

# PEACE and HOMES

## Wm. GALLACHER'S APPEAL TO THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

I SHOULD like to say to the hon. and gallant Member for Sudbury (Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton), who is not now in his place, that he is wrong about Communists being frightened. They are not frightened; on the contrary, it is the capitalists and their spokesmen who are frightened. When we get Tory leaders, Labour leaders, Liberal leaders, the churches of all denominations, the Press, the radio, and every organ of propaganda directed towards slanders against Communists, that does not denote strength, but fear bordering on panic.

*The Speech made by Wm. Gallacher, Communist M.P. for West Fife, in the House of Commons in the Debate on the King's Speech, Oct. 27th, 1948*

The other day, I read in one of the London papers that Mr. Marshall was in Europe busily organising the anti-Red forces. "Stand up, the anti-Reds." In the process, Mr. Marshall has been issuing selected quotations from Marx and Engels. The Foreign Secretary has used them, the Minister of State has used them, and the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Hollis) used them today. What brazen impudence for a disciple of Ignatius Loyola to accuse me, a disciple of Karl Marx, of duplicity. This brazen impudence is only equalled by that of the hon. Member for Rugby (Mr. W. J. Brown) who stands here and claims to represent Pagan and Christian morality, against the alleged immorality of Marxists.

With regard to the Government programme, I must say that it is not a programme of Socialism and peace. It is a programme of capitalist war preparation. It is not what the people want, or what they voted for. How much better it would have been had our representatives in Paris been free to support the Soviet Union proposals for cutting down armaments and abolishing the atom bomb.

**Mr. Baxter:** And the Secret Police?

**Mr. Gallacher:** The hon. Member for Wood Green (Mr. Baxter) is talking about M.I.5 now. If that proposal had been carried, a deep heartfelt sigh of relief would have gone through the whole world, but the Leader of the Opposition wants the Americans to use the atom bomb, and so does the hon. Member for Wood Green. It is to be used upon defenceless cities, where it could destroy millions of human beings in the most horrible manner. It could burn the flesh from their bones and burn their bones to powder. Nero was an

THE WAR DANCE



"These war preparations are being directed from Washington against the advance of Socialism in Europe."

intelligent humanitarian compared with these decadent spokesmen of a decadent and dying system. The Foreign Secretary says that these proposals put forward by the Soviet Union were propaganda. If that is true, they are good propaganda. I only wish that the leaders of the Labour movement in this country would indulge in a bit more of that propaganda.

No country in the world has more reason to hate war and desire peace than the Soviet Union. The devastation and loss of population which the Soviet Union suffered in the last war is enough to last that country for ever. Never can they want to have any more war. No country needs peace more than this country. If we are to provide the people with homes and the workers with wages that will enable them to enjoy a happy and prosperous life, if we are to increase the pensions to the old folk in order to guarantee their security, we can only do these things by following the path of peace and not by preparations for war. America has not experienced war and does not know what war means. As a matter of fact, out of two world wars, America has built up an enormous mass of wealth at the expense of the countries of Europe. Can anybody deny that?

Today, America is whipping up propaganda and preparing forces for a third world war, but again it is to be a war on the cheap for America. America will provide the dollars while the people of this country and Western Europe will provide the casualties. Why has not the war already been launched? It is not because of the lack of will or desire on the part of the Americans, but because the

#### MIND YOUR POCKETS



Cost of the armed forces is equal to a charge of 24s. a week from the average family, paid in the form of purchase tax and taxes on food, drink, and tobacco. Every increase in cost of armed forces and armaments comes out of the pockets of the people and is in fact a wage cut.

### WHO PROFITS FROM WAR?

SOVIET UNION		UNITED STATES
<i>Losses in Human Life in Second World War</i>		
7½ million civilians	soldiers and	270,000 killed
<i>Physical Destruction Suffered</i>		
1,710 cities,	70,000 villages	
31,500 factories		
4,100 railway stations		
40,000 hospitals		
100,000 State and collective farms		Nil
200 million head of cattle		
26 million people made homeless		
<i>Profits from War Contracts</i>		
Nil		52,000 million dollars

people of this country and the rest of Europe are not yet ready to offer themselves as sacrifices to the Moloch of American capitalism. It is the job of Marshall's marionettes to get the people ready, but they will fail.

I read on Sunday in *Reynolds News* that, after a week's recruiting campaign in Woking, led by the Minister of Defence, they got one recruit. It was, according to *Reynolds*, "a complete flop." The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, who, when he was of military age refused to fight for British capitalism, recently went, of all places, to Keir Hardie's old constituency of Merthyr Tydfil to make a recruiting speech and to ask the lads to fight for American capitalism. The miners refused to listen to him. At a football match in Luton, the hon. Member for Luton (Mr. Warbey) and the Conservative candidate for the division, got up to make recruiting speeches and the irritated, angry football supporters shouted them down. A short time ago, the Minister of Defence himself, at Southend, was shouted down at a meeting of his own Labour Party representatives.

I wish to appeal to Members of the Labour Party, and to warn them. It is my honest belief, from what I find in the country and in this House that the Labour movement is being led along the wrong road—it is being led away from the working class. If Soviet propaganda is good, what is to be said of the propaganda we are getting from the leaders of the Labour movement? It can only be described as awful. For instance, we are told that in those countries where there is no capitalist class, where it has been eliminated, there is slavery. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, when in Paris, went all out on that theme—where there is no capital class there is slavery; where the capitalist class is supreme there are freedom and democracy. That is Tory propaganda.

Mr. Baxter: It is also the truth.

**Mr. George Thomas** (Cardiff, Central): He believes that.

**Mr. Gallacher:** In Hitler Germany, they burned the works of Marx and Lenin, but in America they have a more cunning method. There, twelve Communists have been charged, although no offence of any kind, other than that they read and accept the teachings of Marx and Lenin, has been made against them. If the Americans can get away with this it will mean that the works of Marx and Lenin will be outlawed, and that it will be a crime to possess them. I want to ask the Labour leaders, who recently published a centenary edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—in the foreword of which they declare that “the Labour Party desires to pay its tribute to Marx and Engels as two of the men who gave inspiration to the whole working-class movement”—whether they will protest against these trials. The Foreign Secretary has said that Russia is the only imperialist country. That, also, is Tory nonsense. I will, once again, give a definition of imperialism. I have given it in this House before, but one should never be weary of well-doing. Imperialism is capitalism in the stage of monopoly when the export of capital is essential for the maintenance of economy. If hon. Members do not wish to take my word for it, they should surely take the word of Hobson, who has studied the matter very carefully and seriously, and has produced a very good work on it.

Everyone, however much they may resist that definition, can understand this, that wherever capital, as distinct from goods, is exported, there must always go with it political and military control in order to protect it. That applies to the Dutch in Indonesia. I would like to hear a Labour Member of Parliament, or even a Tory Member, trying to persuade a meeting of working-class people in this country that Dutch financiers in Indonesia were there in the interests of the Indonesians. The same applies to the French in Indo-China, to the British in Malaya, and to the Americans in Britain. American capital comes to Britain and American forces follow. Do not be taken in with the idea that they are here simply for the purpose of war against the Soviet Union; they



The workers are being urged to “work, work, work and do not think”—but men and women who could be making goods needed by the country are kept in the armed forces. By next March there will be nearly 1½ million either in the Services or working for them.

are here to protect American capital from the Socialists in Britain or in any part of Europe. The leader of the Opposition said at the Conservative Party Conference that the Soviet Union should withdraw its forces behind its own frontiers. That is where they are except for the troops who are under Four-Power control. But America has bases in Newfoundland, Greenland, Iceland, North Africa, the Near East, the Far East, the South Seas, up to the Aleutian Islands, and in Britain. Let the Americans withdraw their forces across the Atlantic and Europe will live in peace and advance along the road to Socialism.

The Mover and the Seconder of the Address referred to the conditions that existed in the period between the wars. That is a favourite propaganda theme of Labour Members of Parliament, and a very good one. Indeed, I myself have used it on many occasions. But look what happens. The Board of Trade issues a report and tells us that if the Labour Government had been left to their own resources we should be in a worse position today than ever existed during the period of depression, and that there would be mass unemployment, and that the whole of the people, not only the unemployed, would be down to a starvation diet. That is not Socialist propaganda; that is Tory propaganda.

**Mr. Birch:** All the same, it is true.

**Mr. Gallacher:** It is Tory rubbish.

**Mr. Scollan:** It came from a Tory source.

**Mr. Gallacher:** Morgan Phillips in the *Daily Herald* says the young people should ask Dad about the conditions between the wars and from what they are being saved by the Labour Government. But, according to this story, it is not the Labour Government who are saving the people from this tragic fate—it is the American capitalists. Does anybody on

**WHO WANTS TO DOMINATE THE WORLD ?**

*Life*, the American magazine, published a map in April 1947 of the future American Empire. These are the countries it includes:

North Pole	Germany	India
Canada	France	China
Mexico	Italy	Indonesia
South America	Spain	Australia
Norway	England	New Zealand
Sweden	Africa	South Pole
Belgium	Near East	
Holland	Middle East	

this side of the House believe that, or is going to advocate it?

**Mr. Birch:** They have said so.

**Mr. Gallacher:** That is what one is supposed to be doing when one is boosting Marshall Aid. The Mover of the Address said that he only wished that Russia would for once say "Yes." That is an entirely wrong suggestion to make. What good Labour men ought to be asking is, when is the Foreign Secretary going to say "No" to Marshall and to American capitalists? That is the question.

**Mr. Baxter:** Would the hon. Gentleman explain why Russia should not say "Yes" to something.

**Mr. Gallacher:** As a matter of fact, the Russians have been saying "Yes" on quite a number of things, and it is the Foreign Secretary who has been saying "No"—not to Marshall and company, however, but to the proposals of the Soviet Union. Without Marshall Aid there would be no need for unemployment. Without Marshall Aid we would be saved from very heavy military commitments, and the Labour Government would be forced to make a frontal attack on the Tories and the capitalist class and cut down profits and prices.

I read in *Reynolds News* the Sunday before last a story of a lad who took two of his pals into a West End restaurant for dinner, and the bill for the three of them was £25 and some shillings. That is going on all over the place in the West End of London, and if there were no Marshall Aid the Labour Government would immediately have to put an end to this waste of the wealthy. Everything that they did would have to be organised and used for the people who do the work. While this waste is going on we are getting appeal after appeal to the miners and other workers to put greater effort into their jobs—"Work, work, work, and do not think." That is what the Attorney-General said at Paris. But it applies here, and not where it was directed. There is a limit to the strength of the miner.

I attended a conference of miners last Sunday. I heard one delegate say, "In 1940 we were asked to make a special effort. We made it. Then appeal after appeal has been made to continue the special effort, until the special effort has become the normal recognised working condition." And now a new special effort is being appealed for on top of the original special effort. While that is going on, while miners and other workers are being asked to put all their effort into the job, we had the cynical spectacle yesterday of wealth and pomp, tiaras and ermine flaunted before the eyes of the people, many of whom find it very difficult to get ordinary clothing, even utility clothing; who

#### WHY THEY HAVE MARSHALL "AID"



The Government gets dollars and materials from U.S.A. and provides dollars and materials for the armed forces who use them for purposes "directed from Washington". On February 2, 1948, Mr. G. Wigg, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of War, told Parliament that the Government had spent £1,500 million in dollars on the armed forces between July 1945 and January 1948.

find it impossible to get homes, and who are finding it increasingly difficult to get the rations necessary for the heavy work which they are doing.

I appeal to the Labour movement, before it is too late, to turn away from this policy of war and to pursue the path of peace. These war preparations are being directed from Washington against the advance of Socialism in Europe. Whatever happens, this I can say, that I and my comrades of the Communist Party will keep high the blood-red banner of the working class.

"It suits today the weak and base  
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place  
To cringe before the 'dollar frown'  
And haul the sacred emblem down."

I agreed with the Leader of the House when many years ago he said that "we must keep our internationalism intact." I agree with that today. I and my comrades of the Communist Party will never cringe. We will keep our internationalism intact.

#### Join the Communist Party

For details, apply to 16 King Street,  
London, W.C.2, or your nearest Branch  
or District Office.