

whether it was the right hon. Member for Warwick and Leamington (Mr. Eden) or the late First Lord of the Admiralty—said that we ought to copy some of their methods—and democracy would have gone in this country.

The last War lasted 4½ years and produced none of the results it was fought to achieve.

It destroyed the lives definitely in battle of 10,000,000 men.

How many lives should we have lost in this war?

We have seen the Japan-China war and the Spanish war lasting two years.

There have been estimates assumed that war on the scale envisaged here would have lasted twice as long, and having regard to the tremendous intensification of war-dealing instruments, is it foolish to assume that 50,000,000 people would have lost their lives on this occasion?

Is there anything in life which was worth facing that? We are going to live underground as rats. In my own home town I saw trenches being dug, and I pictured dignified and sensible human beings rushing into them to escape some foul death of the skies.

I could see it not only in London but in Berlin; I could see it in Prague and in Paris. I could see the terrible degeneration of humanity, and that if we survived we were going to live only if we could make ourselves completely callous to all these horrors.

WHAT WOULD COME OF IT?

What sort of a new world is to come out of that?

What is democracy to get out of that?

What sort of new social order is to come out of that?

Whatever happened to me I was against it upon grounds of ordinary common human sense; on every ground of my Socialist philosophy.

On every ground of my sympathy and understanding of the aspirations of the working classes of this country I was against it, and said I was against it, and that any effort that was made for peace would receive my support.

I said so in this House last Wednesday when the danger was great, and I repeat it now when the danger has somewhat eased.

WHAT THE PEOPLE WANTED.

The Prime Minister in that period of time, in that limited period of time, did something that the mass of the common people in the world wanted done.

With all my political antagonisms, with all my antagonisms to the political philosophy of the people who stand beside him, I am not going to stand here and lie.

Last week he did something which the common people of the world wanted done, and now that we have a breathing-space we can argue and debate and denounce in the good recognised, legitimate, democratic way.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE.

A very old friend of mine, a Member of the House who many hon. Members will recollect, was the right hon. John Wheatley. Those who were in the House when he was here will recollect that he was a very unorthodox but very gallant Member of the House. I was proud to work in close association with him and we used to have little discussions on things that had happened, a post-mortem examination of what we should have done and how we could have done it much better.

He would allow that sort of thing to go on for a certain length of time and then he would say, "Well boys, that was last week: what are we going to do next week?"

That seems to me to be the approach that we have to make to the problem.

I do not believe that we have got world peace.

I do not believe that we have even got as far as the Prime Minister's belief—that we have got the foundations of peace on which the superstructure is to be erected.

I believe that what we have got in the world is a possibility of laying the foundations of peace, and it seems to me having regard to the menace of last week, having regard to the clear way in which it was brought hard up against all our minds, that every scrap of human intelligence that can be brought to bear to make this breathing-space a real world peace, must be brought to bear.

I want to say to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite that in the view of those who sit on these benches you cannot get world peace on the basis of a capitalist order of society.

STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

You cannot get world peace on the basis of the British Empire—an offence to every other nation in the world. Imperialists here yesterday criticised Herr Hitler for wanting power.

But surely that is the basis of capitalist philosophy.

Surely that is the British Empire. What ethical or logical reason can you put forward against Herr Hitler wanting power—world-wide power—on the basis of your own social and political philosophy, and what objection can you possibly have to Herr Hitler wanting to defend the people of his own race and of his own nationality wherever they may be?

It was the proud boast of the Romans in the Roman Empire that wherever they were they were Roman citizens and their Empire could protect them. It was the proud boast of the British Empire. It was the proud boast of the British Empire when some of its members were in trouble in Russia a few years ago. How can you possibly say to Herr Hitler, "The philosophy of power, the philosophy of menace, the philosophy of large

territories is wrong when you hold it in your heart, but is a right philosophy when we hold it in our hearts and demonstrate it to the world in hard facts."

We want the world for plain, simple people — not a world for one particular nation, not a world in which it is safe only for Britishers to live or Czechs or Frenchmen, but a world in which it is also safe for Germans to live.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

The keypoint in the whole approach to the breaking of this world entanglement is the German people.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Hackney (Mr. H. Morrison) made some reference to that.

One of the greatest things—I think the greatest thing—in connection with the Prime Minister's visit to Germany, was the fact that it gave the ordinary German people, who are suppressed and denied a voice, an opportunity of demonstrating, under conditions which were not illegal, their desire for peace.

That desire for peace demonstrated by the German people is the most hopeful sign in the world to-day, and that is the point on which everything should be built.

When I am asked to go to war against Germany it is always phrased as "going to war against Herr Hitler." But if I went to war against Germany, I should not be going to war against Herr Hitler any more than, in the last occasion, I should have been going to war against the Kaiser.

Had I gone to war I should have gone to war against the German working folk, who, up to 1934, were my comrades—men whom I met again and again from 1922 to 1931, when they were struggling to build a democratic peaceful republic in Germany, with little help from the peoples of the rest of the world.

Those fellows who are crushed now, were the finest Socialists