
to read
Gaitskell
responsibility

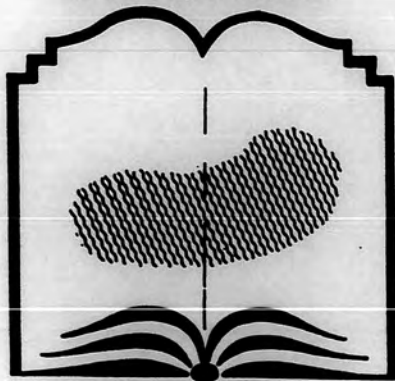
That would
you I was
a will
meaning
to be
great.

Last week I
had asked the part of
elder statesman
in your party my own. I had
I had been told he had
had talked with some
projected with the

BEST COPY

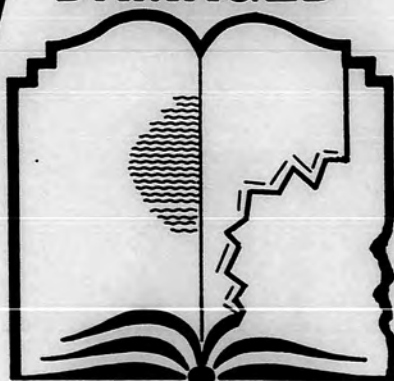
AVAILABLE

ORIGINAL



**DIFFICULT
TO READ**

DAMAGED



**TEXT OR
BINDING**

[Xerox copy - 1966]

(27)

2nd July, 1951.

Having long since been taught that, in politics at least, "all publicity is good publicity", I wrote to G. Crowther a little while ago, warmly thanking him for his unstinting zeal in keeping my name before his readers. The result was that, for some weeks, this source dried up!

I should be awfully sorry if this letter had the same effect on you. I always find your references to me very amusing. But I sometimes think you have a few years in your background, though, on the whole, your political intelligence service is the best in British journalism.

Could you like to lunch with me one day? If so, would you fix a date with my Private Secretary?

The last time we met, I think, was several years ago with George Young at the Belgian Club.

HUGH DALTON

H. J. Mansel-Pley, Esq.,
The "Observer",
22, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

DIARY.

1/7/51 (3)

Yesterday Dr. King was married, aged 45, to his 45
 year old widow. J.F. - George twice married - was
 best man. Both T. Cheddi & Scobie Khama were
 there. And the chief Bevanika, and asked Sitwell
 and Tony Goslow. The most interesting wedding
 "The Star" said the ^{Sunday} Daily Express.

R tells me that Kobs (Lombard
 (copy attached) says a cocktail party & party at apt 6
 in mixed & rather dingy party company. T.D.
 came with a boy in a white shirt & tie. He had a
 very good Xmas card Wednesday.

Copy of Kilt Ward
 but copy had
 on election programme.

Howard, Tony was much the best, & put
 up some really interesting ideas on reaching a
 price plateau in Sept. - & announcing that
 there would be no more price increases for
 months.

He was to leave for H.G. on Wednesday
 wrote H.G. a preparatory letter on the Thursday.
 H.G. had the report of Chris Mayhew on the new
 Treasury Ministry. I wrote that, on merits, as a point for
 seniority, Tony had it easily.

DAILY

2/7/51

Bit of a row over Russia this morning in Cab. Should we
 prepare a plan to take Atlandan Island and hold it
 indefinitely? Chiefs of staff have put up details. It would
 mean legislation to have Servicemen indefinitely, and the
 calling up of Territorial Division, and much else.
 Some of us express doubts: Have we consulted
 U.S.A? What will U.N. say? (Last week he was told
 they would say it was "aggression") H.M. Very petulant.

Quite a little Pan. But in most stuff of 2 hours.
~~the~~ For "United-Nations". U.S. would be helpful.
 But for fulfillment & 1, in particular, insisted that
 we couldn't be committed to this sort of thing, without
 Cab being more fully informed & giving its approval.

Later I saw P.M. Very friendly. I said we couldn't
 have H.M. going to the Pan. He said he agreed, and he
 had most certainly kept in close touch with US Govt
 I said H.M. mustn't try to compensate himself
 for leaving Lee & Co. in W.W.I and against whom
 before W.W.II.
 I said I was still an Octobrist. P.M. said he
 was too. Harmonious discussion just before Annual Conference?

DIARY.

2/7/51 (2)

I also mtd that he should be made Skopje or
Price control. and take a more offensive posture
against rising prices.

Jim Callaghan said that he & Roberts and the
Vida - Secretaries were with him - Blankinship,
Stewart, Bothwell & 11th 2, one other - were
going to see PM to press for October and stronger
Price Control.

But Price controls in trouble!

Harvey Rhoton has agreed to an increase
from 85/- to 115/- in price of meat's utility
goods. (no excuse for this, & best news
at E.P.C. - elsewhere!)

And on Democracy

6/7/57

George Brown Voted on Mestrovic's Defeat,
strongly Matheson & own members, by a majority of
16!

7/7/57

Announced war, late, especially after
death of Paxine way.

DIARY.

15/7/51. (Sunday)

A fairly busy week! Wait to DM, & try to HM, on German Recruit. I'm afraid it's becoming a real affair. But HM is in favour of it. But DM's reply is satisfactory. (Denis Healey says that having seen the Germans at Frankfurt, he's sure they'll just remain when they want to, & he should be able to stop them. All countries were Germany are going now. So perhaps we'd better let them run, with a European Army, so as to continue some control for a few years!)

Mornington & lunch with me at Jurep on Monday (July 12th). On the surface more frank & friendly. I tell him that, though I don't like the "breathing control" & all the other measures - I liked 2 reflected into my 2 feet, and tried to dissuade them from resigning. "Now though I am anti-ME?" I asked. "I think ME did," he said. I told him that at the DM meeting I had joined in giving Haff Gintzell a long hand-clap, ^{but} that on the other

DIARY

42

15/7/51 (2)

Mike had done very badly at that meeting, & in his resignation speech. He said he knew that he'd branch with the rest of them, my only quarrel had been with Michael Foot, who had complained H.G. with Philip Snowden. He admitted that this had been very unfair. I said I would like to see him & his wife.

We talked about Jim Callaghan who has been unreasonably pushed over, & that it was bad to put him under Parkinham, who was his own age. To be under Lord Hall hadn't met with

the fact that "Killey was hated" & that appointed for such appointments as Parkinham & Ogmore - not only Nye's, but quite badly in the Party.

He discussed date of election. I say I was on October 1st, without any doubt. (This, though not by my name, is the only reference to our talk in the recent Sunday's political correspondence.) I say at the end, having considered him pretty well, that if he would

DIARY.

15/7/51 (31)

most of his 3 years, that'll be his fault. I think, though his was unacceptable sort of help, but his time was well-spent. I deposit his, at his request, at the House. John Freeman on Saturday said he had seen him, just after his arrival, but that he would not be talking.

I arranged to go to Granville to see Chit. Write me at No 10 on Friday afternoon (July 13th) He is very nearly over, but will talk with Megan. They work closely together. I am to be go-between, if necessary. Megan feels her father will start late time to talking, & is peeved. They have about 2000 pounds in contribution. What is really wanted is for Granville & Megan to come over soon. The Council, I think, keep hold of them in their contribution as Labour M.P.'s. They would speak, & say, at by-elections for us here

DIARY,

15/7/51 (4)

On Saturday (July 14th) I go to Coche Hall
to sit & listen to John Freeman & Denis
Healey at a Fabian Discussion on Atomic
Energy Policy. Two of the other most
interesting & most attractive young members
of the Party.

J.F. has persuaded feline Uman.
He puts his case very brilliantly. Gaud
wins most of the audience - probably his
home won before. But D.H. is even
better to reply - quite devastating & with
some wonderful mock-about Uman is.

J.F. says "Tony's at the White City" (A.A.A. Championships) - probably with some
very glamorous girl. I take J.F. & D.H.
back to my flat & a drink. J.F. says, &

DIARY.

15/7/51 (57)

reply to a question by me, that he thinks it would be
 premature for me to go CRA. to say to talk
 to my at present. M 3 of us agree
 that it would be good to postpone issuing of
 a statement till just before the leaflet.
 By then he may have Peace in Korea...
 - and in Paris. "Herbert to Peace-maker!"

I am still more strongly of this opinion
 today, after reading Morrison's draft of
 Lammont's meeting of Paris Cree.
 It is awfully flat!

I've got Sir L. Raleigh's Poems at
 last. Till now there has been no
 decent edition. What a matter
 of money matters!

DIARY.

22/7/51

(46)

"If we cannot make our lives long, let us make them broad." (George Wyndham. Paraphrasing Herodotus)

~~Richard~~ Nicholson in the morning abruptly. I am all for that, & admire most those who in their prime ~~started~~ do not excel most on the broad front. (That just fits Tony.) And, if our lives do last long, as mine already, I hope you will come from old, he live more & more in the lives of others. But he mustn't let them realize it too ~~fast~~ much, or they'll be very bored with us.

Shawcross is ill; very intermittent at the R/T, on exacting department; very regular ^{at} public meals & dinner; vain, self-satisfied & 2nd & Socialist, but even much a Reference.

To attract Royal Price Manufactures will create heat opposition. We mustn't play it up too much. It will have a negligible effect on prices. In the long run it might be good of the efficiency of the industry ^{in the long run} ~~industry~~. But it is, perhaps, inconsistent with the ~~the~~ Trade Union restriction practices. From prices

DIARY.

22/7/51 (21)

Conkors likewise will ^{the} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~likely~~ ^{likely} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~bring~~ ^{bring} ~~large~~ ^{large} ~~id-~~ ^{id-} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~seem~~ ^{seem} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~a~~ ^a ~~sign~~ ^{sign} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~increased~~ ^{increased} ~~foot~~ ^{foot} ~~activity~~ ^{activity}. To ~~see~~ ^{see} ~~out~~ ^{out} ~~smooth~~ ^{smooth} ~~less~~ ^{less} ~~efficient~~ ^{efficient} ~~firm~~ ^{firm} ~~would~~ ^{would} ~~disturb~~ ^{disturb} "the smooth ~~operation~~ ^{operation} of production", "Divisional limitation?" The first he has heard of it. Its effect on trade, & the effects of ~~higher~~ ^{higher} ~~industrial~~ ^{industrial} ~~activity~~ ^{activity}, ~~would~~ ^{would} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~serious~~ ^{serious} - just when he wants to encourage them to greater efforts

Yesterday I was at the Miner's Jubilee at Drahman. It was attendance. One Northern District Sq. 300,000. One traffic, of loads & busses, was worse blocked in the street outside the County than I ever remember.

The Farmers Union entertained us to dinner on the Friday; the Miner to lunch on the Saturday.

All said I looked very fit. I think I am physically the fittest of the older Musicians & I have a pretty ~~good~~ ^{good} departmental job. But I have, more & more, a sense of going out in a ~~year~~ ^{year} or two.

DIARY.

24/7/51 (Tuesday)

433

Reporting to me ~~on~~ ^{the} conversation among Beranika, Desmond Donnelly says that T. Dineen has a death wish, like a woman who wants to throw herself under a galloping horse. T. MiKando doesn't take it all too seriously, he sits in a chair for some time and then gets bored and walks out to meet a hail of bullets. These two would like to resign from the N.E.C.

Nye & Bantona have more of an eye to the main chance. But Bantona, worked up by Ted, is now talking about "peace". This is a rather dangerous. ~~Committee~~ ^{Committee} doesn't help at present resignation. He spoke, at the meeting held at his house on Wednesday, where they talked of "cold hope" and an inevitable "dash". If they thought there would be an October election, they might fight. They know they would be forgiven if they can be shown to have split the party.

Later the same day, at the speaker's event. D.D. says they've met since ~~the~~ ^{his} morning talk with me, and Nye not being there, advised that no decision should be taken to resign without the group being ~~properly~~ consulted. ∴ there will be nothing precipitate at tomorrow's N.E.C. Nye is off to Yugoslavia on Thursday. J.P., D.D. says, was very good and sensible in D.S. covering precipitate action.

DIARY.

Dividend Limitation - Fun on the Stock Exchange

27/7/51.

To Cambridge & stay with Walston at Oventon Hall & attend a Labour Fete. Good hosts. Lots of dollars; heavy scores through devaluation.

Tomipoti evening paper full of wild confusion on Stock Exchange today, following H.G.'s announcement yesterday of Dividend Limitation. This makes me laugh to see, ~~and~~ arithmetic, panic marking down. Shell alone "lost £13 millions" on Monday.

28/7/51

Morning paper full of same story. In the afternoon I make a carefully prepared speech on abolition of cottage ~~that~~ certificate system for tied cottages - the result of a hard battle with Tom Williams & the Scottish Ministers. Very popular with Agricultural Workers. Speech says, in interview, "Dalton has succeeded where Bevan failed."

But, having unloaded all this, I talk of something in Monday Dividend Limitation & H.G.'s speech, & say "nowhere else" maybe said of my friend Gait's Hall's speech it has thrown the Stock Exchange into complete disorder, and that is bad for anyone."

DIARY.

28/7/51 (~)

Paris is picked up by the reporter present, & reported in the Sunday Express, & picked up only by one ^{or two} papers on the Monday. But it provides an ~~important~~ ^{interesting} intell. letter for the Chairman of the Steel Exchange in Tuesday's Press. & C.P.Q. to P.M. on Wednesday.

Paris all goes wonderfully well, including George's. He's supplementing local news in his constituency. Could not sleep all night after my statement. But P.M. treats the whole thing as a joke, & says he is surprised Tories haven't more sense of humour.

~~Contract~~

Sabbath & Memoirs

Contract
Dividends limitation - Fm on the Steel Exchange.

DIARY.

51

2/8/51 (Thurs)

6:11 Uchta 16⁵ low

Parliament adjourns, and perhaps won't meet again till after a General Election.

As always at end of July, people are tired & fractious.

I go down to W.L. tonight. R went this morning.

The Bevanites keep baying on about their differences with the Govt. though Nye left last week for a month in Yugoslavia. Some say he'll embarrass Tito a bit. He was invited when still a Minister. Now as Low says in a recent cartoon, he'll have to explain to Tito how he'd strengthen Yugoslavia ~~just~~ by spending less on them & more on social services. One 2 Cussman & the 2 Corries are also going, together, to Yugoslavia. So is a Fabian Party - John Pank, Reg Jackson & 2 others.

Today Dick Cussman and I had a talk in the Smoking Room after lunch. (Bellamy came & batted in half way through.) Dick said that last night he & I had had some acid words. (We had. He & I & Nicholson talked. I said something in favour of Divided Limits & Dick at once demigrated it, and said it showed how high I was leadnally leaning from One Way only. ~~He said~~ But he'd like to go much further. And I said I was so bored with everything

DICKY

2/8/51 (2)

being drafted back to that pamphlet, and so broad with
all this personal animosity and spite against H.G. And
Dick said he ~~didn't~~ wasn't spiteful or jealous towards
H.G. And I said "O yes, you are, like a lot of
others. You're a high-minded Third Man." - (I had
a couple of jags in mind.)

So today Dick said he didn't hate H.G. And he
didn't really hate anyone in position. He didn't blame
his situation on Dick, not like mine, and the hatred
between leaders before the war. I said I didn't
hate much either. I hate I sometimes just enjoy
hate people. And that he took a real liking to
Dick's hate people. Dick said "Yes, he persecutes
position." And now, said Dick, he hates H.G. more
than anyone else. How silly of Nye, he said, to hate
Dick's H.G. with H.G.'s arms. And how silly of
Nye. Dick ~~is~~ to keep Nye skewing on at the
of Healey instead of firing him a new creative job.

I said I knew he wanted to leave just after last election.
And that would have enabled me to be any local part
of planning right away. Dick said

DIARY.

2/8/57(3)

53

The best mistake P.M. made about H.G. was not, I
making him Chancellor, but in not making a real
reconstruction of the fort at the same time to keep
the balance between different sections. (I think he
meant that he ought to have been brought in then.)

In reply to Bellamy, I said that Cripps was I had
been strongly favouring H.G. as Chancellor. With Cripps
& me out of it, I told P.M. there was no one else
who could handle that job - and I then something
about it. Dick said he thought this was right but

that Nye might have been made Foreign Secretary.
We spoke of Harold Wilson without much enthusiasm.
I said it was a pity he'd never had a back bench life
before becoming a Minister.

Dick & I then recalled a dinner party I'd given
just after I'd been made Chancellor, - "The Young
Victors' Dinner Party", I'd called it - at St Ermin's
(Bellamy said he'd been there, but he was ~~then~~ ¹⁹⁷⁰ ~~then~~
he was mistaken.) The party had included Dick,
H.S. Evans, Gus Maynard, George Brown, John

DIARY

54

2/8/51 (4)

Howard Wilson,

Freeman, Raymond Blackburn, (2 a few others.
Someone had said - "was it you, Dick?" - that
some of them ought to go straight into the fort. Dick
said "no it was Evans. only he would have dared to
say a thing like that." And I had said that I thought
no one would go straight into the fort without
a back beach life. ~~And then~~ Dick thought I was
probably right. "But then they took Howard Wilson. If
they had wanted to experiment with a new technique,
they'd have done much better to take me."
Bellamy - "But then you'd have been conditioned,
Dick." Dick "Of course I should."

A very revealing conversation. It would have
been better to take Dick. He has terrific
energy, and all the dynamism, all at once,
no matter how they use it! Great mental
power, but no judgment. But that might have
come through conditioning.

DIARY.

August 13th - 28th, 1951

A fortnight in the west Highlands & the Border country, mostly visiting State Forests. Itinerary attached.

Before Ray arrived, I went up The Cotta, (see postcard) 2851 feet, starting from almost sea level, with Conservator, Divisional officer, District officer & Forester. Best scenery by wind just below the top; a wonderful view over 7 Lochs & the Clyde. Argyll National Forest Park very attractive; good climbs of all sorts; Youth Hostels & camping & caravan sites beside the Loch Lomond & other Lochs. Good forests on lower slopes.

Matt of Land ~~in~~ round top of Loch 2 was partially covered - Foresty loan - or Dept of Agriculture for Scotland. A camp was taken the night 3 or 4 from Ben Lomond, (a Loch, now given to Y.H.A. by agreement) under my Land Fund scheme. Ben in under Ben Lomond. (a Loch, now given to Y.H.A. by agreement) under my Land Fund scheme. Ben in under Ben Lomond. (a Loch, now given to Y.H.A. by agreement) under my Land Fund scheme.

Deerery (house) visited on shore of Loch, with the help of Colin the Postman. This gave me a kill, a jolly lot of company, including Canadian, Australian, French, Danish & Dutch.

Religion rather feeble & superficial, but still markedly absent in all Forests & Districts. 3 days at ... wonderful sub-Arctic climate, & ... beautiful houses, & fine (some with ... & ...).

DIARY

Aug 1951

Offices in the Commission's building - Langley, where he met Mr Byrnes, (6 years in Army, then 3 years at Oxford, - Queen - & joined Lord (then) & Stewart (ditto. Finney, 1 year at Glasgow under Sir John Macdonald) & 2 at G. D. in 1941) who took me back to dine & spend the evening with his wife & 2 visitors on my last night, the 27th, before catching night train from Norwich to London.

A very good fortnight. On National Forests we saw best Socialist deed so far, & they grow while you sleep. The view from a high point in the Kielder to all the skylines & beyond is great. Mostly Sitka, with thin blue sheen, but you can see if you take eye, in most of these forest views 4 or 5 different colours. Sitka & the birch tree of Norway spruce, ~~the~~ Douglas Fir, & Larch - mostly Jack pine & the blue of Scots Pine. Snowmelt will follow, & these melting etc in the new villages. And lots of children with their mothers, very healthy.

Back to London on the 28th, hardly a minute to spare - but that I wanted to find him. I was by the way on the 26th & made one private speech at Lincoln's Inn on the 26th.

DIARY.

August, 1951

(56)

At W.L., as always, political preoccupations seem fall away. But at this peaceful distance I note two international issues, on both of which I have differed from H.M. (1) ~~the~~ German Rearmament, (2) possibility of using armed force in Persia.

German Rearm.

(1) is an issue that has been running for a long time. I am keeping most of the papers in London for the present, as the fight is still on.

Last Sept, E.B. at Washington, supported by Cab, declared that German Rearmament was "unthinkable", & has made a speech, I think in the House, a little earlier that it would stir up all old bitterness in France, etc.

But at latter E.B. found he could not work here with Americans unless he "accepts principle of a German contribution to W. Defense": he would not set the appointment of any additional U.S. Divisions in Europe.

Cab was most reluctant to agree, & backed back 3 times. Finally he agreed to "principle", but insisted that timing, manner & amount of rearmament must be left open. I told him roughly that I told Cab ahead that I accepted even "principle" with great reluctance & regret & hoped nothing about

DIARY

(5)

Aug 1951 (2)

German Retreat (2)

would leave if it (a) because I didn't trust German with
army - I didn't know how long they'd last, (b) because
he didn't seem to share the same purpose, (c) because it was his
one thing that ~~was~~ might provide the Russian to
March to the Channel.

But, in return of the ~~German~~ concession of the principle, he
got 1 Re 2 months of U.S. reinforcements.

E.H. never liked it, I was for playing it very
slow. He put in a paper to Cab on Dec 12th, 1950
which is very funny.

C.H. never liked it, I was also for playing it
very slow. He made an admirable speech in this
form to Hq (on Feb 12th, 1951, E.H. still being ill.
Emphasis was placed in this speech on the value of
France 23rd to our High Commission in Germany on
need to arm them before German, & on small chance
of enemy arm being available for some time - perhaps
some days.

Strategic to his credit was always a part of German retreat.

DIARY.

(60)

Aug. 1951 (31)

German Rearmament (31)

last and wrote long circumspect letters to PM about it. Lending me copies & documents. That was rather roundabout interchange.

Denis Healey wrote an admirable paper in March 1951 against it, arguing, inter alia, that Germans were only people west of Cuba with a vested interest & reason not Russia, to reoccupy their lost homes.

Mr. Kaldor in Dec 1950 had sent me a long Sued by myself against it. I asked him to write him my comments! about a sense of collective responsibility!

Rearmament IRe. ^{Germany} finding Germans don't want to be rearmament, and he didn't want any unwilling soldiers. That gradually pressure works at for something similar for U.S. Govt (large military), U.S. Chiefs of Staff 2 own own Chiefs of Staff. But HM (2 or F. Sec 4)

and Shinwell are unsatisfactory on this. I see HM. Officially, with Denis, on behalf of N.E. Int'l Sec. That there are signs of giving way. Shinwell is intent to

boldly push into accepting a German Cont. One "European Army" idea comes in very rapidly

DIARY

Aug. 1951 (4)

German Recruit (4)

as a delaying factor. One thought is that German forces might be more easily accepted as part of the West D.3 Commission as to how long a part & in how large units. Brigades, combat groups, Divisions etc? ~~As~~ It is, in my view, a complete illusion that Germany, once armed, will be restrained in any real way by being part of a European Army. They will break it like a chicken breaking its egg shell in the stone head's nest! (If that is the right metaphor! If not, let's find another.)

I several times expressed my views to C.R.A. whom I found in general agreement with them. In view of my mission, I wrote to him on July 10th 1951, with copy to H.M.

(I should explain attached; main copies with his reply in London) I suggested discussion in Cab before we started at end of month. P.M. replied to me on July 10th.

"Thank you for your letter on German Recruit. I am very much in your view. I will see that the matter is brought before the Cab, if there is any more in the 'Dine Drive'. H.M. said ~~nothing~~, 2. Priority, that he hoped I will not think to what next Cab is for now."

DIARY.

Aug. 1951 (5)

German Recruit (5)

On July 26th I was invited by P.M. to meeting of Defence
Ctee. of course I am not a member, for discussion of
issue on German Recruit. Not a very impressive tree!

P.M., H.M., H.G., E.S., 3 Service Muz (Strachey,
Henderson & Pakenham) Gen. Walker, 3 Chiefs of Staff
(Slim was, to be exact in his place.)

Strachey ^{argued} ~~thought~~ a bit up and down saying anything yet.
Criticized Army Council proceedings - that always
anger Chiefs of Staff, who say it's only their collective
view that matters ought to be taken, but this is
nonetheless the point of view of individual Service Ministers, &
they take toward them put forward against Strachey's policy
before a meeting at Defence Ctee for Army Council proceedings.
Henderson finally backs me up. And then I "stream
into action, like a battleship", as Strachey said
afterwards, and deliver a broadside. I have
succeeded 2/3 of this in London. I am still for playing
this down - very slow. Pakenham wishes to

ANY,

Aug 1951 (61)

German Recant (61)

emotionally on the other side. He has a like his
German & refers them all as Huns. (I intend to
to say the word I used was "mistake")

on July 30th Cal. Council Joint paper by H. &
E.S. - The same as has been before his Defence U.S.

Mr. H. ^{had} opened, I am invited to see his work, &
do. Cal. Council record it pretty well, but I must

on 6/10 words to make sure, copy to H.

(Documents - word - P.M.'s refer to: Bank subsidiary)

Strachey had sent Woodrow to give me the subject
copy ^{his} latest paper; Ray came with Woodrow.

Woodrow said Strachey had thought of proposing that
he should give his view before proceeding further with
German Recant. I said I certainly would not do

this. He might be wrong but I don't want to know
be really at a point!

I brought in to Cal. D.H. account of Rancho (Nevada).
Very opportune! ^{was back by Jim} Huffman, Hector McNeil,

DIARY

(64)

Aug 1951 (71)

German Recruit. (71)

as will be striking
2 Albat Rexwien, ^{C.O.S.} Sec'd much on way. Returns
was in person but didn't speak. HM. & Jewitt were
on same site. Small writing. He seems
silent. C.O.S., though Messer, - in person.

Small said that 1 Platoon had located a
10 French Divisions this year; 15 next year;
20 the year after. That the proposed U.S. equipment
would come along - 2 France had most good officers
2 N.C.O.'s in Indo China. So it looked as though
instead of 10 this year, there'd only be 5, & doubtless
whether there would be better work.

C.O.S. admitted that their plan to German was

June 1952 - Enrollment to be

Oct 1952 1st units formed

April 1953 1st two Divisions formed