

Sheffield, Warsaw and the Future



Mass Protest Meeting in Sheffield City Hall which took place on the evening of the day that the Congress should have opened.

The noise of the battle to hold the World Peace Congress in Sheffield spread to every home, factory and office in Britain and though every possible effort was made to misrepresent its motives and methods, the fact that a congress of people who wished to talk peace, was prevented from doing so, is now known to every person in the country. That is a tremendous gain.

Although the Congress was prevented from meeting here, the struggle to hold it has turned the Peace Movement into a firmer, more realistic, more widely-known and, therefore, an infinitely **STRONGER** movement.

The great Message of the Congress—transferred and held in Warsaw—is that the peace fight must be broadened to include every shade of opinion provided it is opposed to war.

£1.00

COLD WAR in

The story of the
Second World
Peace Congress

November, 1950

by Bill Moore

SHEFFIELD

Foreword

In November 1950 the Second World Peace Congress was due to be held in the Sheffield City Hall. 2,000 delegates from all over the world were expected. In Britain 30,000 organisations of all types - political, social, religious and so on - had been invited to send delegates. In the event there was only one meeting in Sheffield, on Monday November 13th, and the Congress at the shortest notice was transferred to Warsaw.

The reason for this action was that the Labour Government of the day, while at first expressing its intention to exclude only any individual who was 'persona non grata' - that is, against whom there was a specific charge or objection - ended up by excluding well over half the foreign delegates (even world-famous cultural figures like Shostakovich, Pablo Neruda, Louis Aragon) thus aborting the central purpose of the Congress: an exchange of every kind of opinion on the danger of war and ways to eliminate that danger.

The story of this event is part of the 'hidden history' of the Cold War. Even today Government papers relating to the Congress are retained by the Foreign Office and are not available for inspection (See Appendix A). Only those who lived through the period know of it today.

On this 40th anniversary we want to put it on the record permanently.

COLD WAR in SHEFFIELD

The Second World Peace Congress
November, 1950

Background to the Congress

The two decades after the end of the Second World War were marked above all by the most intense Cold War between East and West, particularly between Britain and the United States on the one side and the USSR and Eastern Europe on the other.

Because the USSR had ended the war as a military superpower, responsible above all others for the destruction of the Nazi war machine, successive British and American Governments appeared incapable of thinking of her as anything but a military rival, rather than an ally, prepared to act - as they themselves had done so often in the past - as an imperial power, ready to swallow up the rest of the world. "Russian Imperialism" became a popular catch-phrase in the press, which pointed to the countries of Eastern Europe as proof.

The truth was rather different, as many in the West - even some politicians - recognised. Not only had Russia lost twenty million men and women in the war, the flower of her youth (many times more than the losses of all her allies put together, perhaps more than all those lost in all the wars, big and little, since), but the whole of European Russia, the battleground for over three years between the Russians and the bulk of the Nazi forces, was a scene of indescribable devastation. (To a lesser extent this applied too to the countries of Eastern Europe.) What the USSR needed above all was a respite of at least a decade in which to restore her shattered economy.

But for the US and British Governments Russia was the "Red Peril".

What seemed to confirm this danger, ascribed to the influence of the Soviet Union, was not only the loss of Eastern Europe to the capitalist sphere, but also the liberation struggles that the war had unleashed all over the world. There were still clear memories for our ruling class of what had happened only a quarter of a century before after the Russian Revolution of 1917: revolt throughout the old colonial world, in India, Egypt, the Middle East, South-East Asia

the Far East, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. Now there was an even more powerful movement of the peoples which affected Britain - hanging on desperately to her Empire - more than any other western power.

By 1950 India had rejected Labour's favoured Dominion Status and had won independence. Britain's mandate in Palestine had gone and an Israeli State set up. Egypt under Nasser was restless after 65 years of British occupation, as were many of the African colonies. China was now communist after the revolution of 1949. Greece, largely a dependency of Britain, was still in turmoil even though the British army had defeated the liberation army (which reckoned that its success in holding up many German divisions on their own during the latter part of the war had earned them a government of their own choice) and had set up the despised and hated old monarchy instead. The East Indies too were in turmoil even after the British had helped to destroy the liberation forces there and restore them to the Dutch. And the war in Malaya, started in 1948 against the Malayan Liberation Army which pretty well on its own had held the Japanese pinned down after the British surrender of Singapore, was still going on - as dirty a war as any on record. On top of it all the Korean War, fomented by the USA, began in July 1950, and the British Labour Government - already drawn into the American fold by the stick of cruelly ended Lease-lend and the carrot of Marshall Aid, a subservience consolidated in our signature to the Atlantic Pact - was pulled in willy-nilly.

It was all put down to the Russians. And the consequence in the western world was a deliberate persecution of all Communists and any who by any stretch could be labelled "progressive" and therefore a "fellow-traveller". It was the era of McCarthy's Un-American Activities trials in the USA. Here in Britain there was a purge of the Civil Service. Lecturers in higher education and teachers in state education were subjected to trial and persecution by the press, often dismissal, as the present writer knows only too well (see Appendix B). Many Trade Unions excluded Communists from full-time office if they refused to sign the 'document'. And out of the 40-odd organisations which the Labour Party put on its proscribed list after the war, 22 were Peace Organisations or Friendship Societies with the prohibited Eastern Bloc countries, put on the list between 1947 and 1954 (see Appendix C).

This was the atmosphere when the Second World Peace Congress was called in the autumn of 1950.

But it was offset by the world-wide movement for the ending of the Cold War and the preservation of peace, which had also gathered strength in the five years after the war.

COUNCIL CALLED

BY U.S.

ON RED CHINA

Assembly Stand By For Veto

From RODNEY CAMPBELL LAKE SUCCESS, Monday
THE U.S. has called for a special meeting of the Security Council on Wednesday to consider the Chinese proposal for a special meeting of the Council.

Truman and MacArthur carved up the East

ARMY CHIEFS PLAN FOR LONG WAR IN EAST

COMMUNISM IN STATE SCHOOLS
"SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES" OF TEACHERS

HUNDREDS ARE HANGED IN SEOUL

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent
WHILE British and American forces were yesterday mustered for a full-scale attack on the Embassy in London on the United Nations was being

By the FOREIGN EDITOR
on with General MacArthur's office in London is Korea which will be a reseeable time ahead of many months of bitter danger of an extension This danger is centred in suffered crippling defeats in Four items of news confirmed and possibly spread

MALAYA PROGRESS NOT UP TO HOPES

Continued from page 1

Britain to recruit 30,000 former Nazi army men

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent
BRITAIN made the first move in the plans for rearming West Germany yesterday by announcing that 30,000 former Wehrmacht men are to be reorganised in a new so-called German Service Organisation

BRITISH FEAR NEW TROUBLE IN MALAYA

Continued from page 1
in Paris, Thursday, causing British Government fear of a new big new trouble in Malaya. Mr. Donald, High Commissioner for S.E. Asia, and Mr. Malcolm, Commissioner for Malaya, are expected to return to Singapore.

E. S. C. Milford St. 7. 1948

BY THE

ATLANTIC WAR PACT

The LABOUR GOVERNMENT Pledges Britain

- [1] to increase still further its War Budget, already £760 million a year, at the expense of housing and social services;
- [2] to join in a Council and so-called "Defence" Committee, which is to control the armed forces of all the countries signing the Pact and organise preparations for war;
- [3] to undertake "action . . . including the use of armed force" when American big business thinks the time is ripe for war against the Soviet Union.

THE ATLANTIC WAR PACT

is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation, giving the "Defence" Council the right to declare war over the head of the U.N.O. Security Council.

It ties British Labour to American big business plans to destroy socialism and democracy in Europe.

It will mean that more and more American troops and aircraft will join those already in Britain, which is designed to be America's chief war base against Russia.

It is an outrage against the British working class.

It is an outrage against every section of the British people that wants peace and friendship with the other peoples of the world.

Make your protest against the

Atlantic War Pact

Rally to Barker's Pool

SUNDAY 3rd APRIL . at 7 p.m.

WICK BENNETT & COLIN FULLARD

FOUR DINNER TIME MEETINGS—TUESDAY APRIL 5th at

RNALL TERMINUS

HADFIELD'S [East Hecla]

TERCLIFFE BATHS

FIRTH TOWN'S E.T.D.

by Johnsons (Sheffield) Ltd. 92 Carver St. and published by THE C Area Committee, 2 Csmbr Arcade,

PARTY, Sheffield & Rotherham

The World-wide Movement for Peace

People world-wide viewed these developments with fear. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were in everyone's mind. And in many countries a great variety of individuals began to come together to try to formulate some basis of action to stop a Third World War.

This movement crystallised in August 1948 in the World Conference of Intellectuals for Peace held in Wroclaw, Poland. It was the first great gathering of intellectuals on such a scale since the war. 450 people from 40 countries attended, from the developed and from the underdeveloped countries, from East and West, from 'left' and 'right'.

The final resolution, passed by 423 to 12, with a few abstentions, underlined the danger of war, the need to preserve the culture of mankind only recently rescued from Nazism at the price of unheard-of sacrifices and privations, and placed the blame for the unhappy post-war developments on "a handful of self-interested men in America and Europe who have inherited fascist ideas of racial superiority and the denial of progress." It called for national cultural congresses to be convened in all countries, national committees for peace to be formed everywhere, and international peace ties to be strengthened.

An international organising committee was set up which had the task of calling the First World Peace Congress in Paris in April 1949. Its President was Professor Joliot-Curie, world-famous French physicist and son-in-law of Madame Curie. Its Vice-presidents were Louis Aragon of France; Anderson-Nexo, Nobel Prize winner from Denmark; Professor J D Bernal, world-famous British (strictly Irish) physicist; Signor Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party; General Cardenas of Mexico; Mme Eugenie Cotton, French scientist; Alexander Fadeyev, world famous Russian novelist; Dr Rogge, the American Lawyer who defended the "Hollywood Ten" (accused of un-American activities); and Louis Saillant, leader of the CGT, the French TUC.

The First World Peace Congress brought together 2005 delegates from 72 countries representing 600 million people. Most of the delegates met in Paris. 400 of them who were excluded by the French Government met in Prague. The Japanese delegation was prevented from leaving by an edict of General MacArthur, the effective ruler of Japan, so held its own Congress in Tokyo. All three Congresses agreed the final decisions.

These decisions can be summarised in two quotations. The first is from the speech of Joliot-Curie: "We are not here to ask for peace, but to impose peace on the supporters of war." The second is from Pietro Nenni's speech: "We must compel the governments to abandon the Atlantic Pact policy and ensure the peace of the world." Delegates stressed



The man who holds these severed heads is a Briton ... a member of a Royal Marine Commando ... a Briton who smiles as he poses with the heads of two Malayan liberation fighters, one a woman, whose front teeth have been knocked out ...
And below ... a picture in some respects even more horrible ... the same heads lie on the ground. A dismembered hand is propped up between them as if in a mocking salute ... a hideous game adds insult to inhumanity

The publication of these photographs by the Daily Worker earlier in 1950 exposed the utter brutality of the methods used by the British commanders in Malaya in their efforts to destroy the Malayan People's Liberation Army. Dyak head-hunters were brought in from Borneo, not only to fight but by their inhuman methods to terrify the Malayan people into submission.

This exposure put a rapid end to the practice which brought only shame to the army and the Government.

But theorean War was soon to show that similar inhuman practices continued. The wars against liberation and independence movements in the old colonial world (as Vietnam later showed) have always been marked by outrageous brutality.

the urgent need to end wars already in progress in Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China, and Greece; to end all colonial oppression; to end the policy of exclusive power blocs which had produced the Atlantic Pact; to end war talk and start disarmament; to ban the atom bomb and to control atomic energy. All these points were contained in the final resolution, to carry out which the Congress set up a permanent international co-ordinating committee. Two particular decisions followed in subsequent months: the decision to hold the Second World Peace Congress in Britain (eventually in Sheffield), and the decision to launch the 'Stockholm Appeal' for the banning of the Atom Bomb, (so named from the place of the meeting where it was launched). This Atom Bomb Appeal was being canvassed throughout the summer and autumn of 1950; by the time of the Congress it had won 473 million signatures world-wide.**

The decision to hold the Congress in Sheffield was announced in September, 1950.

What Happened in Sheffield

As soon as it was discovered that the Sheffield City Hall had been let to the British Peace Committee for the Congress, the attack began.

The Sheffield Telegraph on October 5th reported questions in the City Council: was the Council aware that it was a Communist Congress? that it was resented by many people in the City? that there were grave possibilities of disorder? The Labour Group on the Council stuck to its guns and confirmed the booking.

On the other hand the District Committee of the powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union (representing 20,000 workers) passed a resolution congratulating the Labour Group. So too did the Foundryworkers' branch (the biggest in Britain). By October 12 the first British delegate to the Congress was elected by the Works Committee of the English Steel Corporation: Herbert Howarth, later president of the AEU District Committee and in the late 50's himself the centre of a very dirty nationwide anti-Communist campaign.

Nationally the first blow was delivered by the Home Secretary, Chuter Ede, who refused to allow the Congress Preparatory Committee, as such, to enter Britain, though "that does not necessarily imply that the distinguished foreign personalities concerned will be refused admission on their individual merits ..." a bit of gratuitous smugness since in the event hardly a one was admitted. It presented serious organizational problems for the British Peace Committee which was now landed with the entire preparations for the Congress.

There were some local problems too. Sheffield had been heavily bombed

Invitation Sent to 30,000 Organisations

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are writing to invite your organisation to be represented at the forthcoming World Peace Congress.

It is an honour for this gathering of some 2,000 delegates from every continent to be held in Britain at this time; it is a unique occasion, and a supreme opportunity.

All peace-loving people—irrespective of political, philosophical or religious convictions—are asked to discuss the proposals of the World Peace Committee and to elect delegates to express their opinions on:

The banning and control of atomic weapons.

The general reduction and control of all forms of armament.

Condemnation of aggression and foreign intervention by force of arms.

A peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict in conformity with the U.N. Charter.

The banning of war propaganda in any form and in every country.

At this time we all realise how great is the threat of a third world war, and that in such a war our densely populated country would be particularly vulnerable.

We would therefore urge you to give this Congress all your support. Details and an application form for delegates are enclosed, and as there is very little time we hope that applications will be completed as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. CROWTHER,

President, British Peace Committee.

Socialists Back 'Peace' Booking

THE Labour Group on Sheffield City Council decided last night to stand by the D.L.C. policy of accepting the City Hall for the Peace Congress in November.

NO LIMIT, SAYS HOME OFFICE

Daily Worker Reporter writes: The Home Office has informed the Sheffield Peace Committee that it was not the intention of the Government to limit the number of delegates to the Peace Congress.

MAMMOTH JOB FOR PEACE

Sheffield district prepares

U.S. ARRESTS OF COMMUNISTS ACTION AGAINST 86 ALIENS

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, O

Three developments were at

to-day relating to Communists a

versive activities in the Uni

First, the Supreme Court agre

sider the appeal of the 11

leaders who were sentenced

on charges of conspiring to tea

cate the overthrow of the Go

Working force.

There will be de

points where the buses converge,

and they will cover the final part

of the journey to Sheffield in con

voys.

Inspired by the news that the

Congress is being held in their

area, peace lovers in the South

Yorkshire coalfield are working

harder than ever to collect signa

tures to the Peace Petition.

Deane Peace Committee's target

of 5,000 signatures by October 8

has been surpassed—7,000 signa

COUNCIL STAND FIRM ON CITY HALL BOOKING

SHEFFIELD Estates Committee is not prepared to cancel the letting of the City Hall for the International Peace Congress in November.

This was stated at the City Council meeting yesterday by Councillor Percy Dinsley, chairman of the committee, in answer to Councillor F. Lloyd.

Questions and answers were as follows:

Is the chairman aware that since the City Hall was booked for an alleged meeting of the International Peace Congress, that meeting has been widely advertised in the Communist Press and over Communist-controlled radio programmes as a Communist Party meeting?

Is the chairman aware that the City Hall is being used for a meeting of the Communist Party?

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Arms city plans to greet world delegates

Worker Reporter writes: The city of Sheffield is preparing to greet world delegates to the World Peace Congress.

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FIRST BRITON CHOSEN FOR PEACE CONGRESS

Daily Worker Reporter writes: First British delegate to the World Peace Congress to be held in Sheffield City Hall next month has been elected by the Works Committee of Vickers English Steel Corporation in Sheffield itself.

There could hardly be a more suitable decision, for the English Steel Corporation is one of the largest armaments factories in Britain.

The delegate elected unanimously is Herbert Howarth, 43-year-old turner in West Shop and Amalgamated Engineering Union shop steward, who is one of the best-known trade unionists in Yorkshire.

He is a member of the Sheffield District Committee of his union, and was a delegate to the A.E.U. National Committee and the Brighton Trades Union Congress this year.

Herbert Howarth lives in Upwell Hill, one of the seemingly endless workers' rows overlooking the smoking chimneys and corrugated iron roofs of the great factory where he works.

Although Sheffield has enjoyed full employment for ten years, and the factories are still labouring for more skilled men, there is little sign of prosperity in Upwell Hill.

It is not a very modern place, and Mrs. Howarth, as she invited me into the neat but tiny living room in such a fire-burned house, said: "I have been here since I was born."

Herbert was still in his working clothes when he came to the meeting, and he was the only one of his kind.

A useful job "I'm very pleased to represent the English Steel Corporation workers," he said.

It is right that Sheffield the premier industrial city in this country for the making of high-grade steel, should be elected for the Second World Congress.

The city does not fit the whether it be peace or war, the most serious of all is the fact that the city is still a city of workers.

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Sheffield sets an example Councillors sign peace petition

From PETER FRYER

SIGNATURES of eight Labour Councillors in Sheffield—the city of the Second World Peace Congress—were on a Peace Petition form that arrived at the British Peace Committee offices yesterday.

during the war; there were many open sites in the city centre where ruined buildings had been cleared (the final session of the Congress was due to be held in the open on a bomb site in the middle of the Moor) and hotel accommodation was minimal. Congress workers began a round of visits to Barnsley, Doncaster, Leeds, Chesterfield, Bawell and the Peak District looking for the necessary places, not always a comfortable task in the atmosphere created by the press. Then it was necessary to line up a fleet of buses to collect and deliver the delegates every day - a complex timetable for the 2000 delegates expected. But it was done.

Food was easier: the City Hall had a large restaurant, and there was a Civic Restaurant (originating during the war) next door.

On October 10 invitations to elect delegates to the Congress went out to 30,000 British organisations, to trade unions, churches, women's organisations, Co-op Guilds, youth clubs, sports clubs and cultural bodies. The invitation included a list of matters for discussion at the Congress.

On October 18th it was announced that a five-legged international marathon had been organised by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The first leg, 2,200 miles long (it had started on October 11) left Bulgaria and passed through Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Switzerland and France. The second had started in Poland and would pass through Czechoslovakia, Germany, Holland, Belgium and France. The third, starting in Finland, would divide - one half going down through Sweden, the other through Norway - and would reunite in Denmark before travelling to Britain. The fourth was due to start from the top of Ben Lomond on November 4th, and the fifth was being organised from Dublin by the Irish Young Workers' League. Despite difficulties at the ports, the final runner did appear in Sheffield in time for the November 13th meeting.

The week before the Congress - Nov. 5 to 12 - was designated by the British Peace Committee as Peace Week, during which a last effort was to be made to elect delegates, with a special effort on the collection of signatures to the Atom Bomb Appeal. The Sheffield Peace Committee organised a competition which was won by Norman Greenfield of Barnsley with Percy Riley (then an unknown in Sheffield) coming third - but he had already collected 4,000!

News of foreign delegates now began to come in. The Czechs had elected 40 delegates, the Soviet Union 65. The latest British delegate was from the Royal Docks Group Peace Committee in London. But at the same time Chuter Ede was reaffirming that he was resolute in his intention to hand-pick all foreign delegates: "The self-styled British Peace Committee have been informed that applications from foreigners to attend the Congress will be dealt with on their individual merits.

Every road leads to Sheffield

ALL EUROPE IN PEACE MARATHON

From PETER FRYER

IN thousands of cities, towns and villages of Europe, lovers of peace are turning out to greet "peace runners" as they pass through flaming torches and mess-

Churches Denounce Congress
AFTER the British Congress in Sheffield (Dr. Be Chichester, Dr. Be into which million The Catholic the invitation from the British life) said the mainly an instru form propagand Christian peo

500 London dockers choose a delegate
Daily Worker Reporter AT a lunchtime meeting called by the Royal Docks Group Peace Committee, 500 dockers yesterday proposed unanimously Mr. Wally Jones as their delegate for the forthcoming World Peace Congress in Sheffield.

Ede's new threat to Congress
MR. CHUTER EDE, Home Secretary, threatened yesterday to hand pick foreign delegates to the World Peace Congress in Sheffield in November. Mr. J. R. Bevin (Con. Toxteth) asked the Home Secretary what steps he intended to take to prevent aliens coming to this country to attend the congress. Mr. Chuter Ede replied: "The self-styled British Peace Committee have been informed that applications from foreigners to attend the congress will be dealt with on their individual merits. But the right to refuse admission to any foreigner who is persona non grata."

BRI. Speaking
Speaking under the law of this country to prohibit public meetings which are held in accordance with the law. When Mr. R. Jennings (Con. declared that there was

Czechs elect 40 peace delegates

Daily Worker Special Correspondent PRAGUE, Tuesday.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND delegates at meetings throughout Czechoslovakia have chosen 40 representatives to attend the World Peace Congress at Sheffield next week.

delegates were elected at meetings of trade unions, political parties, co-operatives, and many other organisations.

aim is not only the banning of the bomb. It is the defence of the Prague region. The Prague regional election was held by their chairmen. Anezka Hlodinova-

WORK PLEDGES
region farm and factories were elected along with the national leaders of the movement, and thousands of delegates were under the influence of the Congress.

on by churchmen of the election was a marked feature of the best

Elect your delegate to Sheffield now!

PEACE WEEK FOR ALL BRITAIN

THE week before the Second World Peace Congress opens in Sheffield - November 5-12 - will be celebrated in every part of Britain as Peace Week.

The British Peace Committee has called on all local peace committees and other organisations that support the cause of peace to make Peace Week a really spectacular event.

Peace committees are urged to plan all their activities from now onwards to lead up to Peace Week as a grand climax to the Congress campaign.

and Novem-

SOVIET ENVOYS FOR SHEFFIELD Catholic calls to believers

THE Soviet peace movement yesterday elected a 65-member delegation to the Congress in Sheffield.

ing figures: Britain 1,000, France 1,000, and 1,000

Ede's new threat to Congress
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BAN IT, SAYS TORY
Mr. Bevin: "Does he not think it would be better to prohibit it altogether?"

BRI. Speaking
Speaking under the law of this country to prohibit public meetings which are held in accordance with the law. When Mr. R. Jennings (Con. declared that there was

AGENDA IS PLANNED

'Settle conflicts, lift barriers'

PROPOSALS for the agenda of the Second World Peace Congress, to be held next month in Sheffield City Hall, are to be submitted to the Bureau of the World Peace Committee.

This was announced in Prague yesterday in a communique from the Congress Preparatory Committee, which has just concluded a three-day session.

"The Preparatory Committee," said the communique, "expresses its gratitude to the British Peace Committee for the work done towards ensuring the successful progress of the coming Congress, and urges all national committees to expedite measures for sending delegates."

"This popular movement is concerned not only with the demand to restrict armaments, condemn aggression and prohibit war propaganda. It is also concerned with the peaceful settlement of present conflicts and the resumption of economic and cultural exchanges between nations."

but the government must reserve the right to refuse admission to any foreigner who is persona non grata." It was to prove a very elastic classification indeed.

Then three blows : the British Council of Churches declined the invitation to be represented; the Labour Party banned its members from attending; and the Prime Minister declared the Congress to be 'bogus'.

The Council of Churches denounced the whole world peace movement as "a trap into which millions of peace-loving people had fallen." The Congress was "mainly an instrument of Cominform propaganda." It was a statement stoutly rebutted by the Rev. Alan Ecclestone, vicar of Darnall, who was chairman of the Sheffield Peace Committee, but it led to the Provost of Sheffield refusing the request for an official service at the Cathedral on the grounds that "it might seem that we approve." The Methodists were warned against the 'Red Threat' while the Sheffield Council of Catholic Action protested to the City Council about the letting of the Hall. The Lord Mayor was polite but firm in refusing an invitation to give an official welcome to the Congress.

Morgan Philips, secretary of the Labour Party, declared that participation in the Sheffield Congress will be incompatible with membership of the Labour Party." The statement roused anger among Labour people because it applied not only to individual members but to all affiliated organisation, to all trade union branches. That it was not just a threat was shown when the Dunfermline Burghs Divisional Labour Party disaffiliated the entire 400-strong Lochgelly (Fife) Scottish Colliery Enginemen's Group of the National Union of Mine-workers which was supporting the Congress.

And on November 1st the Prime Minister delivered a bitter attack on the Congress in a speech (deliberately?) to the Foreign Press Association. He said the Congress was 'bogus'. "The desire for peace among our citizens is profound . . . we do not find it necessary to affirm it by signing Stockholm or any other petition . . . Communists say that this conference is not organised by them. Communist activities generally are camouflaged . . . it is part of their doctrine that lying is perfectly legitimate to further their cause," He alleged that no-one really knew beforehand what was to be discussed and implied that the agenda was 'fixed'.

The British Peace Committee replied immediately repudiating his charges and pointing out that the matters to be discussed were clearly laid out in the initial invitation. They concluded by inviting the Prime Minister to attend the Congress and speak to the delegates of the 70 nations - "by such an action you could powerfully further our common end in securing a just and lasting peace." Fourteen

Engineers back the world congress

Daily Worker Reporter
TWENTY THOUSAND engineers in the Sheffield and Rotherham district and delegates to the Peace Congress

No Peace Service at Cathedral

IT MIGHT SEEM WE APPROVE

THE PROVOST OF SHEFFIELD

'Ringing Up' Iron Curtain

FOR more than half-an-hour today, in a room overlooking a busy Sheffield

BAR HALL TO PEACE CONGRESS

SHEFFIELD Council of Catholic Action, which represents 25,000 Catholics, yesterday protested against the letting of Sheffield City Hall for the Second World Peace Congress from November 13 to 18.

Lord Mayor's 'No'

In response to a suggestion that he should receive the chairman of the Congress organising committee, Mr. Ivor Montagu, the Lord Mayor of Sheffield (Ald. Kettle-Hawes) has written to the organising secretary, Mrs. Nan Green: "Like the rest of my country and women, I am wholeheartedly in favour of genuine and lasting peace, but I cannot as Lord Mayor associate myself with a movement whose activities are the subject of considerable controversy."

'Peace' Meeting Bar To Labour

MR. MORGAN PHILLIPS, secretary of the Labour Party, today warned all organisations, and

FROM the very top of mountain that spots, the

'Peace Runners' To Sheffield

"BOGUS" PEACE CONGRESS

PRIME MINISTER'S WARNING

The PRIME MINISTER, in an address to the Foreign Press Association at a dinner at the Dorchester Hotel last night, spoke of the "bogus" Peace Congress which is to be held at Sheffield this month and in an analysis of its sponsors gave warning that there were limits to the toleration of free countries for those who attempted to undermine our liberties.

In the course of his speech Mr. Attlee said:

BOGUS!

One of the duties of the Peace Movement, as stated in a Cominform directive of September 28, this year, is "to encourage the youth of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Belgium, and Yugoslavia, and other countries, to adhere to the Cominform."

Sheffield plans a Yorkshire welcome

Daily Worker Reporter
DESPITE the local Tory-inspired campaign against the holding of the second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, the people there intend that the Congress shall be a success. Hundreds of Sheffield people have written to the Organising Committee offering accommodation for delegates and officials. "Yorkshire people, with real Yorkshire hospitality, have helped us very much," Mrs. Nan Green, organising secretary, told a Press conference yesterday.

The Bishop of Sheffield, Dr. Hunter, who may not be able to attend the Congress because it clashes with a meeting of the Church Assembly, is keenly interested.

As "a question of civic pride," municipal officials and workers have gone out of their way to assist negotiations for the Congress Organising Committee. A 19-man team of the committee, which is working in temporary offices in the Vestry Hall, is pleased with progress.

MARATHON

From PETER FRYER
dominates one of Scotland's loveliest beauties will set off for Sheffield on November 4, the longest leg of a great British youth World Peace Congress, which opens in

Attlee Warns: Don't Be Deceived

Peace Rally 'Bogus'

MR. ATTLEE last night described as bogus the "so-called peace conference" to be held in Sheffield this month. In a broadcast speech to the Foreign Press Association at the London Hotel, he said: "No one ought to be so simple as to be deceived." The chairman of the organisation, Mr. U. G. Crowther, if not a Communist, was "a very good example of a fellow traveller," declared Mr. Attlee. He committed was an offshoot from the World Peace Movement, an instrument of the Politbureau. "What are their aims? They are to try to paralyse the efforts of the democracies to arm themselves. At

Some who were excluded.



Alexander Fadeyev



Irene Joliot-Curie

Frederic Joliot-Curie



Pablo Neruda



The Metropolitan Nikolai of Russia



P. Nenni

Delegate of 4 million

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Paul Robeson



K. Simonov



Ilya Ehrenburg

The British Peace Committee has issued the text of a letter sent to the Prime Minister on the subject of his speech to the Foreign Press Association in which Mr. Chamberlain is referred to the forthcoming conference.

WASTE **LONDON**
KEMBLEY HOUSE.
LONDON, Friday.
 - MR. ATTLEE has been - confer
 - address - after c
 - directly

OVER 400 workers of Metro-Vickers, Park, Manchester, yesterday elected a World Peace Congress in Sheffield member, has asked the will be pa

BRITAIN BARS

B RITAIN has refused visas for six Czecho-slovaks, three Albanians and two Brazilians to enter England for the Sheffield Peace Congress, it was disclosed in Prague today.

Fifty-three other applications lodged with the British Embassy in Prague are still under consideration by the British Government.

Applications include that of Madame Hedinova-Spurnova, Czechoslovakia's chief delegate.

She is a deputy chairman of the Czech National Assembly, chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, and vice-chairman of the World Peace Committee.

SHEFFIELD branch committee of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers have withdrawn the "World Peace Congress" delegate, Mr. Ernest Croft.

Mr. Croft was elected a branch delegate and was then informed by his firm that no leave of absence would be granted.

A statement issued by the district union president, Mr. E. Travls, said:

FOREIGN students attending the World Peace Congress beginning in Sheffield next week on May 15 will have a busy time.

**Chiel back in
neffield**
WEST HANWELL
Wednesday.

Methodist Warns Of Red ST Threat

FAILURE by the Church to emphasize the importance of the individual would lead to worldwide Communist warned the Rev. Stockham, of old

Bar Peace
Congress 'Leave'
A SHEFFIELD foundry worker has been told by his firm that leave of absence cannot be granted to him as a delegate to the Communist Congress at the City of Moscow. The delegate is Mr. Croft.

Mass delegations to go

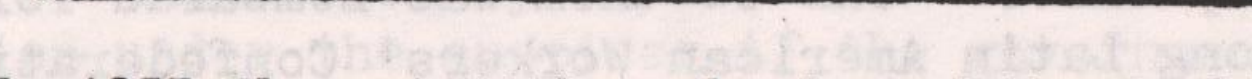
From ERNEST HANWELL
SHEFFIELD, Tuesday.

With this forthright statement, Mr. Harry Wilson, full-time union secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry and Machine Workers, issued an ultimatum from his employ-

U.S. WOMEN
PEACE ^{by}
7"
DELEGATES

From PETER FRYER

THE first three American delegates to the World Peace Congress, three women from Chicago, arrived in London yesterday evening.



In 1937 Clement Attlee, leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, went with a Labour Party delegation to visit the International Brigade (organised by, but by no means confined to, the international Communist Movement). He greeted the British battalion with the clenched-fist salute, and agreed to having the No 1 Company named the "Major Attlee Company".

When the survivors returned to Britain in December 1938, Major Attlee was at Victoria Station to welcome them back.

Then, the Communists were defending freedom and democracy and the hope of a peaceful world.

In 1950, Major Attlee, Prime Minister, declared that their defence of peace was "bogus".

Americans, including two evangelical bishops and the pianist Artur Schnabel, cabled Attlee urging him to address the Congress. He rejected the invitation.

Locally a stir was caused when the Foundrymen's delegate, Ernest Croft was refused permission to attend the Congress by his firm; and the English Steel Corporation posted a notice saying that "permission will not be given to any employee to absent him elf", thus putting Herbert Hpwarth on the spot. In the event, of course, there was no problem since the Congress was aborted, but at that stage the Union decided to send a mass delegation to one of the evening sessions of the Congress.

In the last week before the Congress it soon became clear what the hand-picking of delegates really meant and what a wide net was being cast under the guise of 'persona non grata'.

The Civil Aviation Authority withdrew its permission for nine charter flights from Prague by Czech Airways and nine by British European Airways. The Ministry had given its sanction for the flights five days before, but now announced that sanction had been withdrawn. No reason was given.

Only 12 of the East German delegates were given visas. Only 23 of the 57-strong Czech delegation had been given visas. Five French delegates arriving at London Airport were sent back to France. Forty-three delegates from Western Europe who did not need visas had been put on the Home Office banned list and "were likely to be refused leave to land" if they attempted to come to the Congress. "... those whose names are not on the list can still not be sure that they will be allowed to land." Mlle Salak Tazari, a writer and delegate from Syria, was given a visa but was turned back when she arrived in Britain. In a lightening raid in Mexico the police rounded up the entire Mexican and Cuban delegations - some 150 in all - and put them in gaol on a charge of "violating a decree forbidding subversive acts against the Republic." One of them was Lombardo Toledano, head of the 4 million-strong Latin American Workers' Confederation.

Other leading delegates who were eventually excluded were the following: Professor Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council; Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party (a member like the British Labour Party of the Socialist International); Shostakovich, world-famous composer; the Metropolitan Nicolai, head of the Russian Orthodox Church; Bishop Deszo and Peter from Hungary; Anna Seghers and Arnold Zweig, famous anti-Nazi German writers; Ilya Ehrenburg, Russian publicist; Aleksander Fadayev and Konstantin Simonov, Russian writers; Yves Farge and Louis Aragon, famous French writers; Louis Saillant, leader of the World Federation of Trade Unions (which the American AFL and the British TUC had tried to wreck two years before): Pierre Cot, former French minister for Air; and Paul Robeson. (Robeson had

attended the first congress in 1949 but subsequently had his passport taken away by the US Government. They took Paul jnr's too).

Altogether the British Peace Committee reported that some two-thirds of the foreign delegates had been excluded, and 19 out of 20 of the leading delegates. In these circumstances they had no option but to hold one meeting in Sheffield and then transfer the whole Congress to Poland whose government, at short notice, accepted the Congress with all its delegates - nobody barred.

The Sheffield Meeting

The people of Sheffield - described in the local press as quite 'indifferent' to the whole event - packed the 3000 seats of the City Hall, with some 1500 in an overflow meeting outside!

The meeting was naturally concerned very much with protesting at what the BPC leaflet called "the meanest act in history" of the British Government, which had "made it impossible for the Congress to take place in Sheffield." But the main purpose of the Congress was outlined by Alan Ecclestone, the Dean of Canterbury, John Rogge, Dr Endicott of Canada, J G Crowther (president of the British Peace Committee) and others, some very controversial. Perhaps Pablo Picasso, the most eminent Communist allowed into Britain for the Congress, best expressed the feelings of all the delegates :

"I have contributed to the utmost of my ability - and with the same ardour that I have given to my art - to fight for the greatest and most just of all causes. I stand with life against death, I stand for peace. I take my stand against war."

During the meeting he drew a dove which was auctioned on the spot to raise money for the Congress. The following day he had been invited to attend an exhibition of his works at the New Burlington Galleries in London. He wrote to the secretary of the Arts Council which was organising the exhibition under the auspices of the government :

"In view of the Government's repressive action towards the Second World Peace Congress, and its conduct towards so many of my friends and colleagues, I have decided to cancel my acceptance of your invitation."

So ended the Sheffield Congress. The following day, after some trouble in getting passports for scores of British delegates who did not possess one, all the delegates moved to Warsaw.

On Tuesday, November 14th, Chuter Ede made a statement in the Commons defending the way he had dealt with the delegates :

BRITAIN STOPS

18 'PEACE'

RALLY PLANES

Delegates Stranded in Prague

FIVE SENT BACK IN 'PEACE' CHECK

MORE BLOWS FOR PEACE CONGRESS

HOME OFFICE BAN MORE 'PEACE' MEN

Chaos Now, Say Organisers

BY OUR OWN REPORTERS
THE organising committee of the World Peace Congress, due to open in Sheffield on Monday, yesterday received a letter from the Home Office giving a list of the proposed delegates from non-visa countries to be refused leave to land. A representative of the letter stated: "No guarantee to the list will be given."

22 ARRIVE 2,000 EXPECTED
"No Postponement"

our Special Correspondent
SHEFFIELD, FRIDAY.
Two delegates out of the expected have so far arrived. It seems certain that the organisers will be disappointed. "We are going ahead or not," an official said, "and cancelled any of the hope."

the first delegates from Iceland

IVE passengers who landed at London Airport today were sent back to Paris after being detained by Home Office

Officers have been watching Communists

QUESTIONS ON 'PEACE' CONGRESS

By Our Own Reporter
THE organising committee of the World "Peace" Congress which opens in Sheffield City Hall on Monday are at pains to emphasise that the movement is not inspired by the Communist Party. They say it is not a Red racket.

The chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union, on his way to the Congress, was questioned by immigration authorities at London Airport. He was allowed to carry on.

"I Believe..."

Afterwards he said, "I am independent, but I believe in people getting together to work for peace."

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Icelanders Arrive For Congress

FIRST foreign delegates to the "World Peace Congress" have arrived in Sheffield.

"I know of no reason for departing from the rule of free public assembly for people of this country, but it is no part of my duty or the duty of this country to find sounding boards for people not of this country, for causes detrimental to this country."

He was criticised by a few Labour members and by the Conservative Viscount Hinchinbrooke, but perhaps the most apposite criticism came from Churchill who queried whether the reaction of the Home Secretary (and, by inference, its reflection in the press) had not given much more publicity to the Congress than it would otherwise have obtained. When you look at the British press over the previous five weeks it must be conceded that he had a point.

Nevertheless some of the more serious press were not convinced by his arguments. The Manchester Guardian (Nov. 13) declared: "All these Frenchmen, Spaniards and the rest are not likely to share his (Mr Ede's) belief that this is a 'country of freedom'". The Spectator (Nov. 17) said: "To issue visas to delegates abroad and then stop the delegates at the ports when they come to England is to play a very unattractive game." And the New Statesman and Nation (Nov. 18) said: "We look like hypocrites who slam the door while we boast that we keep open house."

They were not the only ones to hold these opinions.

Conclusion

Apart from the Home Secretary's equivocal attitude on the matter of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, how far was it true that people were being 'duped' by the peace movement? Forty years on we know from experience the value the post-war peace movements have been, but how could you tell in 1950? Why did people sign petitions?

I think a fundamental reason was that five years after the end of a most devastating war there was a profound yearning for peace that was not being satisfied by the Labour Government, which on the contrary was frightening people out of their wits by its complete acceptance of the American view of a world inescapably divided. People welcomed anyone who was prepared actually to organise a struggle to enforce peace. How otherwise explain not only the 50,000 signatures in this city for the Atom Bomb Appeal, but a year or two later the 75,000 signatures we got to the 5-Power Peace Pact Appeal?

There was another instance. Sometime later, in 1951, Major Peter Roberts, Tory MP for Heeley, called for the use of the atom bomb in Korea. On the Saturday morning after, a few of his constituents in the course of two hours collected 500 signatures to a petition denouncing his proposal and calling for his resignation. For a long

2. The removal of all restrictions in the path of the development of German peace economy and the prevention of the restoration of German war potential.
3. The conclusion without delay of a peace treaty with Germany, the reatoration of German unity, and the withdrawal of the occupation forces of all Powers within one year of the signing of the peace treaty.
4. The creation of an all-German Council on a parity basis, consisting of representatives of Eastern and Western Germany, which was to prepare the formation of a provisional, democratic, peace-loving all-German Government.

These proposals too - German unity forty years ago - were also rejected without discussion. One is led to the conclusion that these proposals were not rejected because they were not feasible, but because they did not fit in with the plans of the Western powers.

Today, indeed, when the rigid regimes of Eastern Europe have burst open, we need seriously to examine the responsibility of the Western powers, with their intransigent rubbishing of all the offers of peace from the East in those early days of the Cold War, for driving the socialist countries into intractable stances. There is surely an understandable limit, when surrounded by US bases in Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Europe, the Middle East, South-East Asia and the Pacific, to the credibility of Western good faith.

The aborting of the Second World Peace Congress could only help to underline its incredibility.



Picasso arrives at Sheffield's Midland Station in 1950, and Tommy James (far right) looks on.

APPENDIX A

In 1987 when I first decided to write the story of the Second World Peace Congress, as part of a wider project on post-war peace movements, I went to the Public Record Office at Kew in order to examine the Government documents on the event. I found the material listed in File PR 87 in the "Foreign Office : Index to General Correspondence, 1950, Vol 1" in the section headed "Communism (Peace Offensive)". The pejorative character of this description is accounted for by the fact that that was the period of the most intensive Cold War.

File PR 87 was clearly a voluminous one. A few of its contents were listed, the final one being No 466. 269 items concerned delegates. After a prolonged search, with the help of two assistants and eventually of the department chief, we had to conclude that it was not in the Public Record Office. No one knew why, or where it was, or even if it still existed.

A week later I learned that it was retained by the Foreign Office and was not available for inspection.

I therefore asked Richard Caborn, MP for Sheffield Central, to ask the Foreign Office whether it could be seen. The reply he received said the following :

"Section 3(4) of the 1958 Public Records Act provides that certain documents may be retained within departments either because they are required for administrative purposes or for any other special reason. The documents concerning the 1950 Peace Congress have been retained under this provision.

While such retentions are regularly reviewed I can give no undertaking that this file will be released at an early date."

This remains the position today.

So what must we conclude? The material cannot by any stretch of imagination be dangerous to the security of this country. It can only be dangerous to the reputation of the people who were responsible for aborting the Second World Peace Congress.

APPENDIX B

In May 1950 I stood as Communist candidate in the parliamentary by-election in what was then the Neepsend Division. At that time I was teaching at Shirecliffe (now Herries) School which was in the middle of the Division. I received 729 votes (despite the Cold War atmosphere in which the election took place) two-thirds of them around the school, where I was well known as a Communist, having regularly sold the Daily Worker and Communist Party pamphlets and collected signatures to the various petitions, especially over the war in Malaya, which we issued from time to time.

A week after the election two of the school cleaners showed me the Parish Magazine, written by Father Roseveare, vicar of Parson Cross, in which he deplored the fact that a Communist was teaching in a school in his parish to which parents had no choice but to send their children. In a paragraph that encapsulates the very atmosphere of the period, he wrote :

"We are an odd nation, aren't we? We demand the expulsion of Communists from posts of trust in Government administration, the TUC refuses to have a Communist on its executive, yet we are prepared to allow our children to be taught by a Communist."

I immediately got in touch with Charlie Darvill, secretary of the Sheffield Teachers' branch of the NUT. He saw the Chief Education Officer and insisted on an emergency meeting of the Education Committee (of which Father Roseveare was himself a member). By this time the Parish Magazine had been picked up by the Sheffield Telegraph - and the same evening by the Star - so the matter was in the public domain.

At the Education Committee meeting Father Roseveare and a Catholic priest found themselves in a minority of two, the majority declaring - in the words of one of the Labour Councillors - that while they might not agree with my opinions, they would fight to the death for my freedom to express them, so long as I did not express them to the children in school.

Actually I specialised in teaching the 'backward' classes, where the adventures of the characters in 'Toytown' was the extent of their political indoctrination.

End of the story. The curtain came down. No more references in the press. The issue never again arose in Sheffield thanks to this firm action by Charlie Darvill and the Labour Education Councillors. Elsewhere, however, especially in the London Area, it remained an issue for a long time.

APPENDIX C

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP ORGANISATIONS PUT ON THE LABOUR PARTY PROSCRIBED LIST BETWEEN 1947 AND 1954

- 1947 British Soviet Society
- 1948 Scottish USSR Society
- 1950 British Peace Committee
League for Democracy in Greece
- 1951 Welsh Peace Council
- 1952 British Youth Festival (held at Wortley Hall)
- 1953 Artists for Peace
Authors' World Peace Appeal
British-China Friendship Association
British-Czechoslovakian Friendship Association
British-Hungarian Friendship Association
British-Polish Friendship Association
British-Rumanian Friendship Association
British-Soviet Friendship Society
Society for Friends ip with Bulgaria
Medical Association for the Prevention of War
Musicians' Organisation for Peace
People's Congress for Peace
Scientists for Peace
Teachers for Peace
West Yorkshire Federation of Peace Organisations
(of which the Sheffield Peace Committee was
a member).
- 1954 World Peace Council

They Can't Stop the People Wanting Peace!!

The 2nd World Peace Congress in Sheffield would have brought together the peoples of East and West to ease the tension in the world so that peoples of different social systems might live together in peace.

The Government, by one of the meanest acts in history, has made it impossible for the Congress to take place in Sheffield. It is not the Peace Congress but the Government that has been brought to shame and ridicule. At one blow it has destroyed the centuries-old British tradition of free speech and international hospitality.

Church dignitaries like His Eminence, The Metropolitan Nicolai (whom the Archbishop of York desired to meet); Composers like Shostakovich, whom the B. B. C. had asked to play whilst here; Anna Seghers who wrote "The Seventh Cross", the film that moved grown men to tears; Professor Joliot Curie, one of the world's greatest Scientists (son-in-law of the immortal Madame Curie). All these and hundreds more were turned away from our once hospitable shores.

Where is the "Iron Curtain" now?

The Congress Will Still Be Held

The Polish Government has invited the Congress to Warsaw and it will open there next Thursday. All delegates including the 250 British and all the press/representatives accredited to the Sheffield Congress are invited by the Polish Government to travel in special ships and planes (which are on their way), as the guests of the Polish people. There will be no "screening" formalities or visa difficulties. All who want to discuss peace are welcomed there. We in Sheffield would have liked all these people to have come here and seen how we live, for we are proud of our hospitality and good manners - but it was not to be. But no power on earth can stop the British people wanting peace. On the tenth Anniversary of the Sheffield Blitz, let Sheffield speak out for Peace.

Tonight (Monday) at the City Hall, at 7.30 p.m., a great Protest Meeting will be held. Please come along and add your voice.

The Speakers will include:

The Dean of Canterbury

Pablo Picasso

Dr. Endicott

Pudovkin

The Chairman: Rev. Alan Ecclestone.

The alternative to Peace is War - Sheffield stands for Peace.

CITY HALL - TONIGHT, 7.30 p.m.

Issued by the Sheffield Area Peace Council, Burngreave Vestry Hall,
Sheffield, 3

Leaflet distributed at the main factories
on the morning of November 13th