

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

**Volume 38:**  
**1950**  
**(Folder of Loose Manuscripts)**

**Reduction Ratio:**

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Dalton J/38

(1)

House of Commons,

London, S.W.1

DIARY.

11/1/50

I have just heard Auld Lang Syne, & the Toast to 1950, with the hope that "no man shall suffer want, no man shall suffer fear, and all men shall be free" & the National Anthem, as we enter this New Year.

12 months, and even 2 months, hence - after the general election - what new shapes will history have taken?

R and I have been very peaceful here over Christmas. I have read Charles Tennyson's new life of his <sup>(new)</sup> father, - with its discussion of the drunkenness of the poet's pious father, & the family troubles. I have also reread many of the poems. They contain much superb music, and many deep notes of bewildered longing. It is odd that he tried so hard to write plays, none of which were very good.

Tomorrow I sleep here for the last time till after the election. The day after tomorrow I go for 10 days to my constituency.

The Gallup Poll, published by the News Chronicle, ~~that~~ suggests that the Tories will poll more than we, and the Liberals more than either of us expect. But the authors confess that their generalisations are based on a ~~sample~~ <sup>sample</sup> of 1800 people only - truly, in my opinion, a "diminutive sample".

I don't think that this is worth very much. <sup>the Tories tried us to wait till the horn came to strike, and then to strike hard!</sup> My thoughts, as the election approaches, are with our younger men.

Ministers and able back benches. Some are quite safe, a few quite hopeless in their present seats - and must wait for a political resurrection - and many are in the twilight zone. The Australian elections have just shown, once more, how our electoral system by a small <sup>marginal</sup> ~~small~~ <sup>margin</sup> more of votes may make a big more of seats. A very <sup>small</sup> <sup>Tom</sup> majority would be the next best thing to a solid Liberal majority.

DIARY

Jan 1950

on 2/1/50 from the peace of W.L. to the constituency, where I stay till 11/1/50. stay one night at Bannock Castle (King's Head, clean but otherwise not much of a house), 2 nights at Middleton (Cleveland town, very comfortable & friendly), 1 night with at Skidder (with Maureen Mason) and the rest with Will. A very useful and well timed tour, as it is announced today I return to London on the 11th for Paul's next meeting, but will be dissolved on Feb 5th with polling on Feb 23rd. So I shall participate, come back till after dissolution. I have had a good run round just before election expenses begin to run.

Spoke at Witterton Park, Straindrop, Bannock Castle, Middleton, Women meeting at Bishop Auckland, Fildon Lane Club, Eggleston & Skidder, in addition to visiting places. Felling at Bannock Castle & Railway Shop at Skidder.

There was a Cat on 10th at 7.30 p.m. announced his decision to dissolve. I had specially asked not to have to come back during my tour. I then went on to

The decision, now announced, is that will be taken by all. We shall have an early fortnight or 3 weeks before the final starts in earnest. I am very uncertain as to the result, & very conscious of "the little more & how much it is" of either party under our electoral system. I am inclined to expect us to lose but with a smaller, but still workable, majority. If we don't do this, the next tactic is small & unworkable Tory majority.

19/1/50

Spoke at Oxford Union. Motion condemning of Legist of Cat Paul carried by large majority. Tom & Libs voting alike. Undergraduate speakers not very good. H. Strauss opposes me at end. I have some moderate good from with a half-silent, half-much penetration on graduation going into areas. Some to go & some to live

D.C.

20/1/50

Lunch with Tony Gordon & walk in Trinity garden, where we meet where the President, a nice old thing now remembers celebrating Prof at me & them in 1907. Talk about the garden trees - many good old ones & an ilex on the, & some newly planted beeches, Judas tree & Ginkgo. Or to speak to Aidan Bradley in North Park - two good meetings at Wetherburn & Rockingham. He is a bit with bad chill, but thinks he will hold the seat - with a bit of luck. He has been very active locally since 1945, & lives with Virginia & the children in a farm. Winston always speaks a "Rabbit Butler" was a happy family! I sense a clear majority of seats for us if just one

NY

19/1/50.

Dalton I 38

(3)

Ordeal Under Pleoration.

~~we~~ "This is a dramatic hour of democracy,

For now we standard bearers of our political faiths  
go forth to battle, like the gladiators to the arena,  
some to live and some to die; some to <sup>bring</sup> ~~bring~~  
our standards back victorious, others, like Melchior in  
Hades, "to move among shadows & shadows, & wait  
by impassible streams" (with a respectful gesture  
towards H. S. Cross.)

"Melchior, I see, five weeks on from now,  
a long and proud procession of socialist banners  
and banner-bearers, wending its way to  
Westminster, with the voices of the people still  
echoing in their ears 'Well done, good & faithful  
servants, now take Rest with the people!  
Well done! Carry on for a second five year!

DIARY.

Dalton

I 38 (4)

24/1/50.

Last week at G.P.C. H.G. in agreement with D.J., put in a frank statement on contracts & liberalisation. The first part is an admission of statement of economic doctrine. Don't rely mainly on financial contracts to prevent inflation. They keep demand just above supply, in order to hold full employment, & rely on physical contracts - especially on total imports, capital exports, building, location & essential material - even when no longer in short supply - to hold inflation. Really, therefore, to keep things out of any one's hands it, - always take a bit of inflationary measure, but use physical contracts to prevent it - breaking things.

S.C. says with a very smile: that he supports this a vote of no confidence in the Chancellor. Of course, he will deny this. It is one way, he says, for guidance to special advisers, who keep on giving advice which means contrary to H.G.'s view of things. The main point this time of H.G.'s paper are approved. On "liberalisation", we have some ideas for example. We have done it for political reasons - U.S. & Europe. A great score today of the "young economists".

Spaak has written his copy-book with a special U.S. article in Daily Telegraph, attacking H.G. as "drugging their feet" - he has worked so hard to scrub out this Pinewood Cliffman process - & praising Churchill. S.C. says: "we agree, but we should tell U.S. Spaak is not acceptable to us as OECC. Superintendent: first 5 with 30 months, the second 5 with 25 years!"

on Sunday (22<sup>nd</sup>) I wrote my election address, & a leaflet on unemployment; the facts; & R wrote a message to the electors, & on Monday (23<sup>rd</sup>) these were typed & sent to Tom Anderson.

Today he had a meeting of M.P.s, Constitutional, N. & S. etc. at Carlton Hall. C.A. Morgan Phillips, & then speech. Useful but curiously undramatic interviewing. Many conferences at the end of meeting - a good thing too - of N.E. John Pulling & John Phillips etc.

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (5)

27/1/50.

Saw PM. of the last time before starting on my election tour. He thought the result "might be tight." I wished 60 to 70, counting on Libs as <sup>just</sup> putting us in in a number of municipalities. I said, looking back over 5 years, it was amazing how well Cab & Govt had worked - a few personal anti-factories, even Humber & Emile, & Nye & White - but back home in Wake, and the real splits in representation the results. This comparison wonderfully well with the Home of which one had read & heard. Made up the list, I said, was 'one to me'.

He thought we had developed the CEE system very satisfactorily. The way, it seemed, there was only one standing view of Cab, & the rest was all advice & rather but PM & Minister concerned. Some of CEE system was how "No! Management" outside the Cab could talk on at least range of things outside their Dept, e.g. at (I think) the Men of N.I., Food & Transport. I said I thought the system was being a bit erudite in our first & second year when a Minister could hardly speak without getting Williamson's approval.

I said that S.C. was absolutely inefficacious on Chancellor. No one else could do it, while it done team, one team done but late to

Diary.

Dalton I 38 (6)

27/1/57 (contd)

On "Young Economists": H Treasury one needed  
not only bright ideas, <sup>high intelligence</sup> & diligence, or methodical  
adm<sup>n</sup>, but power to resist high pressure advice.  
One or two now were mentioned as promising new  
would be quite important. (I had HM in mind).

But S.C. had much to do — old  
Treasury + new Planning + Government Privately advised  
I thought he should have a Minister of State, now would  
republic kind of form of Gov. <sup>irresponsible, but system would</sup>  
break down. S.C. will do. (The Treasury could not  
handle all this.) I thought H.F. was too much  
this job.

He agreed, I said

privately. I said he was already discussing  
this with Bridges. That he as Minister must have

a defined sphere of responsibility — mainly perhaps

to be "Old Treasury" kind. We agreed that H.F.

was better than H.W. (I thought he was doing very well)  
(I). now thought very able — had not always had judgment. <sup>very personally</sup>

Dit 101.

Dalton R 38

(7)

27/1/50 (3)

I said H.B. had a great gift of concentration of ideas thought  
& argument; his recent paper on contracts, I said, had  
been quite masterly. In due course, he probably thought  
of it. He had done jolly well with the minor, now now  
small papers his to his preference.

Not myself, I said I had written for Susan King for a  
more active job. I hoped he would give me a contract  
Dept. if he could talk. He nodded, I said I'd try to  
know there had been several changes he had had to make,  
but it was difficult to make him at the end of the week.

I said I was big on EPC, but had been saying that  
for the reason he had given, I think understood, he had  
seen me & put me on de force C.A., was had  
always been a great interest to me.

I also told him of the talking of I was doing in  
Italy for dollar causes.



DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (9)

25/2/50.

Back from B.A. for breakfast at flat, with very good majority but very heavy. (Account of campaign in my (containing diary.)  
Cabr at 11. CRT says he should carry on, since he has a majority, even though a bare half dozen, in new House.

All present agree. - A.K., T.J. & Woodham very abstemious; T.B. seems to have been kept healthy by diarrhoea! Most think I most emphatically - that this part isn't lost more than a few weeks. But E.H. thinks he should stay in & "consolidate"; & Phil suggests playing 2 Libs & carrying on till May 1951! S.C. says constructing is bound to rise, & Budgetary position is very difficult. He

all peace on opinion at P.M.'s, 8.30 usual, following custom after an election. Creese from only defeats Cabinet Division, more a neat trick at Shipley, mainly redistribution, & only 1-4 by H. Zilka only got in by 824 at Huxton. & says R.C.'s serving violently against him in last 3 days.

Return to flat & sleep. (But I cannot see C.S.W. & refer my voice. & had no chance. & only 4 Streptococcus tablets all through the campaign!)  
26/2/50. (Sunday)

Slept a lot. Nearly all day. Make note on situation, which seem very pleasing. Worst possible situation. If we had lost 10 seats more, Tories would have had bare majority & would have had to form a government for; if he had lost 10 seats less he would have had a majority between 20 & 30 & would have stayed along for a bit. As it is, he has still without nationality or power, & it is difficult to

DAILY.

Dalton 138(9)

26/4/50 (cont)

See how he can improve our position. So strong - i mean  
I had virtual control i.e. by voting, and yet so weak i.e. Home of  
Commons. One small mass, with few exceptions, very  
disappointing.

Unless he can create some new issue, favourable to  
ourselves, every week we stay in office - without activity  
& without a working majority, & with events moving against  
us - prices, cost of living, unbalanced budget etc. - we lose ground.

Therefore he should either dissolve as soon as possible,  
or put the Tories in, letting the ~~other~~ Labour on to them,  
e.g. on steel. Some of our colleagues are still  
living in a world of illusion - in thought the opposition

didn't exist, or had no brains  
I recall Windley's pre-election based on special  
checks in all the new constituencies

225 safe Labour seats,

200 safe Tory seats,

200 marginal, in which odds slightly in our favour in 105  
& slightly against us in 95. Labour majority of 35, but

very tight!

In fact on this basis, he won only 91 marginals,  
instead of 105. So our majority, instead of 105,

is our majority is only 7, at the best.

But I am not in the habit of taking account of the 12, i.e.  
independents practically wiped out.

DIARY.

Dalton 138

(10)

27/1/50. (Monday)

To the office. P.M. is reconstructing Govt. but not very fast.

I get a call at 10 pm. He says we need a big drive on housing. Will I undertake this, along with Team & building Planning? Housing will be taken over by Ministry of Health, where Nye will stay to clean up the mess he has made in the Health Service. I agree, on condition I retain my present place in the Hierarchy, & get a decent allowance of money & materials.

He then talks a bit about people. He is indignant with Silkin for not getting himself adopted anywhere. I say he would lead him to the London of course. Reel him in to York. He then adds, rather fiercely, "but I can't do anything of use." The only defeated Minister he is Reeling is Suckling. S.G. needs to be in the House, but he hopes to let him back soon. He is thinking - in reply to question of me - of Sir/John of 160 years & Stokes, "we are taking a risk" of 2000. He says "I have my eyes on the Minister, by his various speech & by his statement during the election. That the middle classes, I don't really need domestic servants, they say about the ability to order someone about. He suggests Lindeman is very unattractive; he has had useful local Govt experience. I make no objection, but am not highly enthusiastic. And so it is! R is very surprised & so am I, but not D.J. satisfied.

DIARY.

Dalton I 38  
11

28/2/50. (Tuesday)

(copy)  
 To the office. I wrote note (attached) to Mr. Sargood that he  
 should put Jim Hillier at Health & Mgt of Colonies.  
 I send this off just before 11 am & go to Cabinet office for King's  
 Speech Committee. On arrival I get a message to go at once to  
 No 10. C.A.T. says that he has come to the conclusion that to  
 take anything out of Health at present would be too big a  
 surgical operation. He, therefore, would like me to take the  
 Colonies. I at once refuse. "That is not my Kingdom"  
 I say. "I have never studied colonial questions. I would  
 much prefer the Home Front." (I had a horrid vision of  
~~the~~ Gallularis, general strikes, & snow high  
 commission. I know one can do nothing in the short run,  
 & was the more one tries to help them, are themselves &  
 unhelpful; of Malaya & a futile military campaign; of  
 white settlers, reactionaries & uneducated, in their own  
 way, as the victims of ineffective action at a distance, though  
 they are to be seen from Government even one has seen some  
 of the silliness and confusion about the black man  
 who maintain a white typhoid & Dr. Malen, & the demand  
 of the Protectorate; of friction over Trusteeship at  
 times of military pressure relationships with Eric,  
 & Phil, & Sherrill; of continuing discrimination over  
 Government; of Parliamentary questions by pro-native creeds  
 & anti-native capitalists - all this in a rush  
 of a few seconds.) Mr. was a bit surprised  
 taken back. Then he said "of course you would  
 in taking from country planning what away, & probably we would

DITNY.

28/1/50. (cont)

bring Housing in later. I said I would much prefer this, provided my place in the Hierarchy was maintained, I must clear. And he agreed to this. He had had my note just before I arrived. Clearly he wasn't willing to give my place the Colonies, & NYK wasn't willing to give up Housing, if he stayed at Health. Later, in the evening, Hately read over a formula, to the effect that I should

combine departmental duties with the general responsibility of a Senior member of the Govt. I agreed to this. He said that in fact, I had moved up in the Hierarchy to 5th place - C.A.T., H.M., E.B., S.C. & then I.

Today there has been a continual stream of calls at No 10. It looks as though there would be a practically full cabinet tomorrow, including junior ministers. C.A.T. has worked pretty quickly.

I am quite content with these <sup>rather</sup> explanations, to have a light departmental assignment, - including National Bank, New Town & the job of speeding up the Simplified Planning Procedure.

It is thought I had been very particular in not taking Colonies. "That Dept wants shaking up." He said. Well, let someone else shake that one!

copy

Dalton  
738 12a

[Xerox copy - 1965]



The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,  
Privy Council Office,  
Whitehall, S.W.1.

28/2/50.

My dear Alan,

I ~~have been~~ Thinking over ~~some of the points raised~~  
in our talk last night, and I assume that, in the first  
official announcement, it will be made clear that I  
am to be in charge of Housing as well as Town &  
Country Planning, ~~in~~ likewise my unchanged  
place in the hierarchy.

The separation of Housing from Health will be  
a delicate matter, with possibilities of great friction  
<sup>and jealousy</sup> both on the Ministerial and Official levels.

I will do my best to minimise all this, but,  
frankly, it will be very <sup>much</sup> easier if there is a  
new <sup>Minister of Health who is</sup> ~~and~~ less implicated in past policy. It  
would, I estimate, be very much easier ~~and will~~

Jim Griffiths can write me. Jim, however, has  
never mind a first class administrator, & Nye, I

the town, ~~the~~ would like the ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~very~~  
much. I hope it is not too late to  
consider switching them now.

Finally, if I am to produce any ~~fruit~~  
effect in housing, I must have a <sup>hand</sup> ~~foot~~  
allocation, both of money & materials.  
~~nothing~~ or I can't even hope to  
begin to begin.

Tomato & man are less than  
a man clean it up is a better  
rule for private than 2 public  
life.

DIARY. When told he was to come to Skewton

on my No 2,

[Xerox - 1966]



14/4/50

My dear Hugh,

I've just got your letter.

It's a stunner! I don't know  
what to say. Naturally I'm very  
proud & honored, but I had  
waffled out a holiday in this

Country with the children, a visit to  
Name Establishments & a trip to sea  
& then some time in the Constituency.

Dalton I 38 126



How can I get it all in with the Barbz  
Conference on Oct. 12th. as well!

I'm just off to sea now in an  
aircraft carrier - H.M.S. Ocean. I wish  
you were coming too.

See you next week & we'll  
talk about it. Resubmit my very best  
thanks.

Yours ever

Jim.

What about Dick Hitchison as a Delegate?  
Good French speaking, good sense, & a  
good companion.

DIARY.

Dalton  
I 88 (13) L

~~Synthesises~~  
Sunday, 11/6/50.

Over 3 week winter recess ends tomorrow. It has been a week longer than usual. & no Labour Party Conference.

I had 3 useful days in the constituency (following a long spring week-end at W.L.), speaking at Lockfield & Bonnam Castle, where I also visited the Bears Museum, and at Bishop Auckland, & a private delegate meeting. All very successful. With petrol rationing off, & the Tories eating soon grass, we have cleared away a lot of grievances - and employment and food ration remain good indices, but cost of living rising very sharply. (Yet the political market remains very bleak, & I can't see us doing much good in office in the Parliament, or winning seats next or another election. Last night I dreamt that we had an election & that I was B.A. (we are all stale & uninspired & uninvited).)

Following the constituency visit, I walked for 3 days in the Cheviots, Berwick County, with long green shepherds' tracks & most friendly shepherds with large families, tending the country & large flocks of sheep. We walked from Wooler to Yetholm, and

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (14)

11/6/50 (contd)

from then to Alwinton, and then, with a lift at the end, to  
 Coombs, to stay the night with the Preschans. Chubby,  
 aged 87, is bent but <sup>very</sup> friendly & effusive. I took at  
 Lake Hunt photo. I was there in 1911, 1912 & 1913,  
 & in <sup>each</sup> the first two years caught 2 Preschans, - a  
 bear & house, & appear in the photos as a slender  
 faced young man with hair smoothly parted in the  
 middle. Our walking party was Helen Klakoff,  
 Clifton de Freitas, George Chetwynd, Barbara Cook,  
 Fred Willey, John Phillips (local) & myself,  
 with several cameras & photographers. Still pretty  
 good publicity. We walked 50 miles in 3 days,  
 in addition to making car. <sup>at night</sup> weather perfect. I had  
 a very sore little right toe, but all else sound,  
 legs like a panther going up with little  
 pack on. But I raced ahead on level, on slight  
 downward slopes. Very good spirit!

In the 4 days before being confined to the  
 hospital, I've visited the main New Town -  
 Sweeney, Hankin, Harold Steaford & Crawley. Very  
 promising, especially Hankin & Crawley. We shall have something  
 to show in 1957. <sup>Harold</sup> Year.

DIARY.

Dalton P 88 (15)

Fri 16/6/57.

There has been a great fuss these last few days over "European Unity".

It was on May 24th that the N.E. considered, and unanimously approved, and ordered to be published, soon as possible, this Pamphlet.

This statement had been on the study for some time. G.B. had several times asked me to let "the Labour Party" i.e. the N.E., to get a statement out. It would keep him, he said, & would be useful for Skirving & for the education of public opinion. The Cabinet had several times agreed that this was a matter which was not to be controlled over its own handling financial policy, or over controls necessary for our planned economy. I had told G.B. & Cab that the N.E.C. would certainly take the same line. I had, indeed, put it in

paper last autumn in a paper sent to G.A. Chief of Council of Europe in my name. I took a call from G.B. & then

G.B. had seen this & expressed approval with it. He had also seen the N.E. had approved the line of a draft by D. Hooley, the first draft of

"European Unity" was prepared

by D.H. for the International

Council. It was then modified a good deal, & a

second draft put up. The latter included several paragraphs on "European Basic Industries, Sir Schuman" had been first concerned on the way out in the interval between the two drafts. I secured

but had thought the paragraph in question to be softened. This I had done in the later paper.

DIARY

Dalton I 38

(16)

✓

16/6/50 (cont)

add that Ernest Davis had sent Tpt House a 2nd. draft  
of E.D. 2nd draft was being prepared, since strike  
had compromised in language than anything put in  
draft. I told D.H. to keep in touch with V.D. (I  
kept in touch with E.D., doing all this & taking  
drafting.

Redraft was found by <sup>(with names on basic material)</sup> but (with) with practical  
minority, & was ready for N.E.C. E.D. saw this  
redraft. I initialled it. He told E.D. he approved it.  
He made no suggestions for amendment.

This redraft was sent to all members of N.E.C.,  
with the paper, as usual. Some days before meeting  
on May 24<sup>th</sup>. At meeting on this day I presented  
the document. I expounded it for about 1/2 hour,  
bringing out all salient points. I later & copy  
of note for you was I spoke. Sam Watson & Mr. Phillips  
were there. Alice Bacon had to leave. All members  
on Executive were present. C.H.T., as usual, sat beside  
me. H.H. was there, & A.B. (the only <sup>present</sup> <sup>at this</sup> <sup>meeting</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>me</sup>)

& ~~Ed. Powell~~ & Griffiths, & ~~Sumner~~, & Haberman.

The document was unanimously approved, after a  
short discussion. Only suggestion made by C.H.T. was

DIARY:

Dalton 288 (17) 3

That a statement should be added, after quote on Tony  
programme on horticultural imports, saying that he too  
had horticulture at heart. (Pais 1 part in) Pais was  
mainly the only amendment suggested.

I was surprised that it went through so quickly &  
easily. One N.E.C. Com decided that it should be  
published on Sat or 7<sup>th</sup>.

This became a routine job for Thom, & I  
found that it could be published on Thursday, Jan 13<sup>th</sup>,  
but not before. I was asked by Thom (Mr. Philips  
& D. Hardy) to take a Press Conference on it on Monday, Jan 12<sup>th</sup>,  
1970.

Parliament was to meet after lunch  
recess, on 13<sup>th</sup> & there were stories in the Press  
that C.M.A. was to make a statement on that day  
on Schuman Plan. But ~~there was no statement~~  
Minister had been

scattered during recess. There had only been one Cat. in  
most important business, where very few had attended,  
& there was no Cat. on Monday, 12<sup>th</sup>. I was in  
London all the week end, but had no communication  
for ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> ~~the~~ ~~week~~ ~~end~~. nor did I particularly  
expect one. I, therefore, took the Press Conference on the

Monday afternoon. I was anxious not to hit the  
headlines with any mention of my own. I therefore  
concentrated on expounding the document itself with  
a good deal of quotation. This meant that I was  
very unresponsive to questions. I refused to

DIARY

Dalton 2 38 (18)

Franklin, to say that if there were more socialist parties in Europe, he should be more willing to enter into closer arrangements.

on Tuesday morning, 15/6/50, the Ref. str. did, indeed, hit the headlines! Many, of course, were sensational & inaccurate. But the Times had a pretty good leader.

Arriving at the office soon after 10, I had a message that the P.M. wanted to see me. I went to see him & found him in a bit of a fuss. "I don't remember ever seeing this before," he said, of the pamphlet. I reminded him that he had sat next me at N.E.C. when it was passed, & of his horticultural comment. He then specified Walker, the pamphlet on Soviet Indochina was in. I explained that they were & reminded him that Stewart had asked Walker what had taken account in the draft of Henry Deane's views. He <sup>then</sup> seemed then to accept - & asked he could do no other - the fact that he had seen, and agreed, it all before!

He then said it was very embarrassing to have it published that morning, when he had to make a statement that afternoon on the S. China - Hainan. This was the first I had heard officially of any such statement. He showed me a draft. It was, I thought, rather

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (19) (5)

That. And he still seems to living in a world of make-believe, not stating clearly that he comes not hand over our key industrial to any supra-national authority. He said S.C. had been very much affected, etc. He, therefore, stressed the latter, L.H. - L.A. which also came especially noticed because of what he might have to say to the Lords.

One discussion was followed was quite friendly. He admitted this formally his share of responsibility, but said he hadn't read the paper carefully - he had so many papers to read and as this seemed to be about Strengthening position, he had left it to me. S.C. said that it would make his job very difficult was rather negotiable. He didn't disagree with the general line, but if he had seen the draft he would have suggested a few amendments, which would not have changed the sense, but would have made it read more acceptably. I told them I had kept a close track with S.C. L.H. & L.A. & they agreed with the line. S.C. said he had always found L.H. & L.A. difficult from his point of view. I said I was sorry he hadn't shown him these papers. ~~But~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> not only slip in drafting now I felt has been made.

The afternoon (13<sup>th</sup>) L.H. & L.A. made his statement.



DIARY.

Dalton I 38(20) 16

Wrote letter put a list of supplementary questions which I had  
from hand on the N.E. statement; also had written off  
on the question of a Parliamentary debate.

I told Mr. Phillips of the point raised by Mr. Lee  
on 15th, & he said the PM never came near here,  
or left in touch with the House.

The Press this day & the next ran this story very  
hard. It was suggested that neither Mr. or Mr. Poy  
Secretary had seen the document, & agreed to its  
publication.

15/6/50.

Today Mr. Lee was asked more questions in the House,  
& was forced into a statement that timing of  
publication was important. He refused, pleaded  
embarrassed to answer say whether he had read  
it or not before publication. This was <sup>all</sup> thought  
by some of our boys to be very weak. I understood  
that he was being heavily pressed by Americans  
to repudiate the document!

I spoke to Ernest Davis who said G. B. was  
quite happy about it all. He repeated that he had  
written & approved the final draft.

George (the young) <sup>first page</sup> told me that 99% of the PM's  
liked the statement very good, & that the PM's line was  
break.

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (21)  
had (some) with him (pale) (7)

As to "timing", when would it have been well timed? -  
he has put it off a few days later, it would have been called  
a strike in the back of the PM.

11/6/50.

Spencer  
Socialist Conference of the afternoon. Chit saw me  
at the House & seemed <sup>very</sup> friendly & a bit (frank). I told  
him I was in the Chair at TPT House, (Chit) I  
hoped he would get something helpful & worthwhile  
out of the Conference. He showed gratification.

Mullet, who came also in France, where ~~he~~  
considers <sup>him</sup> the Schollkopf, & Van de Goy, such a  
bit of difficulty at the start by raising the question  
of some Pamphlet. That he is, he got down to  
some indications, (circulated) a list of  
suggested points for a Declaration. Trenchard  
then proposed to advise in order to give him the  
consideration. That he did so. Mr. Phillips (I told  
Mullet & Louch first to have a drink at my flat &  
then to dine at the U.S. Hotel. Louch very  
sensible, & on one side about the ~~international~~  
authority, etc. Mullet not smooth at all, & very  
unpleasant & doctrinaire.

There was a letter in respect of its conference, & meeting

DIARY

Dalton 238 18  
(22)

at all sorts of splits among Ministers.

The substance of "European Unity" is nowhere being discussed. Laniel said he had never known an important document so completely misrepresented in the Press of France, Belgium & U.S.

17/6/50.

Our Conference today agreed to a ~~few~~ pretty good declaration, which is being given to the Press tonight.

But Mr Hoffman is reported in Edg's press as having said yesterday that Laniel <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ read the European Unity, <sup>which he had previously attacked</sup> ~~which he had previously attacked~~ <sup>violently</sup> ~~violently~~ <sup>in the press before</sup> ~~in the press before~~ <sup>criticized</sup> ~~criticized~~ Laniel read it, he "it is a perfect diplomatic statement. I could pull any number of sentences out of the context and make it look like the statement was deplorable isolationism. I could also pull a number of sentences out of it which would prove that the Belgian State possessed European unity fully, and was ready ~~to~~ to join with the European Payments Union & the post-war arrangement (common).

DIARY,

Dalton

I 38

(23)

(9)

17/6/50.

M. Phillips also mentioned to me today that, not only did N.E. at last meeting (on May 24<sup>th</sup>) decide on early publication of Pamphlet, but that it did this with a view to getting it out before meeting of European Sociologists - originally proposed by G.K. to me and ~~later~~ approved by Mrs. Sab. when 24<sup>th</sup> - the date of which ~~was~~ <sup>was then</sup> ~~was fixed~~ <sup>announced to N.E.C.</sup> (Jan 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>)

now decided even delay - ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> but call the + December 2 then write.

M. Phillips also says that, having read up G.K.'s last note to N.E.C., he finds that C.K. said publish as soon as possible.

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (24) (10)

At conference only Mullet & Van de Geen (with work Dutch Delegation) criticism on Pampalet. Mr Scandinavian & Belgian followed it. And there was the off-gassing then.

18/6/50.

A ~~short~~ morning talk at conference on general question of "the authority" to run basic industries.

Mullet & Van de Geen again were alone. The rest were with us. We gave them lunch at 12.30 & I had a talk afterwards with Mr. Phillips. He spoke to Eds, & so did I later, on the telephone.

Eds reacted to the assumed that our declaration didn't commit us to a supra-national authority. He was satisfied it didn't, though he would have liked a declaration <sup>definitely</sup> of the sort he wanted. That he understood that the French & Dutch would not have agreed to this. He seemed very sleepy, (said he would like to see the formation. m.p. very late night) being in relationship with the House. He had said they

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (25) 11

to see Mr. White & message about publications (then  
Comfy - now Mr. White would. Has he had fixed  
the newspaper election - & has tried to fix one at  
Leicester in July! - without any consultation with  
Mr. or White. Mr. had put the Leicester one back  
off till Sept.

Mr. Harrison said to me before lunch that  
he wanted to come with his debate on  
Monday week & make clear that all Executive  
members shared responsibility of EU. He  
said that he & other would resist  
altering that on me.

19/6/57

Saw Chap after Cab. & GB in London

Chap after lunch. Both very stressed.

Chap says there has been movement, &

1 new not wrong. GB is early weekend

to be had over the institution & defence of  
Supranational body. He should attack Tomin or his

DIARY

Dalton I 38 1/2

(26)

20/6/50.

To Strickland with P. Jenkins, & Macmillan in connection  
of General Affairs Ctee. Return 23/6/50 after  
3 1/2 un-dramatic days, wading through Mullet's draft  
report. Several persons wanted me to make  
a statement ~~to~~ on Schuman Plan, on Labour Party  
policy, etc. That I refused.

The Report is too long & too meddlesome. Was  
it another a great retreat for Federal Affair, or  
so much in the air (lost ~~at~~ <sup>supper</sup> at first  
consultative meeting, & was the case was set up.

24/6/50.

I find a note from charged saying that Paul's  
Party, ~~was~~ judging from tone of Party meeting this  
week. And Economist says that by this one act  
I have received a large party strength which I  
had in Party before 19 Nov. 1947.

DIARY.

Dalton P 88

(27)

25/6/50.

Tomorrow 2 next day we have debate in House on Treaty  
motion on Govt attitude to Schuman Plan. Our majority may be  
very narrow, or even negative! We seem, as usual, to have a  
lot of sick. I have been heavily attacked in evening Press  
for my share of responsibility of E.U. I shall no doubt be attacked  
again in the debate. It is irritating not to be able to reply.

But for the moment it is clearly impossible for me to say anything  
publicly. I think I have very solid support in the Party, & some  
sympathy on the ground from some colleagues, especially P.M. seem  
to be trying to evade their share of responsibility. Some other  
conversations seem to think I have been deliberately playing  
to make a strengthening of my personal position. How wrong they  
are! E.U. is a first class document. Maybe a couple of  
sentences might have been put differently. When first Press  
treatment of it & continuing international transfer would bring of  
multiplicity of  
this document have been not "unfortunate"? Later would have been  
worse. Earlier, apart from printing the matter, no better.

Should we not speak the truth as we see it?

I feel sometimes in these days in charge I was living up  
through the thicket. How would speak out - on Hitler, Keenan  
etc? How would knock it all up, & muffle all the bells?  
no air force etc.

Today there is a must of sentimental multiplicity over  
"European Unity". Our E.U. has <sup>tried to clear</sup> ~~put~~ some of his up - the  
United Tribunes is very good - "One Now about the..."

But I am a bit weary of it all. Release from responsibility  
sounds very attractive. We have all been too long in office.  
There is trouble brewing over the Durham Coalfield & the  
National Coal Plan. J. Watson has written to me about this, & I to  
him P.M. & Phil N.B. I must resign on this! Sir Young  
is a nuisance. I don't forget his attitude over Petaloe - a  
mistake to build down anyone in Durham, or to  
have now Tisham or new industrial. Durham union the  
for and work in pits & Yorkshire & E. Midlands. HELL!



DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (28)

27/6/50.

Yesterday was the first of two days debate on Schuman Plan & H.C.'s attitude towards it. Tory & Liberal amendment says that we ought to take free int'l talks on the same footing as the Dutch.

Eden moves this in a clever speech. Very little reference to our pamphlet. He says Tories would agree to supra-national authority ~~if they put the right "conditions & safeguards"~~ (Lalson pamphlet.) He got a very mixed cheer on sitting down. It is clear that many Tories are very uncomfortable over their latest official party line. One Tory, Hugh Kountze, sent data in the debate that he would vote against our amendment, but not in favour of their motion. Griffiths reply was very moderate. The debate then transferred on - with

Worman & Hogg making 2nd & 3rd speeches at the end. Allen Davies is a victim of the Chamberlainian embrace. (I recall the his proposed amendment on O/C Empire in 1940.) "I should now have amended the amendment, he said - "I divided the words, I wish to make the words" "Dear morning, before (at first) said "if we have on this I could think of any better than to go to the country on." It is a strange reversal of traditional Party rules.

We consider in (at 12 noon, after an interlude in which Fish, Palfreyman & Broadbent were in the

D, H, Y.

Dalton I 38 (29)

27/6/50 (contd)

U.S. are reaching strength, & indeed not only a firm  
regard to security (commit), but a demonstration of  
leadership (capable)  
(Communist) important action in S.E. Asia, and action  
in Europe, Ind. China & Philippines.

Reaction to human-fisted communication, some speculation  
by later think. But we need agree on sufficient

U.S. in security commit, 2<sup>nd</sup> found a well-drafted  
for telegram suggesting some training house of U.S.

Foreign communication, even with some out about 5 pm  
today... They are calling Russian bluff now, & we must  
check in time with them. Only 1-2, rather

excited about lack of commit - L. E. from cabinet.

S.C. show any hesitation on 22<sup>nd</sup> point.  
Y.M. will make statement today

DIARY.

Wells & Williams would like to see a sub-  
committee with only 4 members. {attached.  
Sunderland & Williams} voted. T. Khan  
Scheme, in con.

Prime Minister

[Xerox  
-1966]

Committee on Distribution and Marketing

I had hoped that this Committee, which you appointed last April, would have been able to complete its work before the Summer Recess. But this has not proved possible. Departments have been thinking about the problems of distribution in a desultory way for many years and I have tried to infuse them with a sense of urgency. But I have become impatiently conscious of a desperate disinclination to decide, transmitted upwards by officials in more than one Department.

The attached progress report shows that we have already covered some ground and have set in train some important detailed enquiries. But I doubt whether this report is worth circulating to the Cabinet at this stage.

I am sending a copy to the Lord President, since many of our recommendations, when they take final shape, will involve legislation. I note that the Future Legislation Committee at their meeting on 10th July thought that various measures designed to protect the consumer should be held over till the new Parliament; but, as you will see from paragraph 27 of our report, my colleagues thought it might be useful to brighten the next Session's legislative programme by including some of these measures, which should be very welcome to the housewife. We need not, at this stage, decide this question of timing.

The various Committees and working parties of officials, which we have set up, are now at work. We have set them "mid-September" as the target date for their reports to us. I shall do my very best to let you have a Report for the Cabinet by the beginning of October.

H.D

27th July 1950.

P.S. We spoke of this this morning, and you said you would write to me, with copies to other members of the Committee, expressing disappointment at slow progress, and urging speed both on official sub-Committees and on our Committee when official reports are received. I should much welcome such a letter.

Dalton P 38 29a

H.D.

3/8/50

At W.L., where I had had 5 days of peace since Parliament adjourned, before going on Saturday to Strasbourg for a month's Consultative Assembly.

The Government, contrary to all my expectations in February, has survived 5 months of the new Parliament, & is now adjourned for 2 1/2 months more. And then we have the opening of the new Chamber, & in 1951 the Festival of Britain. Some were talking of going on till 1952! That I don't like. As soon as we stand a good chance of improving our position, we ought to go.

The N.E. has cleared a pretty good programme document for our Mayague conference in October. It came easier than I expected. It is delightfully in general terms, without mention of any specific new nationalisations.

The war in Korea has begun to affect people. The fear of a Third World War is becoming very real & widespread. That there is no challenge to our position supporting the U.S., under the UN banner, in Korea. The Tories are critical about defence, but haven't any important new suggestions. Shuzell is doing very much better than I expected. My personal relations with him are almost cordial! We say "good morning" at the opening of Cabinet, & it isn't

Always something breaks the peace of Summer. Pen Yan Korea! It is disconcerting that the N. Koreans are so well equipped & prepared effectively against the Yanks.

At the end of June we had a talk on Iron & Steel in Cab. The wretched Strauss, as I said, wanted to run away. He put up the possibility of our having to legislate on the Schuman Plan as an excuse for postponing for six months the voting date. John Freeman chartered me about this idea. I said I didn't like it at all. In Cab it got no support at all. Robert C.A.T., L.H. J.C., L.H. I,

& then Addison ("with reluctance") found it worse. It's said to have been a difficulty! I said I didn't like to say more than one sentence to our Strauss here to go & find a Board, & begin by sounding Steel House. At the end of July he reported that Steel House was under construction. Until we were another election, they would help in let any of their people go onto Board (I think they would).

D.H.K.Y.

Dalton I 38 (31)

3/8/50 (cont'd)

anyone in the industry who was inclined to join the Board that if he did he would forfeit all rights <sup>to all future projects</sup> in the industry. <sup>Paris news is that he</sup>  
 Cab. I said it would go well from the platform! Strauss  
 said he had a Chairman (Zur <sup>interviewed</sup> Cab. but, in Jack Handy's  
 SCAT Socialist Inductivist, <sup>? Atomism</sup>). He was told to find  
 some more.

Dining with Gilbert Phillips a few weeks ago - I like his less,  
 the more I know him, a heavy-padded self-pusher - I met a  
 Professor Brown, a scientist, I think from Oxford. He said that  
 Morgan Phillips had told him that it was his insistence which had led  
 C.R.T. to change round me & G.B. ~~also~~ just before lunch on a  
 certain day. C.R.T. had been to see him, (he had prevailed after some  
 argument. (to hear another claimant!))

C.R.T. entertained me at dinner last night at No 10, with Tony  
 & a local leader present. M. picked me out of reminiscence, I related  
 story of the dinner at the Athenaeum & Melbourne was, at the end he  
 said "you're a most extraordinary phenomenon, a socialist with wit," & I  
 replied "you're a most extraordinary phenomenon, a socialist with wit," & I  
 with intelligence. I had swept through Melbourne, he said, like a  
 tornado, (he had been hired, via locally hired to entertain me. I  
 recalled to him, afterwards, his lecture at Sydney on the Statute of  
 Westminster, & the Whistleblower who shouted at the platform, just before  
 the show started, "with the Makers at the back stand up?" And all  
 the judges did!

When he had left, I went back to Winton. After a few exchanges about  
 Strasbourg, I challenged him on his story about my first Budget & Keynes, &  
 "Hark!" "What you do hate, don't you?" he said "Ray says it's because  
 you were unhappy at school. But I was very unhappy at school, I don't  
 hate. And remember the rich are very useful, so long as they're not  
 when he rich, an immense matter." I said I had been very happy in  
 my last year at school. I had been captain of my House & enjoyed it  
 very much. (I didn't tell him Winton's story, viz. Uncle, & the  
 I had been a Tory Democrat with bitterness for Uncle's sake -  
 my beliefs in my first year at (university). That was it, really  
 a Tony story to account of my hostility)

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (32) 11

2/9/50. (Sat)

I am alone in the flat this week end, writing up  
Shanbrot's & writing letters - to Bob Kagan, with whom  
I dined last night, & with whom my friendship, though  
I see him seldom, stays steady & firm & warm, as if  
old, with fresh understanding on his side (his little  
Roselind is much stronger now), - to Milton  
Davenport, proposing to discuss with him some new  
Town he would like to be on, - to Halp Gailkell,  
now out of town, about full employment at Shantong &  
Soviet pay, etc ending

"And opportunity is carrying you forward on  
a great wave, and your future is taking  
on, more and more, the inevitable  
shape - subject to all mortal chances -  
that we spoke of, and that I spoke of  
the P.M. of, just before you took  
your present title. Good luck always!"

38 Dalton I 38

2/9/50 (contd)

(33) There is plenty of room near the top of the hill, <sup>the hill, the competition to get there.</sup> <sup>the hill, the competition to get there.</sup> <sup>the hill, the competition to get there.</sup> A very competitive profession, that of the politician.

I am feeling rather emotional, through these solitary days, about all my friends, and particularly my young friends in the Party. What does the future hold for them?

Death and terror and pain on a vast scale, or the opportunity to ~~be~~ go on building that better world, and that better Britain on which we have been labouring, with some substantial success, since 1945?

I have never wanted, or seen of my friends have, to be Prime Minister, but I enjoyed leading our team at Strasbourg and, thinking of some of them, and of millions more in our movement, I remember

Arthur Cook's prayer "God, make me worthy of the men I lead!" <sup>Someone said "as we grow older, we give more & more in the lives of others, & especially of the young."</sup> Many will come up ~~at~~ <sup>to</sup> the political <sup>arena</sup>.

I saw Sir. This morning he is very strict & <sup>he is very strict & he says</sup> "Neilson, I am convinced that we can't <sup>do</sup> anything. I am convinced that we can't do anything." <sup>He says</sup> He has lost some weight, but has his bits about him. He has been working very hard on our relations with China, not believing at all that China is a Russian satellite.

He has been in touch with Nehru, & his Ambassador in Peking, as well as our own, to assure them that he does not want to attack them, or to deny them





DIARY.

Dalton

I 38

(35)

4

2/9/50 (contd)

Eric doesn't visit Les Dwyer any more. He thinks he sees too much of Churchill, and tells him too much.

DIARY.

Dalton I 88

(36)

8/9/50

W.L.

R came yesterday. I have been rather lonely since my return from Strasbourg, though I have done some simple manual work here, which is always a diversion of the mind.

But the state of the world is horrifying. Did an Atom Race ever stop a war? We have no choice, however, but to arm, tho' you shan't be coming over.

Maybe Russian atom bombs will make an end of us, or most of us, within a few years. I think much of the younger people, those I know & am fond of, and the young in the mass, in this country and in ~~the~~ other States, especially in Scandinavia & France & Australia & New Zealand & Canada. Why can't they leave their homes, to live out their lives as best they may?

But maybe I shall survive a long time. I hate the thought of growing old & feeble, & to survive a Third War, in spite so many of the young would have died or been maimed, would be unbearable. I have been

DIARY.

Dalton P 38 (37)

2

8/9/50 (Contd)

remembering & reconstructing - poem by Graham Simpson  
which moved me much at Cambridge.

" It may be, when this City of the Nine Gates

" Is broken down by ruinous old age.

" And no one upon any pilgrimage

" Comes knocking, no one for an audience waits,

" And no bright foraging troop of bandit moods

" Rides out on the brave folly of any quest,

" But memory, the restless shadow of rest,

" Hovering upon the City broods.

" It may be then that those remembering

" And sleepless watchers on these crumbling  
towers

" Shall lose the count of those disastrous hours

" Nor with God shall have grown tired of reckoning."

in case I don't write my memories, - I should like to

I should appoint one, or perhaps two literary executors,  
(perhaps that suitable person to both literary papers &

Diary.

Dalton I 38

(38)

8/9/50 (contd)

Muller want they think fit. There is quite a stack of papers now & some quite interesting light on the position of the last 25 years.

R & I agree that we must remake our wills. We left the house, when we were both dead, to Peter & Elva without for life. But that is unfortunatly now. They have a house of their own in Sussex.

DIARY

Dalton 188 (39)

11/9/50. (Monday)

Last week at W.L. R and I discussed our Wills and other arrangements in the event of our deaths. When one is young making a Will is an easy <sup>gesture</sup> affair, and Death is a romantic and remote idea. At 63 years old, & she at 60, it is a closer & less romantic thing. "To die will be an awfully big adventure" said Peter Pan. But now I recollect Arthur Symonds' poem "It may be when this Girl of the Mine says,"

We agree to streamline our Wills. I leave all to her and all, if she dies first, to the National Trust. - Subject to King's having Rupert's letters to me, & Geoffie's Royal Letters, which my Mother left to me. Now I shall appoint two Literary Executors to complete and publish my Memoirs, if ~~not completed~~ <sup>not</sup> when I have 2 or 3 years before I die up to the time of my retirement from position, & then one to be <sup>generously</sup> paid for their time & trouble from my estate.

I ~~think~~ will ask Bob Fraser and, at R's suggestion, Tony Crossland, whom she has hardly met but of whom I have spoken much. And she likes him of having written something in defence of my poem on Chancellor in the Tribune. Bob is 45 & Tony 32; so the age spread is almost infinitesimal. Bob was one of my favourite pupils at LSE in the <sup>late</sup> 1940s, & knowing a lot about me and my life, both private & public, long before Tony became politically conscious. Still, with Bob today, I he would like very much to do it long, if I were to leave tomorrow, he would take to sleep in the background.

11/9/50. (cont'd)

Today Haff Suitskell & I leached together. S.C. is resting in the country & is seeing no papers at all. It's, very fully, is a very Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thinks S.C. is a bit hypochondriac about his health. "And he has said (near doctors)." H.S. says his own health is very good.

He is glad that Wilson Smith is soon leaving the service. He has been obstinate, resistant & almost d. Royal. Phobias, when drunk, said he was too bloody good. Leslie Rowan is to return from Washington to take his place. "A bit too pi for me. School perfect type. Captain England at Hockey etc"

But said the very good. I say I think he is at his own request. H.S. is going to Washington in October. He has never been to U.S. ~~That~~ U.S. are very difficult about finance & our recruitment. Best would be if they would supply equipment free. This would reduce diversion of our own industry.

He thinks some Minister will have to take charge of Defence Production. Would I like that? I say No.

I am quite extra to move from my present Dept. And I am keeping it with some other leading colleagues. I am to see the Minister who will be the most grateful wrangler on the Cabinet on the finance of Health Service. It's is some he ought to be moved.

What about Ministry of Labour? He thinks he would do best very well, & S. Isaacs is not much use, but S.S. regards him as his under-secretary, I would like Nye there.

I speak of Curran situation on National Executive. May rising Minister, including H.S., take to North Face at Annual Conference. He agrees that he should do something about this but can't think of it.

on Income Tax Royal Commission Lord Justice Cohen is to be Chairman, & of course he includes Kaldor, Hillier & Barbara Wootton. Not bad! Anyhow none of the really objectionable elements are to be seen.

I speak of our Full Employment Report to Strachan. He will be helpful & they is to see Robert Hall. This will fit very well. H.S. says Hall is very useful.

DIARY.

11/9/50.

Quote in Memoir, <sup>at some</sup> ~~of the~~ <sup>of the</sup> ~~first~~ <sup>part</sup>

I find very moving the story of the dying American soldier at Chancellorsville who said to the dying Stonewall Jackson "General, tonight when you meet Caesar, tell him we still know how to make war," and Stonewall's Jackson's last words "Let us cross over the river, & rest in the shade of the trees."

Dr. A. J. P. Taylor, writing in UNTS 1/15/49, who said "all men are mad who devote themselves to the pursuit of Power, when they cannot fight, or painting pictures, or simply sitting in the sun. If men were sane, there would be no history."

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (42)

12/9/50.

My (re)member... Defense Debate is an anti-Chinese.  
Winter dissatisfied by the Tories from moving a  
critical amendment to our nation. No vote and,  
it is clear, as always, no life in debate.

I ask Tom to be one of my literary executors, with  
Bob Knash. He says he would love to be, though  
he hopes it may never be necessary. I am now  
very happy with these two, when I must bring  
back the Dick Crossman, whom Tom refers to as one of the  
best backbones of our time, much less best defense  
speed so far. He can hold a horse, even with a kicking  
latter. <sup>with circumstances.</sup>

14/9/50.

Carl has to decide whether to make statement on

I & S heard today, or put it off. John Keenan

Said to me last night that (S. L. who would be  
right - I have been more delay <sup>said, I would speak to</sup>  
myself, but he has come and <sup>in tracks!</sup> <sup>that he has come to London.</sup>  
of the of the inevitable <sup>reluctant</sup> word to the  
William was frequent. That I said they had

always know it on Dalton. I think it is that he  
could really treat for ce. <sup>at least</sup> No chat said he they  
then was in all. But they was really, long in the <sup>black-</sup>  
to the room <sup>made that out.</sup> <sup>beaten</sup>

~~speech... and... <sup>with circumstances.</sup>~~



DIARY

Dalton I 38 (12)

(43)

12/9/50. (contd)

The Board might have been much worse, & it is surprising in face of Steel House boycott & intimidation, that we have got a Board at all. I think the Tories were surprised.

They were, of course, very angry & are putting down a vote of censure for next Tuesday. It will, as usual, be a close thing in the lobby. The Liberals will vote with the Tories, & we seem, as usual, to have a lot of sick. But Follick is somewhere on the way to (read) & Driberg is Korea.

If we lose, we shall certainly dissolve - though timing is awkward in view of announcements of opening of new HoP Chamber next month, with all Commonwealth Speakers present.

We have some good arguments on 17 on L Steel, but they may not convince floating voters. On the other hand, when the paper is joined, 17 on L Steel may not be the dominant issue. It seemed to attract best votes outside the 17 on L Steel centres.

Why this crisis has suddenly arisen now is because the recall of Parliament & the opportunity of joining a debate Committee with the latest date for action on the I.C. Board without postponement. This postponement would have been the heart of our Party - & been cowardice, can't hold the cat. The case for announcing now is, therefore, overwhelming because there is no tolerable alternative.

DIARY.

Dalton I 35

(44)

12/9/50. (cont)

The case to be argued at the election, apart from the fact, is on Tony's capacity to carry things rearward with justice, in respect of taxation <sup>social</sup> & expenditure, without gross hit-labour, without inflation & without precipitating us into war. "You can't trust the Tories" in a different setting.

But till Thursday we are all on the alert, & inclined to put aside hypothetical questions till we have the vote. This impossible Parliament must end sometime, & I am not sure whether, if he hangs on, he shall do better. But he may, in any case, do badly!

If Parliament had not met till October, we should have announced in the recon. & his <sup>Parliament</sup> would have come a month later. That's all.

15/9/50 - 17/9/50 at W.L.

On Saturday (16<sup>th</sup>) I had diarrhoea & a little. On Sunday it seemed all right. That night he travelled back to London, & I worked very happily till

18/9/50 I went to bed. About 6 am I had a furious bout of diarrhoea, & went to the lavatory without a dressing gown. Coming out, I fainted in the passage & fell



DIARY

Dalton I 38 (46)

Evening of 19/9/50 till evening of 27/9/50.

I lay peacefully in bed, sleeping, reading & receiving visitors, - Mike W.T. (twice), who left me his P.K.O. <sup>ms.</sup> book to read, John Freeman, Bob Kropa, Maurice Edelman, George Whetyn, Bill Picher, Geoffrey de Freitas, H.V. Sainswell, Dunstan Jay & R. Toward. My end organ brain began to work extremely well, & I wrote a good deal, - a bit of memoir on my time at Elton, and a long note on Ian Little's Critique of Welfare Economics. This, with a letter,

& laptop to Tony, I sent off the day after I came home; physically limp, but with my heart with her racing furiously just after my bump, but well controlled but irregular. Tony wrote me a nice letter from Oxford, hoping I wasn't really ill, & reporting on the Soc. Regional Conference of last week end. He is definitely leaving his room in Trinity on Saturday, & bringing all his things away. He will live in a Hotel till Xmas, & look round for something more permanent. He would find life very easy now, with a comfortable base & a good salary. John Freeman, with whom he is best friend, now told me that he wondered whether Tony should have stayed at Oxford a bit longer as a socialist, etc.

DAILY

Dalton. I 38 (47)

27/9/50

influencing the young. How would do it now? After he  
kept Tom's speeches in the House sometimes called  
"Graviton" & that perhaps he ought to be doing  
something part time in business. I will speak to him about  
this, & if he likes it, speak to Bill Piercey.

28/9/50

Preparing to go down to Margate tomorrow.

29/9/50 - 6/10/50.

At Margate. I was very weary all the time. I  
ought not to have gone so soon, ~~as health grounds~~  
from the physical health-

point of view, & I was taking on doctor's orders some  
sedative drugs that further depressed me. I cut out

all social events after dinner, & went to bed early.

I hated sitting for long hours on the platform (&  
Jim Callaghan & others said I looked ill & tired)

& I did not like the ~~form~~ <sup>running</sup> social intercourse  
much in general. But it would have been very not

had not to have gone. And I felt a great strain work  
for the Executive, because I had done nothing since I

joined it up (on conference, e.g., with HM now very early  
just where we. That from a few quick points, onto

DIARY.

Dalton P 38

(48)

29/9/50 - 6/10/50.

Int'l Section of the N.E. Report. I had 2 or 2 speech until the last morning (Friday, 6/10), when I accepted a resolution in favour of "European Unity" & our joining on the Schuman Plan, etc.

It was a great effort making this speech. I think it went over fairly well - for the last morning - & then I drove wearily back to London, & went to bed for 2 days.

I helped Tacey - & Roy Jenkins - to get in & make speeches were attracted some attention, particularly Tacey. He said his report on Prices, Prices & Wages, agreed but the Platform to be flown, was quite unrealistic. You could not get prices & cost of living rising. - for should they be arranged for wages, especially in the recent food occupations, to go up under control, & then stabilize again at a higher level. He had a very cool reception, & was at first disappointed. That last day he felt a great man, & his impression was that he had made one of his 20th century speeches of the week. He has courage & clarity.   
Phil N.B. again failed to let Redford & N.E.   
Bob Dring,

The following statement by The Right Hon. Hugh Dalton, M.P., who was unable to be present, was read by Mr. George Lindgren, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, at the opening on September 23rd of a new housing site in the Peterlee New Town.

1950

"We are met here today to honour the name and the memory of a great man, and to press forward with a great task. Peter Lee's work for the miners of this County and for our whole Community of which the miners are so important a part is known to us all. The story of his life is splendidly told by another Durham miner, our present Lord Lieutenant, Jack Lawson. Peter Lee's name will for ever be associated with the Durham Miners' Association, with the Durham County Council and with the Durham County Water Board. He stood out from any crowd, with his magnificent physique, his distinguished and commanding personal appearance. Never have I seen a man more handsome in old age. His face, so wise, and calm and brave, looks down on us from many Lodge Banners carried each year to the Miners' Gala in Durham City. I hope that by some sculpture or portrait his likeness will be immortalised in some appropriate place in the Town Centre of this New Town, which bears his name. He was a natural leader of men. Another miners' leader, Arthur Cook, prayed "God make me worthy of the men I lead". We who knew Peter Lee know that he was worthy of all who strove and suffered and endured in the long struggle of the mineworkers of this County for social justice and political/economic emancipation and a better standard of life for themselves, their womenfolk and their children.

When twenty-one years ago I first was elected to Parliament for Bishop Auckland, I became personally acquainted with Peter Lee. I admired him deeply, and I valued his friendship, and often sought his advice and guidance.

This New Town, which will arise on this wide space, in this beautiful natural setting, must be made worthy of him, and of the miners and their families who will be the majority of its inhabitants. It must be spacious and well-planned. It must be a new model of healthy and happy community life. It must have civic dignity. It must provide for the social, educational, artistic and athletic needs of all its citizens. It must be a balanced community. It must have its fair share of new light industries. It must have all modern conveniences in labour-saving houses. And here I pay my tribute to the pioneer of this New Town, Mr. C. W. Clarke who, in his striking book "Farewell Squalor", first set our minds

G.R.

working along this new line which we are following now.

In the early stages, following the designation of the New Town in March 1948, there were delays and disappointments, and some misunderstandings. When I became Minister of Town and Country Planning last February, I was determined to do all I could to speed the building of this New Town, to break through obstructions, and to secure better co-operation between all the interests concerned.

I called a Conference in London attended by Lord Beveridge, the Chairman of the Corporation, Lord Hyndley, Chairman of the Coal Board, Mr. Sam Watson as representing the mineworkers, and Mr. Sydenham, my very energetic Regional Controller. I set up a Working Party representing all these interests, and urged them to get cracking. They responded well.

I was soon able to approve, and to obtain the approval of other Government Departments, including the Treasury, for the building of a thousand houses as quickly as possible in the North Eastern Section of the designated area, with the necessary roads and sewers, and for an early start to be made with the Town Centre. The rest will follow in due course, but what is most urgent is to make a substantial beginning. That is now assured, and I am here today to lay the first foundation brick of the first new house in this North Eastern section of the New Town. In this section there is no problem of subsidence, or of sterilising coal. That is why we are starting here.

It will not be possible to build the whole of this New Town without some sterilisation of coal. But I am anxious to sterilise as little as possible, because the nation needs the coal and because I am most anxious not to cause unemployment, even temporarily, among the mineworkers.

How fast we can move from this morning's beginning depends upon the New Town Corporation. I have great confidence in Lord Beveridge and his colleagues and their staff. I will never blame them, while I am the responsible Minister, for going too fast. I will help them all I can. But I promise to chase and chivvy them if they loiter. In my experience, one of the most important duties of any Minister of the Crown is to prod the slow movers. I hope, and I believe, that in their work, they will have the confidence and support of the mineworkers. This will be their New Town, and that is why I have asked that the Chairmen and Secretaries of all the local Lodges should be invited here today, as well as Mr. Sam Watson and other representatives of the N.U.M. from Red Hill. That

/confidence



G.R.

confidence and that support will grow when the houses begin to go up, and when happy families begin to move into them.

I hope and believe too that the Coal Board will co-operate fully with the Corporation, and that any difficulties between them will be cleared by consultation locally, so that I shall not have to intervene again at the centre, and to knock people's heads together.

Last but not least, I hope and believe that there will be full co-operation with the Local Authorities, both with the County Council and the Easington Rural District Council. Both these Authorities stand to gain greatly from the creation in their midst of this New Town, with its large addition to rateable value in the area, with its powerful contribution to the housing drive, and with its new prospective industrial developments.

And you will not fail to observe that the cost of building the New Town will be carried by the nation, through funds provided by the Treasury. When its work is done the Corporation will fade out and the New Town, with all its buildings and its other assets, tangible and intangible, will merge into the County and the Easington Rural District, both of which will be much enriched by this fine piece of planning and of pioneering public enterprise. This transfer will, of course, be the subject of a financial settlement with the Local Authorities concerned. But that is in the future. Today I lay this foundation brick, as a sign of the real <sup>progress</sup> purpose which now is at last being made. I wish you all good luck and good building, and good speed on the job.

Yes, I am sure that we shall see our dream come true. The New Town of Peterlee shall arise, and grow, and be a shining example to this County, and to Britain and the world, and the name of Peter Lee, that great servant of the people, that great leader of strong men, shall be commemorated here for ever."





Diary. Dalton I 38  
30/10/50 (cont'd) (54)

At a new Health seminar Monday, I  
had with Lord Fred Peart Shaker  
the next few minutes.

I spoke to Herbert Morrison & Hilary Knowlton 2 days  
about the hold-up in the Ministerial shuffle.  
I've heard no more from C.K.K. since I spat him a  
note on how Health could be split. I take  
most of it into T2 CP 8 days ago. But I've  
heard from them - including John Freeman - that  
Nye is being very difficult & behaving very badly  
& alienating many friends & sympathisers. He  
won't touch Labour, but turned up his nose at it.  
He wants Colson, but he couldn't be trusted  
to see (a) not to waste money, (b) not to  
be carried away by his Colson prejudice, pro-  
& anti-White.

H.M. said he couldn't make out why the  
was apparently afraid of him. He ought to tell his  
to take Labour. H.M. said that the charges  
were put forward for the moment; that George Isaacs had  
told the P.M. some time ago that he'd be willing to go  
(to the Lords) at any time; that ~~the P.M.~~ he had told the  
P.M. that he should say to Nye "Labour is out" &  
that then he'd take Labour; if he resisted, it would do again  
but that's all that's known. I heard from Lord Lord John  
Freeman should be a first minister.

~~Diagrams + constituents~~

~~Work of T. Anderson~~

~~Davenport (on T. Anderson's)~~

~~with Davis~~

~~21th  
(Kiddell)~~

~~Tom  
Meyer  
Smith  
Meyer~~

30 to  
Dx

DIARY.

Dalton I 38

2/11/50.

(55)

Last night Bristol S.E. chose, & succeeded Stafford  
Anthony Wedgwood Benn, aged 25, heir to  
Old Stangate, - in preference to Arthur Cecil  
Jones, for whom Winkle has been doing his  
best, & Harold Nicholl. Voting was  
40:11:7. Very decisive!

Tony Crosland told me, ~~the story~~ in confidence,  
that he had worked this, by introducing ~~...~~,  
(whom he had known well at Oxford & through  
the most impressive undergraduate speaker of  
his time, & now was very anxious to have a  
few years in the House of Commons before  
going to the Lords) to Rev Mervyn Stockwood,  
close friend of Stafford, & Reginald in the  
Bristol S.E. Party. Winkle told me, ~~before~~  
just before going down to the

for a freshman, as follows

4. The criteria of more economic welfare.  
Pigou proposed three (a) an increase in production  
per head, (b) a decrease in inequality of incomes  
in a given period, (c) a decrease in inequality  
of a typical income through time, i.e. over a  
longer period. In each case it is assumed that  
an improvement is not offset by ~~an~~ a  
worsening under one of the other two heads.  
These have seemed to me, ever since 1912, to  
be pretty good first approximations to  
important facts, & <sup>most of my</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> based <sup>practically all</sup> ~~my~~  
~~practical politics~~ <sup>economic "policy" thoughts</sup>  
and actions on them — more production, less  
inequality, less fluctuation. I added, for  
completeness, in <sup>my</sup> inequality of incomes (d) less  
total effort and <sup>(e)</sup> less inequality of effort <sup>as between</sup>  
<sup>chapters.</sup>

55 v

I 38

Dalton

DAILY

2/11/50. (contd)

Selection Conf. that he thought he "had it all salted" for Beech Jones, but that that hasn't been sending down 3 names (- it was always safe to do that he said, & they had said they wanted

a young man & a woman as well as C-J; he was sending them W.B. as the "young man".

Tony clapped heartily at this. Obviously had heard in Bristol that <sup>he</sup> they wanted W.B.

W.B. had obviously swept the Selection Conf.; he had since said to Tony "from my opening statement I felt I had won".

But Bristol SE. was not a feat. More to send a rejected Cabinet Minister, the next day, to the other right wing & conspiring.

For they were a rebel party by tradition - expelled with Cliff in 1939, & again in 1942 when Jennie Lee stood as an independent Socialist against Lady

Alison & Arthur & under the name, & whether joined in

you know & to keep her. (It might be added

that they had felt very neglected by Cliff latterly, & all but refused to re-adapt him last time if so they would like to see in a Cabinet Minister.)



Minister

Dalwick

Have you arranged for  
Mr. Whitbynd to join  
you tomorrow morning  
for the journey?

99

Dalton I 38 (59)

3

DIARY.

2/11/50. (Contd)

Wesley Jones had also been rushing saying that he would be very pleased, as an old trustee, to represent this District Seat. No doubt it's yours back in C.J. - but he'll have to be fitted in his final election work. Discretion however will make a gap or two.

Nevertheless it is fine to let this young man in

and on

3/11/50

I wrote to him

"Dear Mr Jones,

Congratulations on your most likely to be a very fine performance at the District Selection Conference and best wishes for your political future! You will find a warm welcome on our side of the House.

I remember our meeting at Frank Parkhouse's just after the war, and have heard of you from time to time since then.

Your father will be very pleased & happy. Please remember me to him.

Yours sincerely

Hugh Dalton.

2  
Dalton J 38  
STU

PIGOU, ~~and~~ whom for long I intellectually hero-  
worshipped, <sup>(and still do a bit)</sup> had a few propositions always at  
hand linking <sup>(economic)</sup> welfare with <sup>particular sorts of</sup> economic phenomena <sup>changes</sup>.  
And these propositions were very important, for they  
were guides to economic policy. But they did  
not lead me to draw any distinction between  
"welfare economics" & other economics. ~~They~~  
~~were according to one's taste, either~~ They were,  
according to taste, either a prologue or an epilogue  
to a long course of lectures on General Principles.  
~~put them into~~ In fact, I think I usually put them  
into my second lecture out of 30!

2. What is "welfare"? Pigeon and I, and Keynes  
and <sup>Rupert Brooke and</sup> a few others, thought G.E. Moore had got it  
right, about good being indefinable, and being known  
by intuition, and attaching only (or almost  
only) to states <sup>of</sup> consciousness. ("Almost only,"  
because some of us, including myself, thought that  
some relationships were <sup>also</sup> good in themselves, ~~by~~  
over & above the states of ~~consciousness~~  
of those involved  
in relationships. E.g. R.B.'s remark quoted by me

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (58)

4/11/50.

I think we shall be beaten on Monday or Tuesday on the Address - most probably on the vote on <sup>the</sup> Liberal amendment on cost of living. And I'm afraid there's no doubt that in the ensuing election we shall be beaten rather badly. If we lose 50 seats we shall be in a minority of between 90 & 100. And we may lose more.

When we had our majority of 6 on ~~the~~ Street, ~~the~~ Winston said that if only he had kept the University seats, he should have been beaten. <sup>in the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Parliamentary</sup> Debate. And if I hadn't intervened in favour of <sup>additional</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Hansard</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>seats</sup> - <sup>Battersea, Paddington, East Ham, Reading, Gattonhead, Bristol, Bradford</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>Leeds, Leicester & the rest</sup> - he should not have had that small majority, & the Tories would. It's a pity I made that speech.

(Look at details of Memoirs!)

Tony has sent <sup>me</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> explosive piece on Thursday, his paper read to the Fabians at Oxford. It is superbly good. I've written him an appreciation & a few criticisms. His writing is very clear, firm ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> comprehensive & convincing, & ~~filled~~ <sup>filled</sup> with humour.

Some Notes on "A Critique of Welfare Economics"

1. What is "welfare economics"? I find this a most sloppy and imprecise conception. You should start by defining it, & perhaps discussing <sup>some</sup> other people's definitions, <sup>if any exist.</sup> And you should make clear what is included in "economics," but not in "welfare economics." <sup>The nearest I get to this, well on in your book, is "positive macro-economics."</sup> And ~~that is~~ I don't find that very satisfying.

Economics, I used to think, (apart from mere ~~positive~~ descriptive stuff,) covered <sup>mainly,</sup> ~~such things as~~ the ~~explanation of~~ study of <sup>(a)</sup> the working of various processes, e.g. the determination of prices, and relative prices, in various situations, and ~~the~~ <sup>(b)</sup> the causes of changes in production, in distribution and in steadiness ( & hence in employment, <sup>investment,</sup> etc.) All this <sup>effectively</sup> could be discussed without any reference to welfare. But, influenced by the great

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (59) 11

5/11/57 (Sunday)

I am in very much improved physical form these last few days. And time too! I can begin to do my fair share of political grind again, including a week-end of speeches in Lancashire next week-end.

But these last few days have been very disturbing. First, the odds seem to be that we shall be beaten in one or other of the amendments to the King's Speech tomorrow in Thursday. We have too many sick and that Gladys Dring is still away, unpaired & unshowered. If we lose <sup>much</sup> these divisions, we shall go to the country at a bad time of year and at a bad political moment, & shall lose pretty heavily. Then, having a weak coalition, 5 years of Tory rule. And a lot of our best young M.P.'s will go down in the battle (at the polls, & if we lose, more still in that!).

Next, & perhaps worse, China seems to be intervening more & more in Korea, - and Indo-China, - & Malaya - & Tibet. We are being taken on by something very formidable here, & being diverted ~~to~~ & pinned down far away from Europe.

Last week, visiting with Maurice Edelstein at Pennine,

1. Saw Lady Van, & Wilt La Van, whom I had

DIARY.

7/11/50.

I made my first speech in new House  
writing up against 3rd Amendment. I was in  
melting pot, I was in M.P.'s time very pleasant.

We have won all three critical divisions on the Address,  
- housing, cost of living and permanent contracts + steel  
+ road hauliers. Majorities of 10, 15 & 10! ✓ 3 Libs  
abstained on their own C of C and. Tories had  
as many sick as we. T. Drikey returned in  
time for third only of the 3 divisions. He has  
been away in Korea, Japan & Malaya for 3 months,  
unpaired & much used & dodged the Party (as far as  
Mangate. <sup>He should not have been allowed to stand for E.C.</sup> There is great indignation among M.P.'s  
against him. He may think the whip should be  
withheld from him. He has certainly put the life  
of the Govt in greater danger, & has been absent,  
making nothing & doing no ~~work~~ <sup>work</sup> (no doubt enjoying  
himself, while other hats have been brought along on  
black men & for Larkins to V.P.C.

Anyhow the Govt will go on now for some months  
at least. But the tide is running against us  
- especially on cost-of-living and the cost of housing.  
We must inject new issues, or lose  
heavily whenever the election comes.  
At Tony's suggestion, I redoubled my efforts on Harold

Dalton I 38  
60

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (61)

9/11/50

Wilson on Resale Price Maintenance. T leans toward his own opinion, <sup>dislike me & H.G. (2 or 3.)</sup> on Cabinet view on <sup>Marketing</sup> Marketing, & our pressure for a strong policy. Younger Ministers, notably

Alan Meale, T says, are very keen on taking a policy. How now pressure, after <sup>a period</sup> ~~my~~

pressure by me, written to Lord, to produce a paper by the time I come back from Strasbourg.

This might be an important ~~statement~~ with ~~him~~ if he felt that it is an important price cut.

13/11/50

A dreadfully bad debate on the Council of Europe! We have neither redeemed our pledge to go over to Latin Europe & debate is our fault!

We go to Strasbourg this week.



DAILY.

Dalton I 38 (62)

13/11/57.

Last night saw 1 meeting 3 speeches in Liverpool.  
~~at~~ - Bolton (Deputy Conference region), Stratford &  
Liverpool. Audience quite good, but some speakers  
very defensive. We must go out & combat them!  
ES put responsibility for steel housing  
program at Liverpool on Tory Council who  
had not built up to their ability.

My Boss at Bolton, praising me, said  
"The right ~~wing~~ say he's left wing, and  
the left ~~wing~~ say he's right wing,  
but I know he's in full flight  
towards socialism on both <sup>his</sup> wings."

I like that!

DIARY.

15/11/50. Jim told me at Stranborough that it would be Freeman who did not see T.D. last night. T.D. came into the room at 10-30 pm & saw a group consisting of C. Gorman, Desmond Kelly, P. O'Connell & Jim. Like other men there & had T.D. with him.

T. Driscoll is castigated at Parliamentary Party meeting.

"Loss respect of his Parliamentary duties." Only 50% support voted against. He is a free abstainer. A further proposal by the Liaison Office that his name be reported to National Executive was defeated by 75 to 64.

He made an apology, without much explanation, & this was wise. Evidently John Freeman, who was offensive to him, had advised him last night. Yesterday afternoon he had argued for his case before the Liaison Office.

Jim Callaghan - now in a very strong reality; recall his half speech made at Stranborough last summer - proposal to eliminate the refer to N.E. why? (I shall have this written in Stranborough.)

Even Party is always rather weak on a personal case. just can't understand how Driscoll 3 months absence, impaired, & in 36ing did his candidature for N.E. have a shocking example!

Coal paper of Cat show that March more serious. Coal paper for last 6 weeks is less than for corresponding weeks last year; that industrial demand is steadily rising & that in the coming 3 months with a coal crisis in early 1957. Phil wants nationality to impact coal for U.S. but he must hesitate. I write a strong letter to N.E. on this subject (copy to Jim).

Da. Nov. I 38 (63)

Letter to P.M.

15/11/50.

Dalton

I 38

(69)

[Xerox copy in correspondence]

I leave tomorrow morning on for Dover, for Strasbourg, returning in about 10 days time.

The coal situation, as revealed in the latest Cab paper, is really shocking, and the recent fall in output most disturbing.

We shall be beaten very badly, if there is a second coal crisis early next year - it will only take three last by-elections to blot out our precarious majority - and coal nationalisation will be fatally discredited as well.

Therefore, most reluctantly, I conclude that we must accept the ignominious proposal to import U.S. coal, & I trust the Cab will say "Yes" to this without more ado. And exports must be cut: we must keep the home fires burning domestic industrial, as a first priority.

If we can hold the line a few months longer, I think we can stage a counter-attack.

Resale Price Maintenance, or some I am guessing Harold Wilson to move boldly ahead of his tired, timid & time-saving official advisers, might be a Panacea. A paper on this is to be ready for my Ctee on Marketing & Dist<sup>n</sup> on my return from Strasbourg. And there are other counter-attacks possible.

(T.O.) But a

Coal crisis in early 1951 will wreck everything.

We shall be finally discredited on a fact, and  
broken & demoralized as a Party for all the useful  
years that you & I have left, & our young  
men, in whom I well see hope, will be massacred!

Yours ever

HP

DIARY.

Dalton I 38 (65)

30/11/50.

After several bad days' news from Korea, & a general sense that the British position was not sufficiently strongly put at Washington, he was in the second day of the Foreign Affairs debate. Morale of the Parliamentary Party very low. Then this afternoon, it came over the tape that Truman had said that they were actively considering using Atom Bomb against Chinese Communists. (Latham & Hepburn reacted with some under-the-table Field. This had spread considerable among our back benches who began sipping round tables in favour of withdrawing our troops from Korea if A Bomb was dropped.

Mye 21 spoke. He said he had told Alan he wanted to fly out to U.S. to see Truman. He suggested that he could see ~~my~~ about this. I said I didn't like this. I would talk CRT. Dineck. So I talked him a while, & sat on the bench while he read it. We then spoke, & he said he would see Egan, & run out of the House like a rabbit. At 1.45 Special Cts. All ~~understanding~~ that he would fly 2 say de tonight.

Egan's full of resignation, & tried to stop him saying it tonight. Because he didn't see Truman's appointment in time. But the British this is P.

Announcement very well received in House, following from Lord Boyd's speech; morale of our back benches, with a few exceptions

DIARY.

Dalton I 38. (66)

9/12/50.

We are at W.L. for the first time since well before my last visit to Skarboms, with all the emotions ~~that~~ (and malaise) that smote me there, & went on afterwards, up to & including ~~the~~ last week <sup>and</sup> of Hitler. Weariness, sleeplessness, brooding fear of the Third War, & the death and destruction of all I care for, & I've tried to help & to build.

Olga has been very ill & is in a nursing home. No wonder poor Michelson seemed frustrated & edgy even last week-end, when she spoke of going to Canada up to London on a cold Sunday night - as she did. <sup>on the</sup> Saturday she had walked <sup>with</sup> briskly, <sup>like</sup> me, & we had jogged down hill to Bascot.

The Americans have been beaten by the Chinese & Korea. That is the deep fact that can't be shifted. ~~Ch. A.'s~~ <sup>Ch. A.'s</sup> ~~visit~~ visit to Washington was clearly indispensable at this time, & I hope has done much good. But Europe is very dangerous, & <sup>west</sup> Europe very weak, both materially & morally. The Russians, in view of this, & of the Chinese success, may decide that this is the time to strike in Europe, or in the Middle East. The coming retreat of the Germans <sup>may</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>made</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>pretext</sup>, or even the announced intention to arm them. Kaldor <sup>is</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>yet</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>all</sup> <sup>clear</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>his</sup> <sup>mind</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>my</sup> <sup>last</sup> <sup>visit</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>him</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>Bascot</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>1949</sup>. But Gladys, who has done his best with the War at Church, doubts or records that, unless

DIARY

Dalton I 38 (67)

9/14/50 (2)

everything is peacefully settled soon, which leads most military  
his estimate is that Russia & her satellites will withdraw  
from V.N. and, with China, form a new International of  
type, counting at the start more than half the population of  
the world, and appeal to others, especially Asians,  
to join. This would be a very powerful magnet  
to many. "It is bound to come in 1957," said  
Van to me - already recorded. Only 3 more weeks  
till 1957 dawns.

Fair progress last on Resale Price  
Maintenance - a pretty good interdepartmental  
Working Party and a fair, though tired  
& a bit timid, version of Harold Wilson.

I show Tony the papers, & he gives  
me a first class brief - told & lucid  
& honest. Mr. Lat will be made good  
impression.

H.W. & I me to make a paper to  
the - let next month. Some party in  
the with a new injection. Some more interest  
from a (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)





DIARY

Dalton I 38 (69)

20/12/50. (contd)

have a try, - Equalisation Grants & other financial relations with Local Authorities, and strengthening Local Govt, things I wouldn't rush action here.

Health Service alone to be under new Minister of Health. I promised John Freeman, but Ch. thought that, to maintain balance between Trade Unions & Mining, since Isaacs would be leaving, it should be Roberts. I agreed that he was very able & promising. Ch. & I ~~said~~ but regarded George Brown as Tom Williams' successor, & agreed that it would be a mistake to move him from Agriculture. Tom Steele might be looked at again sometime, he agreed.

Both good young Trade Unionists were scarce. Tom Finner was disappointing, but he got the 5.5% for all that. (I think Hq. will be pushed Roberts. He had his own Puller at Fuel & then I am sorry about Freeman, but more in connection with some.)

I said that I was planning a paper on London and also a paper on mining, Ch. said that he would like to see her big long way.

DIARY

20/12/50.

Dalton P 38 (70)

In continuation of yesterday, Jim Callaghan told me that he found many of his party members, particularly the older ones, very unhappy about our present international policy. They didn't want war with Russia, were now not at all sure that we ought to have gone with Korea, were upset by the atomic situation there, and had been still more upset by Truman on the Korean Bank through CIA hadn't been strong or outspoken enough at Washington. I generally feared that he had become a satellite of USA & lost our independence & were being dragged into war.

For the first time he didn't feel he carried most of the meeting with him. <sup>Conf. thing</sup> Some time ago about a Delegate meeting in his constituency. <sup>it's clear that dissatisfaction</sup> I believe are proving rather good in the Party.

CIA. Said yesterday that he thought Stalin would be very cautious in moving. He would like to see U.S. bogged down in war with China which ~~is~~ is also rather a threat to him.

DIARY.

Dalton 238 (71)

31/12/50.

New Year's Eve.

AT W. L.

R and I have been here for 10 days, over Christmas. It has been a cold, colourless season, with the ground frozen too hard to do much work in the garden, though he has planted one Sorbus Villosa in what I plan as a Sorbarium, and 3 Stranvaesia Davidiana Scalicifolia at the east end of the Lower Terrace. I hope they won't all be frozen dead! <sup>But this is our first new plant</sup> In fact, now we must keep it up.

I found, as always when I spend more than a week-end here, Great Peace. The danger of Third War in our time is, indeed, hideous and seems to be growing, and is already greater than at any time since the last. And I am not at all happy about the way W. Graham Reamman is being handled (see my correspondence with C.N.A.).

But, as I write to H.E. & also to Roy Jenkins lately, political and economic situations change so fast & so often, that it is, bad form to moan. We must just do our best, flat though that sounds.

I spoke to C.N.A. about changes in distribution of Memorial Duties before coming down here for Christmas, & said (my talk is already recorded) that I was quite

DIARY

3/12/50 (21)

Dalton I 38 (72)

content that Stokes should take Housing & 1 Unit rest  
of <sup>Ministry</sup> Ministry of Health apart from the Health Service.

But then he wrote to say that he'd seen Keville, who  
advised strongly against <sup>separating</sup> ~~dividing~~ Housing from the  
Local Govt matters. So Clark thought he'd better  
stick to the original idea that I should take  
Housing as well. I wrote back that I was

quite willing to cover work closely & easily  
with Stokes, but that if I took all this, I should  
change my title to "Planning & Local Govt", rather

than Ministry of Health or any H.C., & perhaps allow  
Sheepshanks to handle the Health Service & take with Douglas.

(And it still remains to shift Nye!)

Bill Pacey came to lunch, our only visitor in  
10 days, but this isn't the time of year, when visitors  
see this place at its best. Bill is <sup>in the weather</sup> ~~in the weather~~ <sup>less fat</sup> and  
therefore better looking. He has various new  
I.C.F.C. ideas in the fire, including ~~some~~ <sup>Company</sup> ~~old~~

Shares in private companies to help payment of Debt Duties  
- this, he says, could easily & conveniently be administered  
later - and another, with some insurance Company



DIARY.

Dalton

I 38 (74)

31/12/50. (61)

I have had great enjoyment reading Bowdell's  
London Journal 1762-3, just published by the  
Americans. A most attractive character, though  
often acting a part (introd<sup>d</sup> p 15) & often lying  
& often feeling inferior. His Cassivianism is  
delightfully frank & <sup>admission</sup> (Pearl Wilson Hand is  
Spectator said these passages should have  
been cut out; this will have sold the book!!)

R suggests as a topic for Historical Research  
"What caused the decline & fall of the London  
Coffee House & the appearance of the 'Leisure'?"  
He are the papers without them.

Tomorrow I go back to London.

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