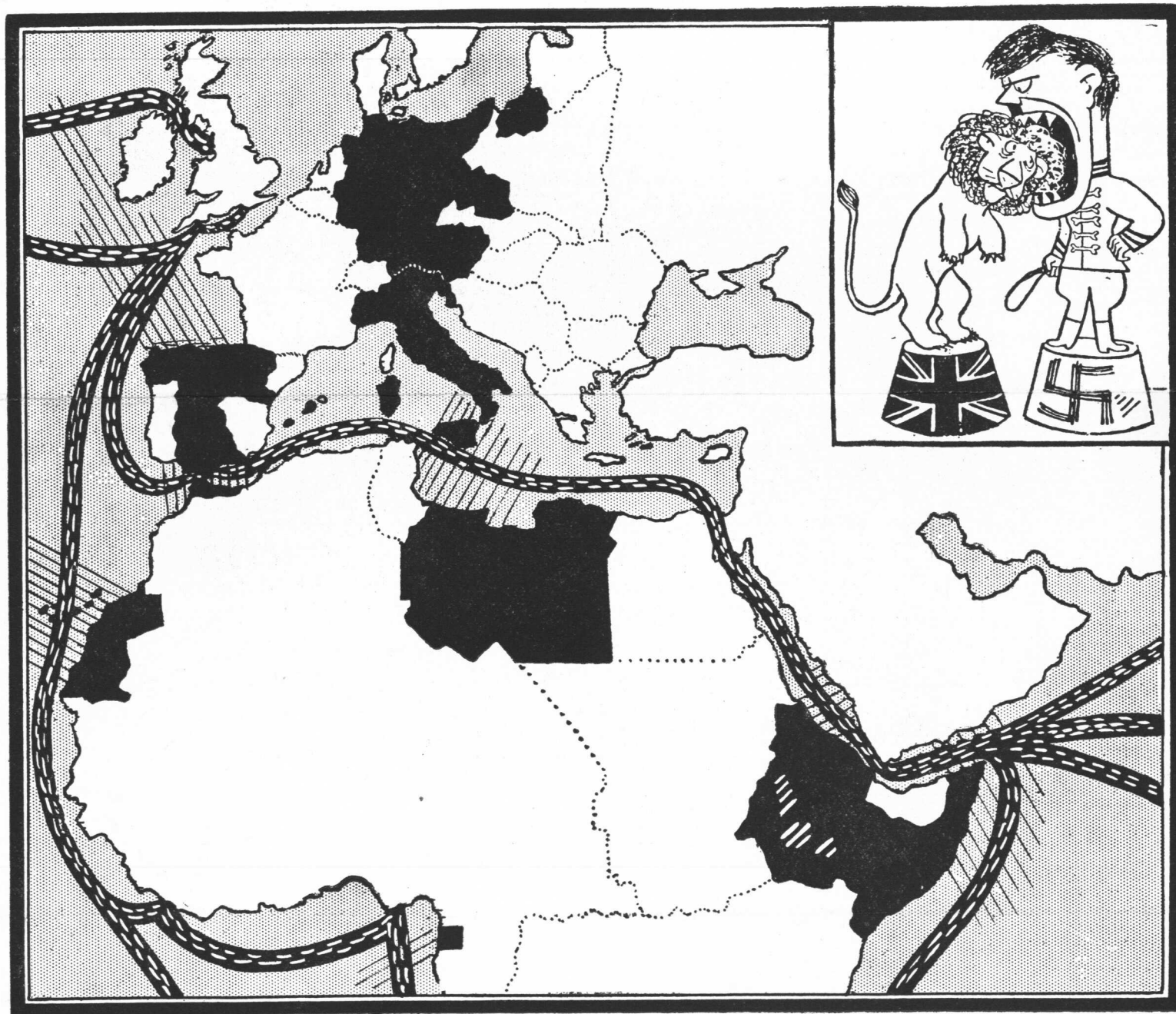


We CAN Have Peace and Strength

BUT NOT WITH A GOVERNMENT WHICH
HAS NEGLECTED OUR DEFENCES AND
BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF WAR



THIS MAP speaks for itself. It shows how Britain's trade routes, the arteries along which most of our food is brought to us, are threatened by Germany and Italy. The black patches, including Franco Spain and its colonies, are territories under the control of Hitler and Mussolini. Our route through the Mediterranean to India, Australia and New Zealand is threatened at three points; aeroplanes and submarines from Franco Spain can attack our North Atlantic shipping; and the Western route to South Africa is in danger from the Canary Islands and Franco's colony, Rio de Oro. This is the state of danger to which seven years of "National" Government has brought us.



A POLICY OF "APPEASEMENT" ?

WHAT is "Appeasement"? It seems to mean letting the dictators grab whatever they like, under the threat of force.

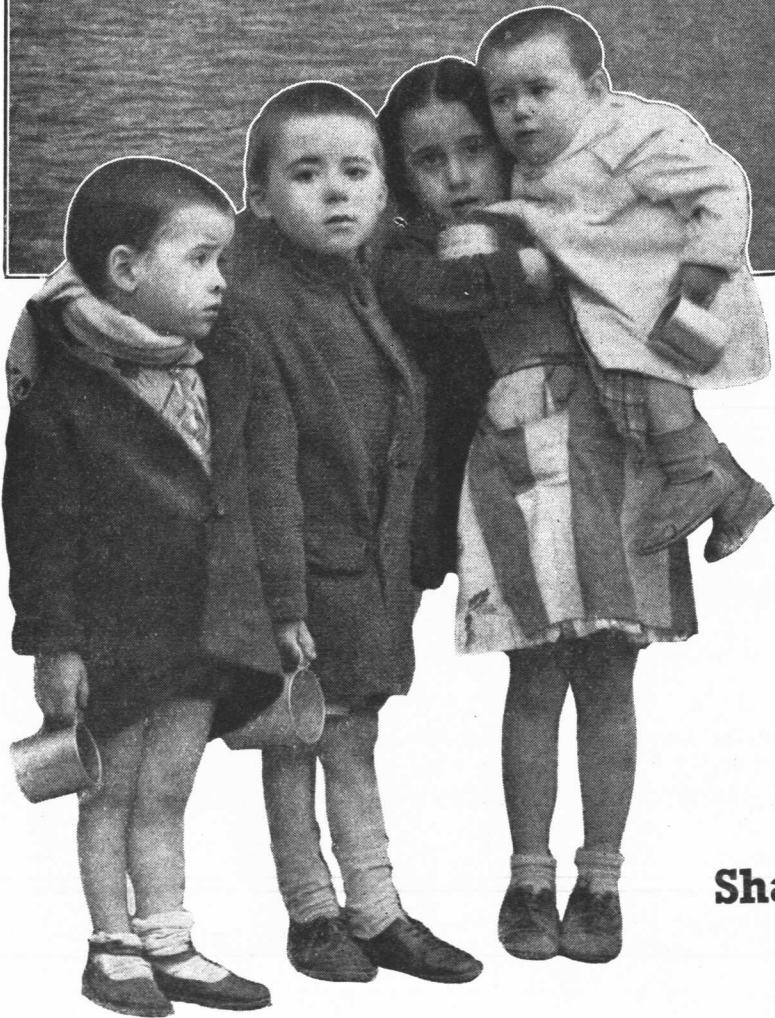
Since Munich Hitler has taken much more than he was granted there. There is no independent Czech democracy any longer.

If Mr. Chamberlain and the French had told the Czechs in May that they would not fight for them against Hitler, the Czechs could have bargained with Hitler for better terms. They need not have lost almost all their industries, as they have.

Mr. Chamberlain is Prime Minister, not Foreign Secretary, but he is trying to run foreign affairs as a part-time job. This meddling and muddling is bringing us into great shame and danger.



A British cargo boat, bombed by one of Mussolini's planes, blazes under the eyes of a British destroyer.



Many British Ships Bombed Since Munich

The Spanish Government has withdrawn all its foreign volunteers from the war. Mussolini has taken out 10,000 sick, wounded and weary men; he still has over 60,000, and many air squadrons in Spain. "Non-intervention" is a one-sided farce.

Franco (which means Hitler and Mussolini) is already working an illegal blockade of Republican Spain's food supply, and seizing neutral ships on the high seas. Now his friends in Britain want to bring the pirate within the law, by granting him "belligerent" rights.

Shall Millions of Spanish Children Starve to make Spain Safe for Mussolini ?

2

IN THIS Manifesto the National Executive of the Labour Party calls on the people of Britain to demand a supreme national effort for Peace. This can be made only under a Labour Government which will give unswerving support to the rule of law throughout the world

TWENTY years after the Great War, in which a million British lives were lost, the "National" Government has brought us once more to the brink of war and surrendered almost everything which our countrymen paid a terrible price to preserve.

In the recent crisis "Some people suggest," said the Attorney General at Oxford, on October 13, "that the Prime Minister followed a policy of peace at any price, but there can be no greater contradiction of the actual facts. He made it perfectly plain that, if terms were to be dictated which Czechoslovakia rejected, we were ready to put the matter to the arbitration of war."

War, therefore, was averted, not by Mr. Chamberlain, but by Dr. Benes, who accepted, under pressure of brutal threats, the cruel sacrifices demanded by Herr Hitler.

The crisis is not over. We are back in 1914. The League of Nations has been reduced to impotence; the system of mutual and collective security among the peaceful nations has been shattered; Russia has been cold-shouldered by the Western Powers; Europe, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, is now dominated by Germany; freedom of communication through the Mediterranean has been endangered; even in the Far East, unchecked aggression is extending the power of military dictatorship.

The whole standing of our country in the world has been gravely damaged. British ships are bombed and British seamen killed and mutilated with impunity; British interests in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Far East, are being sacrificed without heed to the consequences; British diplomacy has suffered a series of shattering defeats in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia; Great Britain has abandoned her historic position as the champion of freedom and of the rights of small nations, and thereby has thrown

away the respect and the support of many nations and peoples.

If Spain were now to be sacrificed, with the connivance of Mr. Chamberlain, to the predatory aggression of Hitler and Mussolini, not only would democracy once more have been betrayed, but France would be encircled and the security of the British Commonwealth exposed to new and grim perils.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

SINCE the Great War, seventeen years out of twenty have been years of Conservative or predominantly Conservative Governments with large majorities. Only three were years of Labour Government, and those Labour administrations, though in a minority in the House of Commons, were the only ones which seriously attempted to remove the causes of war and to strengthen the League of Nations.

In every declaration which it has made on foreign affairs the Labour Party has consistently pursued the aim of building and maintaining a peaceful and prosperous world. It has constantly urged that justice and conciliation should be the basis of British policy.

Time after time events have proved it right, but its advice has not been heeded.

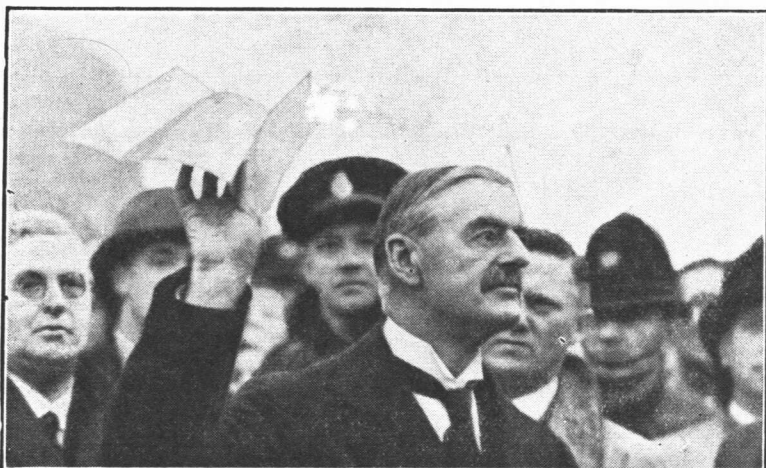
Since 1931, the "National" Government has commanded an overwhelming majority in Parliament, and therefore must bear full responsibility for the present dangerous situation.

In 1932, the "National" Government, by its obstruction of all constructive proposals made by many nations, had the principal responsibility for wrecking the World Disarmament Conference.

What Are Hitler's Promises Worth as a Basis for Peace?

Up till this year, Hitler and his gang kept promising that they would always respect Austria's independence. In March they seized Austria.

Three days after Hitler annexed Austria, Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that Germany had given assurances that she had no hostile intentions against Czechoslovakia. We know what happened.



Yet Mr. Chamberlain came back from Munich waving a "scrap of paper" with another Hitler promise on it, and proclaiming that it meant "Peace for our Time."



Forced to keep feeding the brutal appetites of the Brownshirt gangsters whose cruelty is the only real support of his dictatorship, a month after Munich Hitler launched a terrible pogrom against the Jews. Synagogues were burned, hundreds lost their lives; £83,000,000 confiscated from the savings of Germany's Jews went to swell Hitler's war-chest.

The "National" Government has had an Overwhelming Majority for Seven Years :

HAS IT MADE US SAFE?

THE PROMISE AND

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in a speech on September 23rd, 1935, just before the last General Election, said:

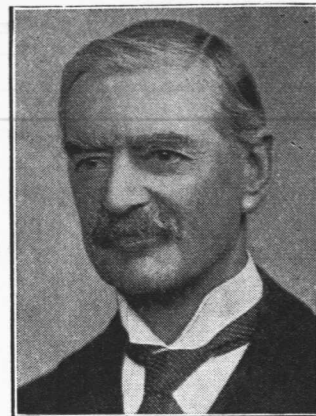
"If Great Britain's words are to be listened to with respect, if she is to make good any obligations which she might undertake, then she must be recognised to be strong enough to make good those words. . . ."

"We must bring our forces up to the minimum required for our own self-respect."

At the same period, on October 28th, 1935, Mr. Stanley Baldwin said:

"So far as the air is concerned . . . we have told the House of Commons, we have told the country, that we will in no circumstances be inferior in strength to any country within striking distance of our shores."

These promises were made over three years ago. Hundreds of millions of pounds of our money has been spent. What have we got for it?



AS a result of this short-sighted folly, the international situation increasingly deteriorated and in 1935 the Labour Party declared that it would unhesitatingly provide whatever arms were necessary in order to defend our country, and to fulfil our obligations as a member of the League of Nations and of the British Commonwealth.

In October, 1936, it warned the Government that "the armed strength of the Powers loyal to the League of Nations must be conditioned by the armed strength of the potential aggressors."

That warning was repeated a year later; and for the last two years the Labour Party has, in public debate and by private representations to Ministers repeatedly expressed its anxiety as to the efficiency of our rearmament, and in particular of our air defences.

THE NEGLIGENCE OF BRITAIN'S DEFENCES

THE defences of our country have been criminally neglected. The recent crisis found us in a state of appalling unpreparedness.

The shortage of anti-aircraft guns is a public scandal. The confusion and inadequacy of A.R.P. arrangements are notorious. Except in London there was no balloon barrage; and even in London it has been shown to be grossly defective.

Our Air Force, in spite of a pledge by Mr. Baldwin in 1934, that it should be equal in power to that of any country within striking distance of these shores, has been far outstripped in every respect by that of Germany.

Equipment and supplies for the fighting services are deplorably insufficient and, in spite of definite pledges given by the Government, profiteering has been rampant.

Food supply, a vital element in national defence, has not been made secure either by increased home production, or by substantial food storage.

Enormous sums have been voted by Parliament for National defence. The nation has not had value for its money.

THE WASTE OF BRITAIN'S RESOURCES

THE financial and industrial strength of our country is being allowed to decline, because of the same indecision and ineptitude which the Government has displayed in foreign affairs.

Nearly 2,000,000 wage earners are unemployed, and great numbers of our people are living in poverty and without adequate food.

The nation cannot at this critical hour afford the shameful and preventable waste of the productive powers of so many of its citizens, and the grave and continuous deterioration in their vitality.

Unemployment has increased by 500,000 in the last twelve months, and is still increasing as the trade depression deepens.

It will be further intensified by the loss of markets to Germany and Japan, as these countries extend their economic penetration even beyond the large areas of Europe and Asia, which successful aggression and democratic weakness have given them.

— THE PERFORMANCE

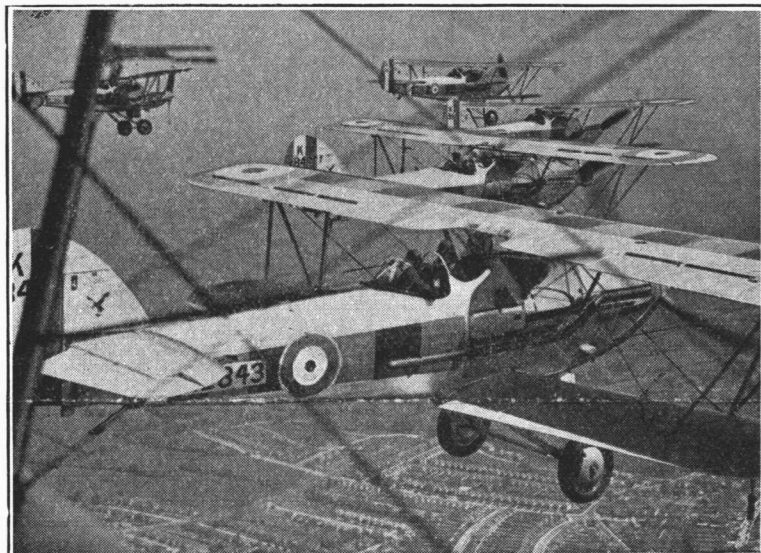


Speaking on October 22nd, 1938, about anti-aircraft guns, Mr. Hore-Belisha, Secretary for War, said:

"When impatience is expressed with the fulfilment of our armament programme . . . it must be recognised that under our present system nothing can guarantee appreciable acceleration of it, nor can there be an appreciable enlargement of it. . . ."

In the House of Commons on October 4th, 1938, Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence, speaking about the crisis, said:

"Nobody who has seen this most valuable test of our arrangements can be unaware of the fact that there have been gaps, serious gaps, and defects which must be remedied in our preparations."



These fighting machines, photographed in 1933, are of a type still in service, with a maximum speed of well under 200 m.p.h. Britain has less than 1,000 fighters, at least two-thirds of which cannot do more than 225 m.p.h., and about 1,500 bombers, most of them not fast. But Germany, for instance, has nearly 3,000 bombers, many of them capable of over 265 m.p.h.; the most modern do over 300 m.p.h. They also have over 1,500 fighters, most of them capable of 300 m.p.h. or more. And they are producing two and a half times as many machines as Britain.



On October 27th, 1938, Mr. C. W. G. Eady, Chief of the A.R.P. Department in the Home Office, said: "We are not prepared, we have not begun to prepare, we do not know how all the failures that occurred during the crisis can be avoided next time." The picture above shows air-raid trenches dug in St. James's Park, London, right under the back windows of Whitehall offices. These trenches were dead straight—perfect death-traps, as all experts admit.

and now we are told that to put things right we must sacrifice our standard of life



Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., leader of the London County Council, has led the great work of building up London's social services. Here he is seen at one of the schools under his care. Now, through the bungling of the "National" Government, the children's chance in life is to suffer.

In the past few years the "National" Government has poured millions of pounds into the pockets of armament profiteers. And now, having failed altogether to make our rearmament efficient, it is looking round for further colossal sums.

The first services to suffer are to be the great social services, which Labour men and women in Parliament and on the local councils have worked so hard to obtain and to build up.

At Crayford, on October 28th, 1938, Mr. Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, admitted: "It may be that we shall have to make inroads on these great social services." And a Board of Education circular to Local Education Authorities on October 14th, 1938, showed that cuts are to be made in the expenditure in capital projects which include voluntary senior and secondary schools.



Well over 2,000,000 people (including those who are not insured) are workless in Britain to-day. In the modern world, it is vital for the strength of a nation that there should be work for all on peaceful and productive industry, and this can be planned. Yet the Government just goes pottering along.



Tens of thousands of men leave the land every year; thousands of acres go out of cultivation. Valuable farms like the one above become derelict. And Mr. W. S. Morrison, Minister of Agriculture in the "National" Government, admits: "The Government are well aware that certain branches of the industry are still in an unsatisfactory position."

How is Britain to grow enough food in time of danger, when more farming land and more skilled workers are being allowed to go to waste every week?



The Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE, M.P., *Leader of His Majesty's Opposition, Postmaster-General in 1931.*



The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P., *Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, was Minister of Health from 1929 to 1931.*



The Rt. Hon. A. V. ALEXANDER, M.P., *the Co-operative leader, was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1929 to 1931.*



Dr. HUGH DALTON, M.P., *was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (under the late Arthur Henderson) from 1929 to 1931.*



The Hon. SIR R. STAFFORD CRIPPS, K.C., M.P., *was Solicitor-General in 1930 and 1931.*

We Can Have PEACE and Strength

LABOUR'S CLAIM TO GOVERNMENT



Mrs. BARBARA AYRTON GOULD, *vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, and Labour Candidate for Wednesbury.*

THE splendid morale of our people and the faith of the whole world in democracy has been undermined by the disastrous surrenders of British foreign policy during the last seven years; by the knowledge of the gaps in our defences and of the failure to mobilise our national resources of idle labour and capital.

These disasters are the results not of democracy, but of its betrayal by reactionary Governments.

We must restore our democratic faith. British democracy must be made strong, well organised and self reliant.

The voluntary efforts of a free people can far surpass those of a regimented dictatorship. But these efforts can only be made if our nation is led by a Government whose policy it can trust and by men and women who truly represent the nation and command its respect.

Such a Government can yet save peace. To do this, it must first make Britain strong for democracy.

No effort must be spared to make our country, as far as possible, safe from air attack. Air Raid Precautions must be regarded as of equal importance with the other three Defence Departments and made thoroughly efficient.

The resources of the nation in scientific knowledge and in man power must be organised. We must absorb large numbers of the unemployed in this work of vital national importance.

A powerful and effective defence by anti-aircraft guns and balloon barrage must be provided for all our crowded

centres of population. The relative weakness of our Air Force must be remedied as speedily as possible, and the number of fighters greatly increased.

A Ministry of Defence must be created to co-ordinate our Defence Services and a Ministry of Supply to ensure the prompt and orderly supply of their requirements.

We must organise our man power, but we unhesitatingly reject compulsion, which is equally unnecessary for the armed forces, for passive defence, and for industry. Let the people be told the truth, and told what is expected of them by a Government they trust. Then, if they have confidence in the plan which is proposed, and faith in the policy which inspires it, there will be no lack of enthusiastic effort for the service of democracy and the nation.

The Trade Unions must be fully consulted on all questions affecting labour supply and conditions, so as to secure their close and willing co-operation.

ALL MUST CONTRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL EFFORT

SACRIFICES must be made by those best able to bear them. There must be no profiteering, especially on work connected with national defence. There must be heavier taxation on large incomes and great fortunes.

The social services must be maintained and there must be no reduction in the purchasing and consuming power of the great mass of the people. The basis of the nation's strength must be sufficient food for all.

Home production of food must be greatly increased. Food storage also must be undertaken on a large scale, both as a reserve in the event of war and in order to steady prices and prevent speculation in time of peace. Whether in peace or war, stores of food are better than stores of gold.

THE NATION'S RESOURCES MUST BE FULLY EMPLOYED

WE must see that full use is made of the nation's resources. There must be a National Plan based on Socialist principles. *Labour's Immediate Programme* for the national control and ownership of key industries and services is now more urgent than ever.

Our proposals for national control and organisation of finance, of food production, of foreign trade, of coal and power, of transport and of arms manufacture, have now become measures of national strength and national defence, which are immediately and vitally necessary.

Our proposals for national control of the location of industry are urgent, not only to bring work and wages to the Distressed Areas, but to reduce our vulnerability to air attack.

National control of investment and, if necessary, of foreign exchange, are required to check misuse and waste of capital and the present unpatriotic flight from the pound. The irresponsible export of anti-aircraft guns would not be allowed. Why, then, should we allow the irresponsible export of capital urgently needed for national purposes?

OUR TRADE MUST BE EXPANDED

THE Government must actively promote the extension of our trade, particularly with members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, and other democratic and friendly peoples.

To this end, the Government must co-ordinate the development of our trade with the development of our resources under the National Plan. New commercial treaties must be made with all countries which are willing to do more trade with us on a fair basis. There must be increased use of export credits and of import and export control to direct the flow of commerce into the most useful channels.

An active foreign trade policy can build up the strength of this country and reinforce it with firm friendships abroad.

REBUILD THE PEACE SYSTEM ON A NEW BASIS

THE post-war settlement has been shattered. Force now rules in the world. The nations are full of fear. But war is not inevitable. Recent events have shown how deep is the desire for peace among all peoples. They are waiting for a lead. The British people must give it.

Instead of seeking to gain a brief respite for feverish rearmament by making further concessions to aggressive militarism, Britain must be prepared now to enter into discussions with all nations, whatever may be their systems of government, for the removal of genuine grievances. But such discussions must not be conducted under the threat of armed force.

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a working example of the co-operation of free peoples. The Government of our country, acting in close accord with the Dominions, can give the lead that is required.

The colonial question must not be solved by re-distributing territories among competing Powers, but by applying to all colonies not ripe for self-government, the principle of international trusteeship in the interests of the colonial peoples and of all the world.

Likewise the question of access to raw materials can be settled by a readiness to allow all nations which are willing to renounce aggression and to live at peace, to share the world's abundance.

To Cover Up their Failure to give Us Peace or Security they try HITLER METHODS OF PROPAGANDA

FACTS SUPPRESSED

Mr. Austin Hopkinson, M.P., himself an air pilot, wrote on November 17th, 1938, to the Chief Government Whip:

"I must ask you to regard me as no longer a supporter of the Government. The condition in which the Royal Air Force recently found itself in the face of imminent hostilities is known abroad, and is suspected by an increasing number of our own people. But the speech of the Secretary of State for Air in the House of Commons last Thursday convinces me that there is little hope that the public will get from the Government any real information as to the true state of affairs. Nor in the matter of aircraft supply do I see any signs that adequate action will be taken to make an end of methods which have already wasted enormous amounts of public money and appear likely to lead to a serious munitions scandal."

TWO MONSTROUS LIES

Taking a leaf out of Hitler's book, that the biggest lie is the most successful propaganda, Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues are blaming their failure on the Labour Opposition, saying that:

(1) LABOUR WANTS WAR.

The truth is that Labour has always stood firm for collective security through the League of Nations. We know well that the old style of politics, with military alliances and conditional pacts, can only lead us to war. The "National" Government has abandoned the League, and is drifting to war. But to hide the truth, they claim the exact opposite.

(2) LABOUR HAS LEFT US UNARMED.

The Labour Party has maintained, ever since the "National" Government wrecked the Disarmament Conference in 1932-34, that "we must provide whatever arms are necessary in order to defend our country." But the "Nationals," having failed after seven years of overwhelming power to do their job, again try to get away with it by blaming Labour.

—and Hitler himself tries to help

Hitler himself is trying to help Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda, by calling every Briton who opposes the "National" Government a war-monger.

On October 9th, 1938, at Saarbrücken, Hitler said: "If a Duff Cooper or an Eden came to power in Great Britain, instead of Mr. Chamberlain, we know it would be the aim of these men to make war." And on November 7th, he attacked Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Churchill in the same way.



Mr. Churchill.



Mr. Duff Cooper.

Goebbels' personal paper, the "Angriff," in its issue of November 9th, 1938, showed pictures of Mr. Attlee, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Duff Cooper under the heading, "Jewish Murderers and Instigators."

PEACE for Our Own and for Our Children's Time



Strength with Freedom

B RITAIN must have a new and firm government which will renew the strength of our democracy, restore the self-respect and influence with our neighbours which we have lost, and work towards the rebuilding of the League of Nations and of a real collective security against aggression.

If this were done, it would be possible to return to the system of settling international disputes by impartial arbitration, and to check by general agreement the Arms Race, which is now leading the nations to ruin.

We desire to be the good friends of all peoples, and to co-operate with them for common ends. We must ensure that, whatever their Governments say, the peoples, even under dictatorships, shall realise our good will.

By broadcasting and other means, the barriers which divide the peoples must be broken down, that their common will to peace may find expression.

If YOU disapprove of the policy of the "National" Government, which has brought us to the brink of war and bungled our defences; if you agree with Labour's policy for peace, freedom and prosperity; join your local Labour Party, and play your part in winning Labour its first term of majority power at the next General Election.

LABOUR FOR BRITAIN

The influence of a nation is not solely determined by its armed strength. Our moral purpose and our moral standing in the world is a factor of great importance in our power for good. Indeed, a bold British lead for the policy set out in this declaration would rally great forces in every country to its support.

If we are to avoid in the near future, disasters without parallel in British history, a supreme national effort must be made now.

But it cannot be made under the present Government. Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues have, by their record, forfeited all claim to confidence. They have failed to build a stable peace. They have failed to give the country sound defences. They have failed to make us happy, prosperous and strong.

They must be replaced by a Government which can inspire and lead this democratic people in a crusade to mobilise its strength for the service of its ideals—that peace, justice and liberty shall be preserved.